

**SOCIO-ECONOMIC EFFECTS OF THE MIGRATION POLICY ON FOREIGNERS
IN SOUTH AFRICA**

By

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November 2023.




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DECLARATION

I, Anjofui Patience Anegub, hereby declare that the Ph.D. thesis “*Socio-economic Effects of the Migration Policy on Foreigners in South Africa*” is the outcome of my work under supervision, and it has not been submitted before for any degree, or examination in any university or institution. I declare that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of referencing.

Anjofui Patience Anegub

Signature: 

Date: November 2023



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The logo of the University of the Western Cape, featuring a stylized building with columns and a pediment.

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to the Anjofui's family.



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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AU	African Union
CDE	Centre for Development and Enterprise
EU	European Union
EER	European Entrepreneurial Region
DHA	Department of Home Affairs
DPME	Department of Planning, Monitoring, and Evaluation
DOH	Department of Health
DSD	Department of Social Development
DOL	Department of Labour
DOE	Department of Energy
EEA	European Economic Area
FIPSA	Forum of Immigration Practitioners of South Africa
GP	Green Paper
ICRMW	International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers
ICESCR	International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
ICPD	International Conference on Population and Development
ILO	International Labour Organization
IOM	International Organization for Migration
MPFA	Migration Policy Framework for Africa's
NDP	Nation Development Plan
OAU	Organization of African Union
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PRP	Permanent Residence Permit
RAB	Refugee Appeal Board
ROR	Refugee Reception Offices
SAHRC	South African Human Rights Commission
SCRA	Standing Committee for Refugee Affairs
SA	South Africa
SADC	Southern Africa Development Community
SAQA	South Africa Qualifications Authority
SDG	Sustainable Development Goals
SIMHA	Scalabrini Institute for Human Mobility
UNDESA	United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UN	United Nations
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
WPIM	White Paper on Integration Migration
ZPD	Zimbabwe Documentation Project

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ABSTRACT

South Africa amongst other African nations has since 1994 been one of the major migrant-receiving countries attracting people from other parts of the world. A majority of them coming from other African countries have stirred negative responses from both the government and the local communities straining relationships between foreigners and citizens. This study aims to assess the socio-economic effects of the migration policy on foreigners. The researcher used three different methodologies, desktop, qualitative and quantitative approaches to analyse data. Questionnaires were administered to 158 participants and 31 others were selected to participate in the one-on-one semi-structured interviews and focus group discussion. Findings from this study established that South Africa's migration policy has been regressive further complicating the socio-economic integration of foreign nationals over the years. Additional findings show that xenophobia and the fear of xenophobia negatively affect migrants' integration in South Africa forcing many to live in isolation and have weak relationships with nationals resulting in negative integration. Besides, the lack of proper documentation has prevented foreigners from accessing certain services and properly integrating into South African society. Findings from the ANOVA analysis found that there is a difference between groups in the way the SA immigration policy affects those with no formal education, secondary education, tertiary and vocational education. More findings established that xenophobia affects foreigners in the same way regardless of their income levels and employment status. The study found that South Africa is losing in terms of anti-foreigner behavior. Many foreigners are leaving South Africa and relocating to other countries, thus losing skilled migrants. This weakens the country's efforts to address the acute skill gap and has far-reaching implications on productivity, growth, and socio-economic development. The importance of skilled migrants in host countries can never be over-emphasized hence, it is important for the South African government to critically look into issues surrounding foreigners' integration and address them because of the advantages skilled foreigners bring to any society. Also, there is a need for strategic changes in the immigration policy document which is very crucial in the lives of migrants as it affects every area of their lives.

KEY WORDS

Documentation

Foreigners

Integration

Migration

Policy

South Africa

Socio-economic

Xenophobia



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1. CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background

Human mobility is increasingly becoming a global phenomenon with diverse effects on host countries and local populations. Over the past fifteen years, global statistics show that the number of international migrants continues to increase with an estimated 244 million people living outside their home countries - an increase of 71 million people compared to the year 2000 (United Nations, 2015). It was later recorded that more than 60% of global migrants reside in 30 or more industrialized countries while about 40% are in the 170 poorer developing countries in the world (Araoye, 2016). The number of people living in a country other than their home country reached 258 million in 2017 - an increase of 85 million as against the figures in 2000 (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2017b). Recent statistics from the UNDESA show that between 1990 and 2019, the number of international migrants grew globally to about 119 million and the International Organization for Migration (IOM) report indicates that there were about 272 million migrants globally (UNDESA, 2019; IOM, 2020).

One in every fifty human beings is either a migrant worker, immigrant, refugee, or asylum seeker living in another country (IOM and Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, 2001). Approximately 150 million people live short-term or permanently outside their country of origin, which accounts for 2.5% of the world's population (ibid). A majority of migrants about 80-97 million, are likely to be migrant workers and members of their families. An additional 12 million are people in a protracted refugee-like situation outside their home countries. These numbers exclude approximately 20 million internally displaced persons forced by conditions within their home countries and tens of millions of internal migrants, mostly from rural to urban, in other nations around the world (ILO, IOM and OHCHR, 2001). In Europe, for example, the number of asylum seekers and refugees has increased with more than one million people seeking asylum between 2014 and 2015 (European Parliament Research Service, 2019).

In light of the above, increased migration among Africans is because of the socio-economic shocks and wars experienced in many African countries. These shocks and wars have forced many people to take voluntary or involuntary migration in search of protection or social economic opportunities in other countries (Bisrat, 2014). Dingle and Drakes, 2007; Dinbabo and Nyasulu, 2015; Dinbabo and Carciotto, 2015; European Parliament Research Service,

2019; Sithole, and Dinbabo, 2016; and Bidandi, 2018 stated that the increasing rate of poverty, inadequate healthcare, lack of sufficient educational opportunities, unemployment, corruption, political instability, violence, environmental distress, and bad governance amongst others, are some of the reasons causing many Africans to migrate. According to the United Nations, economic and social factors are the main drivers for international migration (UNDESA, 2017c).

The influx of international migrants has gained widespread attention and is greatly criticized. Sensationalist media reportage in Europe likened international migration to an ‘exodus’ where desperate Africans are fleeing from poverty at home in search of openings in Europe (Flahaux and De Haas, 2016). Others speculate that migration can be an unfavourable phenomenon for host countries’ economies due to recurrent crises in countries like Syria, Iraq, Somalia, Afghanistan, South Sudan, Mali, Eritrea, Nigeria and the Central African Republic (Sagatti, 2011).

Additionally, migration is alleged to increase ethnic and racial diversity in societies (ILO, IOM and OHCHR, 2001). An increase in migration means that many states have become or are becoming more multi-ethnic and are faced with the challenge of incorporating people of different cultures, races, religions, and languages (ibid). This has made dealings with cultural and ethnic diversity more challenging, because in these countries migrants have become victims in internal disputes about national identity, and resource distribution resulting in xenophobia and racism, especially in some communities with substantial numbers of migrants as workers or asylum seekers (ibid). This has led to socio-economic exclusion in societies where migrants and nationals live.

As international migration continues to gain global recognition, it has progressively become a high-priority policy issue in South Africa and elsewhere in the world. Thus, most governments and policy makers have legislated migration policies at the national and local levels to regulate or manage migration (Czaika, de Haas and Millar, 2013). According to the UNDESA (2017a) statistics at the local level, 61% of most migrant - receiving governments have implemented policies to maintain current levels of immigration. Among other governments with accessible data, 13% have policies to reduce the number of documented immigrants into their country, 12% have policies to increase documented migrants, and 14% either have no formal policy or do not intend to influence levels of immigration. Among all regions, Europe has the largest proportion of countries looking forward to increasing immigration levels with 32%, followed by Asia with 10%. Asia has the highest share of countries seeking to cut current levels of

immigration (23%) and then Africa with only 13% (ibid). Overall, most governments are putting in place policies to reduce the influx of migrants.

However, those that have legislated policies to encourage migration typically focus on skilled migrants. For example, Canada, Australia, the USA etc. According to the UNDESA (2017a), the number of governments with policies to increase the level of migration of highly skilled workers increased from 22% in 2005 to 44% in 2015. Between the same periods (2005-2015), more governments instituted policies to encourage the immigration of skilled migrants across regions (ibid). Most countries prioritized policies that meet labour market demand. Internationally, 68% of governments identified meeting labour market demands as the main reason for their current immigration policy (UNDESA, 2017a). Many governments have adopted these policies because of the positive impact migrants have on their economies. Migrants bring international expertise, high skills and diverse socio-economic development among others. Underestimating the impact of skilled migrants, especially from those residing in host countries like the case of South Africa prevents the country from profiting from migrants' skills and potential. This is because migration can go a long way to fill labour market shortages.

Evidence from literature (Rasool, Botha, and Bisschoff, 2012) show that over the years, migrants have made great contributions to building and developing the economies of host countries. Great economies like America, Canada, Australia, and South Africa attained their status today because of the contributions of foreign nationals (ibid). These countries are now leading economies with incredible economic and cultural development. In the last ten years, immigrants contributed significantly to building the economies of Europe and the United States; representing a 47% increase in the United States and 70% of the labour force in Europe (The Organization for Economic and Development, 2013). They represent about a quarter of entries into the most strongly low - paying jobs in Europe (44%) and (28%) in the United States. Similarly, Jaumotte, Koloskova, and Saxena (2016) assert that migrants have a potential impact on host countries' economic welfare by increasing labour productivity and growing their GDP. Both low and high - skilled migrants support and contribute to the existing skill development of the country. A 1-point increase in the share of migrants in the adult population can raise the GDP per capita by 2% in the end (Jaumotte, et al., 2016).

Migration offers opportunities for millions of people to build safe and meaningful lives abroad to improve the livelihood of people back home (IOM, 2018). In addition, migrants contribute to the development of their home countries through remittances that increase the GDP of most countries. Statistics from the World Bank estimate that migrants contribute \$436 billion in remittances to developing countries, which increased to 4.4 billion in 2013, more than the official development assistance excluding China's foreign direct investment. According to this report, these funds are used to improve the livelihood of communities and families through their investments in education, health, sanitation, housing, and infrastructure (World Bank, 2015).

Moreover, the International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD) admits that migration is an important part of global development. ICPD states that if accurate policies are legislated to stir dialogue between sending and receiving countries, both host and home countries will benefit significantly. Hence, institutional policies between the migrant's country of origin and the host are vital in determining the flows, conditions, and consequences of international migration (United Nations, 1995).

Similarly, the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development admits that international migration is a multi-dimensional reality necessary for the development of countries of origin, transit, and destination, which requires so much attention (United Nations, 2017). Thus, the International cooperation has emphasized ensuring safe, orderly, and regular migration, which entails full respect for human rights and the benevolent treatment of migrants and refugees through the implementation of planned and well-managed policies (International Migration Report; 2015: United Nations, 2017). A better understanding of migration will yield extraordinary results for migrants and host societies.

1.1.1. Contextualization of the study

South Africa amongst other African countries has always been a country of immigration. Statistics show that in 2019 there were about 4.2 million foreigners living in South Africa, and of whom (75%) come from other African countries (Halstein, 2021). The country is a host to cross-border migrants from other African countries such as the Democratic Republic of Congo, Somalia, Ethiopia, and Burundi among others (Rasool, Botha, and Bisschoff, 2012; Bistrat, 2014). South Africa was formerly called "a country of immigration" because of the inflow of international migrants from the Western world (Rasool, Botha, and Bisschoff, 2012), but with the influx of African migrants it is today called the "new hub of Africa" (Sagatti, 2011 and

Bisrat, 2014).

During the 17th and 18th centuries, South Africa was primarily a destination for European and Jewish migrants. These immigrants were attracted to the land and mineral resources in the country, which motivated them to set up multi-national companies (Crush and Williams, 2005). As development increased with the growing rate of the mining industry, there was a huge call for labour to match the economic growth since South Africa's indigenous labour could not meet the increasing demand for cheap labour. As a result, labour was hired from countries like Lesotho, Botswana, Zimbabwe, Namibia, Mozambique, and Swaziland to act as reservoirs for cheap contract labour (Rasool, et al., 2012). This opened a door for Africans to migrate to SA, increasing the number of foreigners.

After the dawn of democracy in 1994, South Africa became a member of the international community, and opened borders, and 28 years on, the number of African migrants increased. South Africa's political stability and improved development inspired many foreigners especially from surrounding countries within the Southern Africa region to migrate to South Africa (Crush and Williams, 2005; Moyo, 2021). By the late 20th century, African migrants substituted European migrants (Rasool, et al., 2012).

These foreigners came to South Africa for varied reasons (economic, education, asylum) but also to take advantage of economic opportunities with most of them residing in major cities of the country. Metropolitan areas like Cape Town, Johannesburg, Port Elizabeth, and Durban have a large number of foreign nationals that have contributed in one way or the other to the economic growth and development of the country (Boaden, 2002). Evidence from the literature shows that the presence of foreign nationals in any country has a tremendous impact on the growth and development of the economy (Harris, 1995). Nevertheless, challenges around the migration policy have been a major setback for the integration of most African migrants in South Africa.

According to Möser (2016), there are clear similarities between the immigration policy and policies employed under the apartheid regime. This seemingly creates an avenue where the government can manipulate because the apartheid system broke the structure of the family making it difficult for anyone outside the circle to integrate. Although the concept of Ubuntu allows freedom and integration for everyone who lives in the country, there have been a series

of debates that Ubuntu is unrealistic. Möser, (2016) argues that the migration policy that continues to be restrictive is unfavourable to most African migrants, especially refugees.

Foreigners are seen as a threat and perpetrators of crime in South Africa. Several officials both from the government and the Department of Home Affairs see immigrants as a threat to their jobs, transporters of diseases, corruption threats to South Africa's territorial borders and human security, perpetrators of crime through the selling of drugs and prostitution, etc. (Amit and Kriger, 2014; DHA, 2016). Serious competition between foreigners and locals over scarce opportunities has developed anti-immigrant feelings toward foreign nationals leading to several xenophobic attacks among other vices (Bisrat, 2014; Mbetga, 2014; Boynton, 2015; Umezurike, 2012). Foreigners continue to experience xenophobia in South Africa daily with children, women, and predominantly men becoming victims of xenophobia (Davis, 2017). This has led to serious exclusion, segregation, and victimization. According to claims from the International Organization for Migration (2013), foreigners are now victims of the government's failure to address the problems that citizens are facing. This has stirred negative responses from both the government and the local communities straining relationships between foreigners and citizens.

In 2014, the South African government legislated a stricter immigration policy to address new and perceived challenges around migration to protect the interest of the nation because they saw migration as a threat to social and national identity (Department of Home Affairs, 2017). The 2017 White Paper claims that the recent changes in the migration policy were meant to control and manage migration and not to frustrate foreign nationals as some perceive. However, there are still lots of perceptions and assumptions about the migration policy. These changes in the policy seem to create existing challenges around integration, documentation, and access to the labour market.

Regarding access to the labour market, evidence from some South African researchers' shows that migrants, especially refugees, face many barriers particularly when it comes to accessing formal employment (Alfaro-Velcamp, McLaughlin, Brogneri, Skade and Shaw, 2017). This is because some employers and professional councils are unable to distinguish between the Refugee Act and the Immigration Act (Kavuro, 2015). Consequently, some refugees with refugee IDs and the required qualifications are not given a chance to explore their potential and get employment. Others who have tried to secure some form of employment are at risk of having their bank accounts closed; losing jobs and others not paid because of expired permits

etc. Their statuses either as refugees, asylum seekers, work permit holders, etc., sometimes disqualify them from getting proper employment or even acquiring property.

Although migrants have acquired skills both formally and informally, it is still not easy to secure formal employment. Although some came with skills from their home countries and further acquired skills in the country, others learned on their jobs or through apprentices, it is still challenging to maximize these skills in the labour market. Despite the seeming availability of skills in the country, some skills are lacking in some sectors of the labour market. The Department of Higher Education and Training (DHET) report (2017) posted a list of skills that employers are having difficulty integrating into the labour market. These include skilled trades like plumbers, welders, carpenters, etc., as well as engineers, IT staff, sales representatives, drivers, and teachers amongst others. Interestingly, there are foreigners with these skills who are jobless or in jobs below their qualifications.

That said, restrictions have forced foreigners to explore other opportunities. Some studies show that migrants have been very effective in the informal sector in creating jobs and employing South Africans (Kalitanyi and Visser, 2010; Rugunanan and Smit, 2011; Tawodzera, Chikanda, Crush and Tengeh, 2015). According to Tawodzera, et al., (2015), migrant entrepreneurs in Cape Town have hired many South Africans to work for them. This has fairly been beneficial to the labour market creating employment opportunities for other foreigners and nationals. However, they are still constrained by some regulations in the immigration policy.

There is no doubt that foreigners have contributed to the South African economy. Despite their contributions, statistics from the 2008 Human Resource Sciences Resource Council show that South Africa is one of the countries in the world with high negative perceptions of foreign workers (Hamilton and Bax, 2018). This narrative influences the way foreigners are accepted and integrated into South African society. According to the Quarterly Labour Force Survey, South Africans make up over 90% of employees in every sector (Department of Home Affairs, 2016). This means foreigners only have 10% access to the labour market. Budlender's (2014) study supports this view stating that foreigners are most likely to take up employment in private enterprises. Eighty-two percent of foreigners work in private households, with 12% primarily employed as domestic workers, gardeners, childcare workers, etc., (ibid). However, there are still assumptions that foreigners contribute to the high unemployment rate in South Africa because they are taking positions meant for citizens.

Moreover, foreign nationals face daunting challenges in the area of documentation, which affects their integration in different ways. Migrants with both technical and professional skills seem to face challenges in getting permits to regulate their stay in the country. Kavuro (2015) states that the challenges migrants face range from unfair treatment towards foreigners to legal and procedural barriers that prevent them from gaining access to the labour market. Alfaro-Velcamp, et al. (2017) claim that the closure of some refugee reception centres in 2012 made things more complicated for refugees and asylum seekers to acquire and renew permits. The extension periods for their permits were reduced to less than a month, making it seemingly impossible to get decent jobs and increasing the demand for illicit immigrant documentation. This is contrary to the nature of public policies, which are supposed to protect and reflect the values, attitudes, and beliefs of society (Landau and Segatti 2009).

Applying for a general work permit is now more complicated than previously. This new regulation requires the South Africa Qualifications Authority (SAQA) to evaluate every applicant's qualification, even for those without qualifications (Boynton, 2015). The Department of labour is now mandated to give a certificate to confirm that despite a proper search, the applicant's employer was not able to find a South African citizen or permanent resident with the qualifications and skills appropriate for the job. Such certificates in the past took less than six months to obtain but now it takes a longer period without getting feedback (ibid).

Moreover, acquiring the Critical Skills Work Visa, which has replaced the exceptional Skills Work permit, is now a challenge for those previously using the exceptional skill work permit. This is because applicants are now expected to apply outside South Africa unlike in the past where they could apply from South Africa. This has made it more complicated to hire foreigners due to the logistics and wait time. In addition, the current list for the Critical Skill Work Visa is limited making it difficult for skilled migrants to get proper documents. Persons applying must have worked for at least five years and registered with an accredited professional body/council/board recognized by SAQA (Boynton, 2015). This has made things even more complicated for foreign nationals.

Despite South Africa's intention to build the economy and bring about economic

transformation, the recent White Paper on migration (2017) by the Department of Home Affairs states that it is important to address the gap in the policy. Its inability to design adequate structures to draw and retain international skilled migrants is disturbing (White Paper, 2017). Chingwete (2016) provides interesting statistics about the nature of the migration policy. The study found that 54% of primary and 53% of secondary and tertiary participants claim that migration policy does not seem to favour immigrants even though they make significant contributions to the economic growth of the country.

Furthermore, Crush and Frayne (2010) postulate that most immigration policies focus primarily on sovereignty issues around management, enforcement, and border control, not recognizing the value of immigrants' futures and interests. In this regard, the state and citizens see foreign nationals as a threat to economic and social interests. This is about policy commitment that aims at protecting and supporting foreigners yet they remain restrictive and possibly make life difficult for them to cope. These restrictions seem to make integration difficult for foreigners since foreigners are viewed as a threat to socio-economic advancement. Even though migrants contribute to socioeconomic development, the host society still doubts their value (Eisenburg, 2017). According to the author, skilled migrants, for example, face challenges getting work permits, which in essence complicates their rights to work.

Hammerstad (2012) suggests that South Africa should rectify the current Immigration Approach because its current form is discriminatory and does not favour a majority of migrants. Furthermore, the author claims that one main way South Africa can achieve the best out of foreigners, especially economic potentials, the migration policy should be revised to accommodate all migrants. It is important to create better ways for legalizing immigration especially those with work permits since they pay tax and contribute freely to the development of the society and the country at large (ibid).

Some scholars think that changes in the immigration Act do not address the growing skills shortage in South Africa, despite the Immigration Act's plan to recruit skilled foreigners; the law has not done much to facilitate such immigration (Boynton, 2015; Serumaga-Zake; Unisa, 2017). Section 27 of South Africa's Constitution guarantees the basic rights of all who live in it (Constitutional Assembly, 1996). These rights include the rights to education, housing, health care, and social justice among other rights. However, many foreigners do not enjoy these rights. The most recent White Paper has identified some discrepancies in the migration policy stating

that South Africa has not been able to design adequate policies, come up with strategies, set up institutions, and develop the capacity to attract, recruit, and retain international migrants with the necessary skills and potentials (DHA, 2017). Even in several countries, skilled migrants are always considered desirable migrants because of their potential (Bedford and Spoonley, 2014; Geddie, 2015; Makakala, 2015; Chiou, 2017; Riaño, Lombard, and Piguet, 2018).

From the arguments above, it is evident that there are still doubts about the socio-economic contributions of migrants towards social and economic development in South Africa because of assumptions that migration can negatively affect host countries' economies. This seems to have influenced several amendments in the migration policy to deal with issues around migration. Recent developments in the migration policy have affected migrants' integration in major ways. Therefore, a careful investigation of the socio-economic effects of the migration policy on foreigners is critical. This study will examine this by reviewing the migration policy, investigating the effects of xenophobia and documentation on foreigners' integration, the impact of the immigration policy on the socio-economic status of foreigners, and examining whether there are any differences among foreigners as per their socio-economic status. The study will focus on skilled African migrants and will use the terms immigrants, migrants, foreigners, and foreign nationals interchangeably to refer to the different groups of migrants. These include skilled immigrants, skilled refugees, and asylum seekers. Besides, the study will use three research methods because of the unique nature of the research questions and each methodology will be discussed according to the objectives of the study.

1.1.2. Problem statement

South Africa's international migration policy is laid out in the 1999 White Paper on international migration which is implemented through the Immigration Act, of 2002 (Act No. 13 of 2002) and partly through the Refugee Act, of 1998 (Act No. 130 of 1998). Although the policy claims to ensure the integration of legal international migrants and provide protection of basic services to asylum seekers and refugees safely and humanely, researchers like Boynton (2015) criticize the policy for its protectionist nature and abuse of human rights. Besides, Rademeyer (2013) claims that restrictions in the migration policy have led to an outbreak of xenophobia, violence, increased corruption and claims of discriminatory practices, and human rights abuses by South Africans, the Department of Home Affairs, and immigration officials. Despite the state's aims and objectives in the Immigration Act, it has not been able to handle issues around hostilities in the environment that invades the lives of migrants, mainly those from the rest of Africa. Hence, the White Paper strongly calls on South Africa's migration policy to emphasize laws and

regulations that will contribute to nation-building, social cohesion, and national security (DHA, 2017).

Statistics from the 2014/2015 Afrobarometer survey show that out of the 33 African countries that demonstrate intolerance towards foreigners, South Africa is top on the list; labeling South Africa as the most hostile nation in the world when it comes to treating refugees and migrants (Chingwete, 2016). Most South Africans continue to blame foreigners for stealing their jobs (Shea 2008; Adjai, 2010; DHA, 2016). Other authors like Schippers, 2015; Chingwete, 2016; Abel, 2017; and Forley, 2018 associate intolerance towards foreigners with some historical, socio-economic, and political factors. Statistics from the ISPOS Global Views on Migration Report, state that 65% of South Africans acknowledge that there are many migrants in South Africa, and more than half of them are bothered about foreigners' impact on their jobs (Forley, 2018). Many see migrants as an economic liability and a burden to the government because the government is spending so much money to provide public services for migrants (Forley, 2018). These perceptions have led to continuous occurrences of intolerance towards foreign nationals, affecting their integration in several ways. Even though South Africa acknowledges social cohesion as a very important element for nation - building and development, which is highly prioritized, Lefko-Everett, Burns, Nontshokweni, and Njozela, (2018), claim that social cohesion is lacking among migrants.

Besides, despite the aim of the current migration policy to achieve inclusive economic growth by issuing visas to migrants with special skills that cannot be obtained in South Africa's labour market, there are still debates that South Africa still struggles to retain and attract international migrants with the necessary skills and capital to invest in the country (DHA, 2017). In response, the White Paper emphasizes the management of migrants with skills and capital because they can invest in the country to meet up with the nation's national priorities and national development plan. Evidence from Rasool, Botha, and Bisschoff (2012) and Bernstein, Altbeker, and Johnston, (2016) have shown that the migration policy has not addressed the skills shortage in the country. They claim that the policy has not taken advantage of skilled migrants in solving the problem of skills shortage in the country. These restrictions have discouraged investors and led to the suspension and even cancellation of multi-million-rand firms and tourism ventures (Boynton, 2015). This is a serious challenge to achieving national unity and development, which the government prioritizes. Despite the obvious need by South Africa to build an effective system that will monitor and address human migration to meet its short- and long-term development, the South African government and civil societies are not making significant efforts to improve migration management and facilitate the integration of migrants into society.

Besides, South Africa's migration policy is not connected to the skills development and investment priorities of the country. The permit system is not proactive and flexible enough to adapt and enable South Africa to efficiently compete for requisite skills and capital. Hence, it is difficult for South Africa to compete globally for skills and investment (DHA, 2017). The White Paper states that international experience has shown that it is valuable to grant visas to foreign nationals with high-level artisanal or professional qualifications and experience irrespective of the field. Moreover, in a dynamic global economy, employees or entrepreneurs with general skills have value because they can respond to changing needs. Another criticism is that the requirements to start a business should be more flexible as highly skilled professionals and artisans can start small, medium, and micro-sized enterprises with very little capital and create employment opportunities not only for themselves but for others (ibid).

Also, documentation has hindered many foreigners from getting proper employment and integrating into South Africa. According to Amit and Kriger (2014), there has been a decline in the number of permanent residence and work permits issued to migrants, especially among African Migrants. This is not the case with other foreigners from Europe and North America, Asia, and the Indian sub-continent who easily have permits, and employment and are opening big businesses in the country. The situation is seemingly worse for refugees and asylum seekers due to the recent hitches in the asylum regime, the DHA has taken actions to limit documentation, employing different administrative measures to make it extremely difficult for migrants to get documentation or acquire a refugee status (Amit and Kriger, 2014). Consequently, there have been many rejections of several asylum applications with some refugee reception offices having up to 95 to 100% rate of asylum rejection (Hiropoulos, 2017). This has negatively affected the integration and accessibility to decent employment among this group of migrants even though; some of them have the necessary qualifications and experiences.

The issues raised place foreigners in a difficult position. Hence, this study aims to investigate the socio-economic effects of the migration policy on foreigners in South Africa. To achieve nation-building and positive social cohesion, it is important to involve everyone living in the country to participate and make positive contributions to attain the desired goals of the nation. Understanding how temporary migrant communities experience a sense of belonging is one way social cohesion can be developed in society (Rugunanan, 2017). This is because enforcing migrants' integration in host communities is an effective way of building a socially cohesive society.

South Africa is losing skilled migrants. Given South Africa's dire skill shortage, losing skilled migrants weakens efforts to solve the country's acute skill gap and has far-reaching implications on income distribution, productivity, structural change, and growth (Haltein, 2021). Also, because education in South Africa is publicly funded, emigration leads to a permanent loss in public and human capital investment. A loss in human capital reduces productivity and constrains the economy's capacity to innovate and adopt new technologies (ibid).

Although several studies have been conducted in the area of international migration and the SA migration policy, (Bernstein et al., 2016; Rasool, Botha, and Bisschoff, 2012; Boynton, 2015, Madue, 2015; Sawa, 2016) none have looked at international migration holistically. Looking at the effects of the policy on different groups of foreigners is strategic to understand the dynamics of integration.

1.1.3. Significance of the study

Skilled migrants form human capital that is important for the socio-economic development of any society. However, it seems like the socio-economic contributions of migrants towards social and economic development still need to be emphasized in South Africa because of the assumption that migration can hinder South Africa's growing economy. Hence, it is important to conduct a study to investigate the socio-economic effects of the migration policy on foreigners. The significance of this study is as follows:

- The study will bring clarity to the effects of the migration policy on the social and economic integration of foreigners in South Africa.
- This study will contribute and add to the existing literature on international migration in South Africa and beyond.
- The study will provide practical realities on migration policy gaps and also inform government, policymakers, and other stakeholders such as researchers on the impact of the migration policy on foreigners. It will also suggest possible ways to make the necessary improvements.

1.1.4. Hypothesis

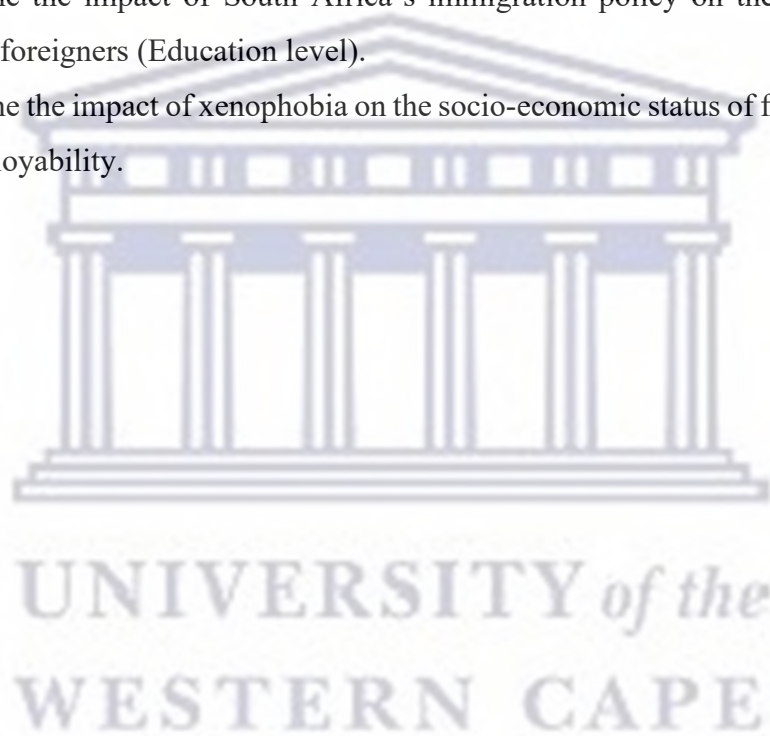
- South Africa's immigration policy has different impacts on foreigners with different levels of education.
- Xenophobia has negative impacts on the socio-economic status of foreigners irrespective of their income and level of employability.

1.1.5. Research questions

1. Has the migration policy been progressive?
2. What are the effects of xenophobia and documentation on foreigner's integration in South Africa?
3. What is the impact of South Africa's immigration policy on the socio-economic status of foreigners (Education level)?
4. What is the impact of xenophobia on the socio-economic status of foreigners (income and employability)?

1.1.6. The specific objectives of this study will be to:

- critically review the South African migration policy.
- describe the effects of xenophobia and documentation on foreigners integration.
- determine the impact of South Africa's immigration policy on the socio-economic status of foreigners (Education level).
- determine the impact of xenophobia on the socio-economic status of foreigners income and employability.



1.1.7. Theoretical and operational definitions

Table 1. Concepts and definitions

CONCEPT	DEFINITION
Migration policy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The United Nations defines migration policy as laws, regulations, agreements, and programs established to control the volume, origin, direction, and structure of migration flows (United Nations, 2013). - - It is a policy document guiding migrants in host countries. Facchini and Mayda (2009) identified four main elements to explain this concept of migration. <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) It considers individual preferences on the policy meaning that migrants' views are relevant in the formation of migration policies. 2) Map preferences into policy demand. Take into consideration how the policy will affect different groups of people. 3) Focus on the supply side; identify the preferences of the immigrants. 4) Understand the details of the institutional setting in which they are introduced. - - According to this scheme, migrants are stakeholders and are supposed to be actively involved in the formulation and designing of policies. - - In South Africa, the migration policy is the main policy document used to govern foreigners. The South African policy on international migration is embedded in the 1999 White Paper on International Migration. It is executed through the Immigration Act, of 2002 (Act No. 13 of 200) and partly through the Refugees Act, 1998 (Act No. 130 of 1998).
Refugee	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The 1951 Convention and the 1967 Protocol refers to a refugee as someone “owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership and is unable to or owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country” (Black, 2021 p. 196). - This study only focuses on skilled refugees i.e. those with potential and human capital who left their countries mainly for political reasons. - Refugees in this study are skilled foreigners with skills and potential that can contribute to the socio-economic development of society.

<p>Asylum seeker</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - An asylum seeker is someone who has left his/her country of residence and applied for protection as a refugee either immediately on arrival in another country or at a later stage. - Specifically, an asylum seeker is someone whose application for refugee status is under review (UNHCR, 2002). - According to the United Nations, an individual is considered a refugee or an asylum seeker when he or she aligns with the internationally agreed definition. I.e. someone who is not able or does not want to return to their home country because of a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, being a member of a particular social group or political opinion, religion, and nationality (United Nations, 1954). - This study focuses on skilled asylum seekers in South Africa, those who either came with skills from their home countries or have acquired skills in South Africa.
<p>International migrant</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - International migrant in the broad sense refers to someone who changes his/her country of residence to reside in another country (United Nations, 2015). - In addition, a migrant is identified by foreign birth, nationality, or by their movement into a new country to stay temporarily or settle for a long period (Anderson and Blinder, 2011). Portes and Rumbaunt, (2006) identify five types of immigrants these include; contemporary, professional, entrepreneurial, refugees, and asylum migrants. - - In this study, migrants refer to both professional, entrepreneurial, refugees, and asylum seekers. This study will use the term migrants to refer to any of them.
<p>Skilled migrant</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - A skilled migrant is any migrant with special skills, training, or knowledge acquired formally or informally i.e. From school or on the job. In this study, skilled migrants are foreigners with human capital, skills, and potential. Skilled migrants under this category can be either professionals, graduates, or those with business and entrepreneurial skills. - This class of migrants can make significant contributions to the socio-economic development of South Africa. The study will use the terms migrants, immigrant, foreign nationals, skilled migrants, and foreigners interchangeably to refer to skilled migrants, refugees, and asylum seekers.

<p>Integration</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Integration is a two-way process of joint adaptation between foreign nationals and host communities where migrants fit into the social, economic, cultural, and political life of the host country. Hence, integration requires collaboration between migrants and host societies, and, in this broad understanding, includes other related aspects such as social inclusion and social cohesion (IOM, 2017). - Integration is a crosscutting and multi-sectoral issue that connects to policy areas that address the economic, social, legal, cultural, and civic spheres and affects all facets of migrants' lives and their communities (Penninx and Garcés-Mascreñas, 2016 and IOM, 2017). - All these happen with the support of the state and members of the host society. The state plays an active role in helping migrants be part of the society and the majority group; the host country is expected to accept such inclusion (Budyta-Budzyńska, 2011). - - For integration to be successful, all stakeholders must be involved. These include; migrants, the host country, and the host population. - Although there are different dimensions of integration, the three main dimensions of integration are; legal, political, socio-economic, and cultural and religious integration (Penninx and Garcés-Mascreñas, 2016). This study will focus on the socioeconomic dimension of integration. The researcher will use xenophobia, documentation, and access to labour to explore migrants' socio-economic integration.
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1.1.8. Thesis outline

This research study examines the socio-economic effects of the migration policy on foreigners in South Africa, mainly African migrants in Cape Town. It reports on the socio-economic impact of the migration policy and examines the effects of xenophobia and documentation on foreigners' integration. This study will be divided into nine main chapters.

Chapter One presents the research by providing a brief introduction to issues around international migration and investigates how the current migration policy impacts migrants' socio-economic status. It also highlights the context and rationale of the study. Besides, the chapter provides research questions, specific objectives, hypotheses, and background of the study.

Chapter Two discusses the theoretical framework, which are; Ager and Strang's integration framework, Dual Labour Market theory, and Human Capital. Then concludes with the conceptual framework for the study.

Chapter Three gives a historical overview of South Africa's migration policy from the pre-colonial period until date. The migration policy under different regimes was discussed and

carefully analyzed. In reviewing the migration policy, secondary data from relevant academic articles, policy reports from different international organisations, various United Nations department reports dealing with immigrants and refugees, legislations, and governmental and non-governmental reports were used for critical analyses. Desktop research methodology was the most suitable method to review the policy.

Chapter four reviews the literature on the effects of xenophobia and documentation on the integration of foreigners. The first section provides theoretical literature on social cohesion, understanding xenophobia, and documentation. It also provides empirical evidence on social cohesion, understanding xenophobia, and issues around documentation from the global and local context. This is followed by a discussion of the research design. The qualitative method was used. It described the sampling method, how the population was selected, how interviews/ focus group discussions and observations were conducted, and how data was analyzed. Lastly, it revealed how results were presented and analyzed under different sub-headings.

Chapter Five presents the results and discussion of objective two (effects of the migration policy on foreigner integration), focusing on xenophobia. Findings were presented based on the information obtained from the field and compared with the literature obtained from the research. The researcher used main and sub-themes to present and analyze data in line with objective two. The chapter concluded with policy implications from the findings.

Chapter Six continues with a presentation on results and a discussion focusing on documentation. Findings were presented based on the information obtained from the field and compared with literature from the research. Themes and sub-themes were used to categorize information according to the objective of the study. Lastly, it looked at the policy implications.

Chapter Seven reviews the literature on the effects of the migration policy on foreigners' socio-economic status (education level, income, and employability). The first part provides theoretical and empirical literature on migrants' skills, migrants' contributions to host countries' economies, socio-economic barriers to migrants' integration in the labour market, and income differentials among migrants in host countries. This is followed by the methodology used. The quantitative method was the preferred methodology. It described the sampling method, how the population was selected, how questionnaires were distributed, and described how data was analyzed. Then, it showed how results will be presented and analyzed under different sub-headings. The chapter

concludes by presenting the limitations and ethics applied in the study.

Chapter Eight presents results and discusses findings on the effects of the migration policy on foreigners. The study used descriptive statistics to describe the socio-economic dynamics of migrants' integration. Analysis of variance also known as ANOVA was used to present results on the impact of the immigration policy on foreigners' socio-economic status (education level) as well as the impact of xenophobia on the socio-economic status of foreigners (income and employability). Tests like Levene's test, post hoc test, and multiple comparisons were used to show the difference between different groups of migrants. Lastly, the chapter concludes with policy implications.

Chapter Nine gives an overview of the study, and presents a summary of key findings, recommendations, scientific contributions, and areas for further research.



2. CHAPTER TWO: THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL DESIGN

The field of migration uses several theories to explain international migration and the integration of migrants in host communities. This chapter aims to present a theoretical and conceptual framework that explains the relationship between migration policy and the integration of migrants. To build a logical sequence, the first section of the chapter provides a summary of the different theories used in migration studies, with particular emphasis on Ager and Strang's model of integration, the dual labour market, and the human capital theory. The chapter concludes with a conceptual framework relevant to the study.

2.1. Theories explaining international migration

The rationale for this section is based on the assumption that theories that have been developed to underpin migration provide justifications regarding why international migration occurs. It comprises selected theories that strengthen the researcher's philosophy as to how you understand and plan to conduct your research (Osanloo and Grant, 2016). Eisenhart defines it as "a structure that guides research by relying on a formal theory; that is, the theory is constructed by using an established, coherent explanation of certain phenomena and relationships" (Eisenhart, 1991 p. 205).

Since the 20th century, several attempts have been made to come up with a theoretical framework for migration by individuals from different disciplines (Bijak, 2006). This has led to several theories to describe international migration in developed and developing countries. These theories include Ravenstein's theory of migration, Dual Labour Market Theory, Neoclassical Economic Theory, New Economics of Labour Migration Theory, Relative Deprivation Theory, World Systems Theory, and Human Capital theory etc., (Dinbabo, and Carciotto 2015; Dinbabo and Nyasulu, 2015). The table below presents a summary of these theories and models.

Table 2: Models explaining the initiation of international migration

THEORIES	DESCRIPTIONS	KEY VARIABLES	WEAKNESSES
Neoclassical Economic Theory of migration	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - This theory is of the macro and microeconomic schools of thought. The neoclassical macro economies believe that the major reason for international migration is the differences that exist within societies because of the inequality in the demand and supply curve. While some countries have excessive unemployment, lack of opportunities and limited markets to apply their services, some have many opportunities and markets but do not have the labour force to exploit these opportunities (Massey, et al, 1993). - The theory holds that real wage differences between countries stir people to migrate from lower to higher wage areas. This movement lasts until wages in all regions are at the same level and migration stops (Massey et al., 1993; 1998; Borjas, 1989). Hence, there is a transfer of investment capital from high-income countries to low-income countries. - Neoclassical microeconomics sees migration as a positive scheme used by people for their benefit and a means of maximizing their well-being (Borjas, 1989). They claim that before people travel they identify productive areas where they can render their skills (Massey, et al, 1993). Hence, they 	Wage and income differentials, Probability of employment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Mainly focuses on economic matters which automatically reduces migration determinants <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Exclusion of social, cultural and political dimensions of migration. - Assumes linearity – not able to explain differential migration, why people do not move, or why migration ends before wage differentials balance. --- -Disregard market imperfections. -Homogenization of immigrants and societies. -Ignores other major forms of international migration like; illegal migrants, refugees asylum, and families.

	take into consideration costs and benefits before deciding where to migrate.		-Static perspective.
Dual Labour Market Theory	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The theory states that low wages and high unemployment cause immigration. 'Push' (supply) and 'Pull' (demand) factors in home and host countries influence international migration. - This theory states that demand pressures created in primary sectors of labour markets of more developed countries fuel the supply of international labour migration from underdeveloped countries (Piore, 1979). - Piore (1979) associated the demand for immigrants' work with four key characteristics of modern industrial society: structural inflation, motivational problems, economic dualism, and labour demography. 	Labour demand Bifurcation of labour markets, Foreign Direct Investment (FDI), State immigration policies and recruitment efforts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Host country's bias – ignores push factors (host countries), overemphasizes formal recruitment practices. -Inadequate explanation for differential immigration rates in different progressive economies with the same economic structures. - The difference between primary and secondary sector is always random which leads to uncertainty in empirical estimates.
New Economics of Labour Migration Theory	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The theory argues that remittances are the main drivers of migration and that people mainly migrate because of the possibility of attaining an uninterrupted flow of household income. (Stark and Bloom, 1985; Taylor, 1999). This theory states that one cannot explain migration flows and patterns at the level of individual workers and their economic incentives, but must consider the wider social entity. 	Wages and income distribution (relative deprivation) Institutional failures – credit market, labor market deficiencies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Criticizes the neoclassical theory rather than a theory in its own right. -Sends side bias - Limited applicability – difficult to isolate the effect of market

			imperfections and risk in migration decisions from other income and employment variables.
World Systems Theory	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The basic argument of the theory is that dependence on the international market is beneficial to richer countries (core countries), controlling transitional capital at the detriment of poor countries (semi-peripheral countries). The uneven exchange results in immigration from poorer to richer countries (Wallerstein, 1983; Amankwaa, 1995). 	Structural changes prompted by the flow of capital	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Only suitable at the global level. -Explanation formulated ex ante, cannot be empirically tested.
New International Division of Labour Theory (NIDLT)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - This theory states that the result of high taxes levied on companies by their government and expensive labour by employees led to the creation of GPZ in developing countries that could offer cheap labour, which, is readily available and easily replaced (Fröbel, Heinrichs and Kreye, 1980). These paid lower taxes and the subdivision of labour in these areas increased production rates. - This led to rural-urban migration leading to an influx of people moving from rural areas to townships to work in these areas and enjoy the available facilities in these new zones (ibid). 	-wages, economic benefits	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -The concept of division of labour is exploitative because production sites were located abroad and elements of the global market were created and reproduced to benefit capitalists. -Although empirically proven that the current phase of division of labour I.e. (the transnational phase should be conceived as embracing different forms of labour utilization, this is not adequately depicted in the NIDLT).
Migration systems theory	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The migration theory claims that migration is common across national borders (Brettel et al, 2001). The conventional factors of migration 	Developmental space	-Mainly descriptive. Not capable to account for

	include; political, economic, and sociocultural factors. The increased dynamics amongst different geographical locations drive people from rural areas to urban settlements that are more productive and can offer bigger markets for their labour to get better wages (Posel, 2003).		decline of migration systems overtime.
Human Capital Theory	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The human capital theory holds the notion that migrants with high educational backgrounds get better jobs with higher salaries than other migrant categories with lower qualifications (Korpi and Clark, (2017). - Human capital theory establishes that differences in levels of education and skills gained by an individual make them receive different wages (Bildirici, Sunal, Aykac Alp and Orcan, 2005). - This means that the more qualified a person is the higher the chances that individual has to fit in the labour market. 	Wages, economic benefits affected by individual characteristics	Overly optimistic (functionalist) view - migration is not always a voluntary process to maximize gains.
Ager and Strang's model of integration	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - This model identifies ten indicators, clustered into four domains. The model holds that success in these domains show positive integration outcomes that are likely to assist the wider integration process of refugees in host communities (Ager and Strang, 2004). - These domains include; Marker and Means (education, employment, housing, and health) social connections (social bridges, social bonds, and social links) Facilitators (language and cultural knowledge as well as safety, and stability) and lastly, Foundation (rights, and citizenship). Access to these services are core in assessing the integration of migrants into host Communities. 	Access to education, health, employment, social capital, and security	

Source: Author's construct based on Dinbabo and Nyasulu, 2015 p.33-34 and Arango (2000), Massey et al. (1998) and de Haas (2008).

From the aforementioned theories, three theories apply to this study. There are; Ager and Strang's integration model (outlines the indicators and outcomes for successful integration) the dual labour market theory (explains the different clusters that exist in the labour market), and the human capital theory complements the dual labour market theory in explaining the role of human capital in host societies.

2.1. AGER AND STRANG'S MODEL OF INTEGRATION

Several debates are going on around the world on migrant integration in host countries. Hence, integration has become a clear policy goal for most governments and an expected outcome for many projects working with different groups of migrants (Craig, 2015). Ager and Strang inspired by debates about the refugee policy in the UK at the beginning of the 21st century, decided to design an integration model to operationalize the processes of integration of migrants into host societies (Ager and Strang, 2004). Although this model primarily focused on refugees' integration, Ager and Strang (2008) stress the possibility of applying it to other groups of migrants like economic migrants, to assess how these domains influence their resettlement and integration. Over the years, the model has extensively developed to provide a better understanding of the concept and has resulted in influencing policy-making (Craig, 2015). The framework allows complex interfaces to exist between domains across different settings (Ager and Strang, 2010).

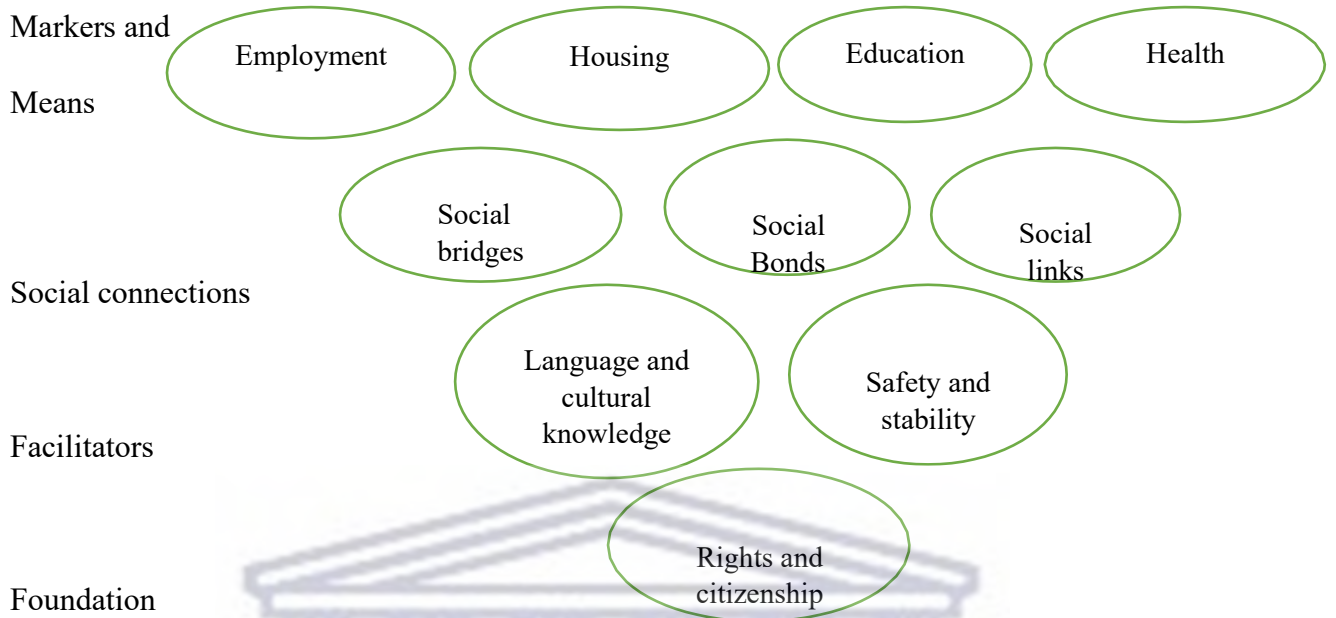
Ager and Strang's (2004) model identifies several factors that inform the outcome of the integration process. The framework addresses issues of equality, social connections, relations with the host community, safety and security as well as citizenship and rights (Ager and Strang, 2008; Phillimore and Goodson, 2008). Access to these services will support the integration of refugees and make them feel a part of the new environment rather, than problematizing' refugees (Ager and Strang, 2004).

The model has ten indicators, clustered into four domains. Success in these domains suggests positive integration outcomes that are likely to assist the wider integration process. Positive factors of integration include; access to education, training, housing, employment, and social capital amongst others. Lack of effective integration policy, negative public attitudes towards migrants, the frequency of racial incidents, reported feelings of fear, and experiences of bullying or abuse are all negative outcomes of integration (Ager and Strang, 2004). This framework is suitable for this research because it addresses the issue of integration and provides

blueprints to assess integration. Below is a diagram that illustrates the framework.

Fig 1: A Conceptual Framework Defining Core Domains of Integration

An illustration of the four domains grouped into different clusters.



Source: Ager and Strang, 2008 p. 170



2.1.1. Markers and Means

The “markers and means” domain is the most critical in the integration process because it focuses on functional indicators within communities (Housing, Employment, Education and Health). Success in these domains is not only reflected as “Markers” of successful integration but also as a “means” to support positive integration in other areas of integration (Ager and Strang, 2004). Therefore, success in these domains displays progress towards integration and support accomplishment in other areas. For instance; access to and progress within the educational system, serves as a significant ‘marker’ of integration as well as a major ‘means’ of integration for the creation of significant employment opportunities or social connections (ibid).

Key indicators for these four domains include; income levels, access to education, number of refugees participating in language proficiency courses, employment rates, rates of informal employment, rates of under-employment, contentment with housing conditions, and health challenges just to name a few. Positive outcomes from these indicators show positive integration and negative outcomes show negative integration. It should be noted that the indicators chosen for each domain are flexible and depend on the focus of the research and available data (Alencar, 2018). In line with this study, the researcher will focus on the domains of employment, health, and housing.

Carolyne, Strang, Phillimore, Morrice, Michael, Wood, and Simmons, (2019) highlight employment as the most fundamental factor of effective integration. This is because employment affords a mechanism for income generation and economic advancement. Additionally, it encourages economic independence, helps one to prepare for the future, allows foreigners to engage with members of the host country, provides opportunities to improve language skills, restores self-esteem, and encourages self-reliance (Carolyne, et al., 2019).

Policy analysts and refugees consider employment as key in supporting integration into host societies (Craig, 2015; Sahin Mencutek and Nashwan, 2021). Employment at an early stage significantly increases migrants’ success in the labour market in the long term (Wimark, Haandrikman, and Nielsen, 2019). Hence, foreigners must have rights to work and easily access employment proportionate to their skills (ibid). This allows them to invest in their integration into society (ibid). However, the immigration policy that is supposed to bring this to fruition and shape labour market demand employers institute strict immigration policies or legal frameworks limiting the entry of migrants into the labour market (Platonova and Urso, 2012; Phillimore, 2021). These authors claim that refugees always face difficulty finding and keeping

proper jobs because of conditions in the labour market and the different ways in which people are discriminated against in society (ibid).

Furthermore, Craig (2015) states that when it comes to labour market integration, most universal workers' rights like the right to employment protection, the right to equal access to employment, etc., are mainly theoretical employment rights because some groups of migrants have poorer working conditions than others. Behtoui (2013) explains that the differences in benefits of employment among many foreigners are because of the barriers they face such as discrimination, restrictions, and language fluency. In some countries, migrants do not benefit from some services that come with employment. Huang (2021) stated that second-generation Asian Americans in the city of New York could not participate in negotiations at the workplace, faced racial discrimination, and were stereotyped. Although employment is fundamental for foreigners' integration in host countries, such barriers affect integration. That is why this study investigates how access to labour market affects foreigners' integration.

Another key factor is access to housing and the condition of settlement. Ager and Strang (2008) claim that this gives migrants a sense of integration. Once migrants have accommodation and the conditions for living are conducive then integration is positive. Outcomes for successful integration include the size, quality, and facilities of the housing, safety, and security of the housing environment, security of tenancy, and the development and continuity of relationships in a neighborhood. Since South Africa uses the non-encampment system as opposed to the UK where refugees live in camps, this study will apply housing differently. That is, how xenophobia influences where migrants choose to reside and how this affects their integration.

Lastly, under the Makers and Means domain, access to healthcare services is another key determinant for integration. According to Craig (2015), it is important for programs supporting the integration of healthcare services to focus at the local level. He explains that most countries provide healthcare at the local, primary level through clinics, doctors, community nurses, etc., which has helped to facilitate access to healthcare services. This is because a lack of adequate health care might affect migrant's participation in the labour market and community life (Craig, 2015). Without adequate provision and access to healthcare services, integration will not be successful. Key outcomes for successful integration under this domain include; reliable access to health services, good information about health care, supportive language provision, and attention to gender dimensions of healthcare.

These three clusters discussed above, form an integral part of migrant integration hence, my study seeks to investigate how employment, housing, and healthcare services affect migrant integration in South Africa.

2.1.2. Social connections

The “Social connections” which is the second domain of this framework, stresses the importance of relationships in the process of migrants’ integration. Motivated by the works of Putman’s work, Ager and Strang (2008) borrowed the concept of relationships to establish different kinds of relationships that are important for integration. These include; social bridges, social bonds, and social links. Social bridges are migrants’ social connections with other members of the community (Ager and Strang, 2008). This helps to build trust, which is fundamental for integration. The outcomes of social bridges are trust and participation in the activities of the community. Social bonds are social, national associations, and religious connections within the community. These are platforms where foreigners and locals meet to strengthen their relationships. Lastly, social links - connections that migrants have with government institutions, including local, and central government services to support their local integration (ibid). These three relate to each other and focus on the importance of relationships in understanding the integration process (Craig, 2015). They focus on ties or bonds within a refugee’s community, bridges to other groups within the community, and links to key institutions within the society. These links help to connect individuals or groups to a wider community. If integration is endangered at these levels, it will be difficult for migrants to integrate at a higher level. Social bonds, social bridges, and social links are relevant to my study because the study focuses on key issues that are relevant to migrants ‘integration into the host society.

2.1.2. Facilitators

Facilitators are key skills, knowledge, and circumstances that support migrant active involvement in the activities of the community, which is also a strategy to secure themselves within communities (Dinbabo, Zemba, Pederis, Carciotto, Gastrow, Belebema, Nzabamwita, Chiwarawara, Ahmen, Alem and Mwamba, 2018). The domain highlights the role of the policy environment, language proficiency, and cultural knowledge in fostering integration and promoting sustainable livelihoods (ibid). Ager and Strang (2008) depict that policies designed by the state are fundamental in facilitating local integration. States have the responsibility to stop barriers and support integration through favourable policies (ibid).

This domain has two indicators; language and cultural knowledge and, safety and stability. *The language and cultural knowledge* domain is a critical factor for integration because it helps to build migrants' confidence (Cheung and Phillimore, 2014). Young refugees and asylum seekers who could not speak the local language had difficulty integrating into the labour market (Udayar, Fedrigo, Durante, Clot-Siegrist and Masdonati, 2021). Ager and

Strang, (2004 p. 4) explain cultural language using the two-way exchange process “refugees obtaining knowledge of the dominant culture as well as non-refugees acquiring knowledge of the circumstances and culture of refugees”. Insufficient cultural knowledge and poor language proficiency affect an individual’s sense of belonging within the community. It restricts access to the labour market, impacts getting key information, and limits opportunities for refugees to engage confidently with other members of the community (Cheung and Phillipmore, 2014; Sansonetti, 2016). Foreigners’ access to language proficiency and understanding of the cultural dynamics of the host society supports their integration.

A sense of *Safety and Stability* (personal safety) is very important for effective integration. This reflects to some extent on the two-way nature of integration as it stresses the importance of feeling safe from persecution or harassment, and freedom to settle in a particular area (Cheung and Phillipmore, 2014). According to the model safety, security, and protection from racial harassment and crime help to establish relationships of trust that have a wider effect on future integration (Ager and Strang, 2004). Host communities characterized by racial harassment and crime destroy the confidence of migrants and affect their integration. Outcomes for positive integration include; feeling safe from crime, persecution, discrimination, or harassment (Sansonetti, 2016). Improvements in this domain will contribute significantly to successful engagement within the community residents’ (Cheung and Phillipmore, 2014). Hence, an examination of indicators within the facilitator domain in the context of South Africa with a history of security and safety issues will support when designing policies to improve the welfare of foreigners.

2.1.3. Foundation

Lastly, we have the “*Foundation*” domain with one indicator (rights and citizenship). Foundation here refers to certain principles that define what rights migrants should expect from the state and other members of their communities as well as what the state should expect from migrants. *Rights* to equality when it comes to accessing facilities and privileges enjoyed by nationals for instance; protection from discrimination, social justice, human rights equality, and inclusion (Ager and Strang, 2004). Accessing these, rights facilitates migrants’ integration and allows them to develop social capital and other achievements in the areas of employment and education (ibid).

Citizenship is essential for human security and provides a sense of belonging and identity to people (Dinbabo, et al., 2018). This gives people an opportunity to enjoy protection from the state and provides the legal basis for many to enjoy civil and political rights (ibid). Granting

citizenship and permanent residence to foreigners can offer permanent solutions to establishing foreign nationals in host societies, which could be beneficial through their dynamic contributions to society. The researcher will use this model mainly to address the first objective of this study, which is to determine and describe the integration dynamics of foreigners' integration in South Africa.

2.2. Linking theory to study

Ager and Strang's model is suitable for this research because the framework centres on integration. The domains and indicators outlined in this framework align with most themes in my study; employment, housing, and health fall under the (*marker and means domain*); relationships among migrants, between community members and institutions fall under the (*social connections domain*), safety and language proficiency fall under the (*facilitator domain*) and freedom falls under the (*citizenship and rights domain*). These domains and indicators are suitable benchmarks to assess migrants' integration in host communities. Understanding migrants' integration is vital in any society because policies of host countries and attitudes towards migrants can influence integration and affect their well-being either directly or indirectly. Through this domain and indicators, the researcher will assess the extent to which migrants are integrated and how integration or lack of integration has affected them. This will help to identify other indicators and outcomes to add to the list of existing indicators and outcomes to determine successful integration. Consequently, making enormous contributions towards the development of the framework to provide better ways to assess migrants' integration in host societies. Suggestions, strategies, and interventions from empirical research will help to influence policies on migrants' integration and livelihood.

2.3. Dual Labour Market Theory

The dual labour market theory also referred to as the segmented labour market theory is another relevant theory for this study. American economists Doeringer and Michael Piore pioneered the theory in 1971. Motivated by the limited research on the neoclassical theory, Piore developed the dual labour market theory when he realized that international migration was championed by the labour market's requirements in modern industrial society (Piore, 1979). The theory holds that a steady demand for immigrant labour was essential in developed countries' economic structures because it facilitated international migration. He linked the demand for immigrants' labour to four distinguishing characteristics of the modern industrial society: structural inflation, motivational problems, economic dualism, and labour demography (*ibid*).

This theory divides the labour market into two sectors, the primary and secondary sectors. The primary sector is characterized by a capital-intensive method of production and the secondary sector by a labor-intensive method of production. In the primary sector, workers are open to lots of opportunities, receive training on their jobs to work with advanced capital, and have the advantage of applying for better jobs with high salaries, high social status, and responsibilities with career mobility and good working conditions. On the other hand, those working in the secondary sector have limited opportunities with little or no advantages. Jobs in the secondary sector are at the bottom of the labour market with negative characteristics like poor pay, poor working conditions, insecure employment, no career opportunities, and low-level job security just to name a few (Bulow and Summers, 1986; Piore, 1979). Some examples of jobs in the primary sector includes; jobs in large manufacturing companies and enterprises while in the secondary sector, workers have unstable and unskilled work positions, for instance, working in fast food outlets, domestic workers, etc., with no job guarantee and workers dismissed without prior notice (Piore. 1979).

In the primary market, effectiveness plays only a limited part in the internal labour market. This means that jobs and wage rates among primary workers centre on factors like custom rather than productivity. Here, the number of primary or skilled jobs is not always necessarily in line with the availability of skilled workers. Citizens mainly occupy jobs in the primary sector while foreign labour is used to complement gaps in the secondary segment of industrialized societies where there is no demand from native labourers (Gurieva, and Dzhioev, 2015; Chand and Tung, 2019). Conditions in the primary sector prevent some workers from entering the primary sector, not because they lack the necessary human capital but because of institutional barriers such as discrimination and policies. Therefore, workers in the secondary segment suffer from underemployment because of the restraints (Wachter, Gordon, Piore and Hall, 1974). The theory claims that the main problem with the labour market is the unavailability of good jobs for certain groups of individuals hence, policymakers must institute favourable policies that will create more opportunities and provide better jobs both in the public and private sectors (Wachter et al., 1974).

According to Reich and Edwards (1973), division in the labour market is influenced by economic and political factors that segment the market into primary and secondary segments across the occupational hierarchy. They outlined four segmented processes to understand labour market conditions; these include segmentation of the primary and secondary markets, segmentation within the primary sector, segmentation by race, and segmentation by sex.

Since segmentation by race and gender line up with this study, the researcher will focus on them. Under segmentation by race, where you come from influences the type of job you get. This is to maintain division between different race segments (ibid). According to the authors, one's race qualifies them for employment shaped by bias from labour market institutions. As for the segmentation by sex, gender plays a big role when choosing the roles of men and women in the labour market (Reich and Edwards, 1973). Men and women take different jobs and the wages of females are often lower than that of males. The secondary segment is mostly flooded with women, youths, ethnic minorities, and people from disadvantaged backgrounds mostly foreigners (ibid). Working conditions differ between the segments with different factors and ideologies influencing the type of jobs people get.

Furthermore, Ashton and Maguire (1984) segment the labour market into the higher occupational level, middle, and lower occupational levels. At the higher occupational level, the jobs available are mainly for senior managers and professionals. Competition at this level is not restricted to those available in the locality since they are part of the market. At the middle level, some level of restrictions is on certain categories of workers, which come from both unions and employers limiting entry into the labour market. Here, opportunities depend on acquired skills and one can move from one job to another. The availability of jobs in this segment depends to a certain extent on the demand for labour in the country. At the lower occupation levels, more restrictions are leading to long periods of unemployment consequently disqualifying people from even accessing unskilled jobs. Due to the nature of this segment, there is a high level of instability; workers move frequently between jobs being in and out of employment and labour force participation. At the higher levels, movement hardly occurs due to the security of their jobs.

Citizens mostly find jobs at the higher levels while migrants often find jobs at the lower levels. After the economy of countries has absorbed citizens in the upper and middle segments of the labour market, they use migrants to make - up for the shortages in the lower segment of the labour market (Piore, 1979). Employers use migrants to fill the lack of demand in the secondary sector (Piore, 1979; Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouaouci, Pellegrino, and Taylor, 1993). For example, Peck (1996) explains how particular employment and recruitment regimes, modes of state regulation, and migrant social practices have joint to concurrently position specific segments of labour markets towards foreign nationals' labour and condition migrants to take certain responsibilities.

Apart from the overall labour shortages that lead to vacancies in the lower position in the labour market, they might be specific shortages at the bottom of the hierarchy rising from motivational and demographic problems as well as other social changes in modern industrial societies. Massey et al., (1993) explain how motivational problems arise because jobs at the bottom of the hierarchy are in connection with low social status since it is difficult to move upward in the labour market. Foreigners who hardly have access to jobs in the primary sector often occupy these low-social-status jobs (ibid).

As for Lusi and Bauder (2010), one of the common features of contemporary globalization is that foreigners will always find employment in low labour market positions. They state that in developing countries, most migrants are always part of low-level labour and dangerous jobs commonly referred to as "3D" employment meaning (dirty, dangerous, and degrading). Even though not all foreigners work in low-paid jobs, the uneven allocation of migrants in lower sectors of the labour market is part of modern-day economies (ibid). Three reasons for the demand for foreign workers in modern industrial societies include; general labour shortages, the need to fill the bottom positions in the job hierarchy, and labour shortage in the secondary segment of a dual labour market (Piore 1979). Due to the shortage of labour to fill up this gap, employers are required to employ foreign workers. In some instances, governments and firms recruit foreign workers to fill this gap (ibid). Besides, migrants follow the demand of the labour market by seeking permanent residence in a country, applying for temporary visas, or crossing the border without obtaining status to get into these positions (Massey et al., 1993).

Gieseck, Heilemann, and von Loeffelholz, (1995) point out that international labour eradicates labour shortage in certain areas and can help to increase economic growth in host countries. Besides, immigrants bring positive impacts to receiving countries because of changing habits or changing forms of investments (Chassamboulli and Peri, 2020). Despite the positive impacts that migration brings to host societies, they are constrained by restrictions in immigration policies that affect migrant groups differently. According to these authors, policies restricting either the direct or the indirect entry of migrants harm job creation.

Lusi and Bauder (2010) posit that although the labour market is functionally interdependent, the boundaries of the segments are hard hence, it is difficult for employees to shift from one segment to another. Cultural factors influence these rigid boundaries between labour market segments (ibid). Consequently, the rigid rules guiding labour market engagement create barriers in the labour market preventing people from entering particular segments (Peck 1996). Ashton and Maguire (1984) suggest that restrictions from accessing certain jobs and controlling the conditions under which members work are some of the effective ways that an occupational

group can use to improve the market situation of their members. They argue that if a group succeeds in bringing this "exclusionary social closure", then the market group is in line with the market segment. However, if the occupational group cannot achieve this closure, it is part of the broader market segment, and entry here is controlled by the recruitment practices of employers. According to them, at the peak of the more high-status local labour market, more boundaries are created imposing restrictions on certain employment opportunities by professional bodies and the states. This makes it very difficult to enter this segment without having the required certification (Ashton and Maguire, 1984).

The logical assumption of this theory is that since the labour market is segmented, migrants are available and willing to do functions that are lacking, and perhaps would not exist in their absence (McCollum and Findlay, 2015). Since migrant workers are always willing and available, they have become victims of exploitation by employers who take advantage by offering low salaries, poor working conditions, and killing their motivation to seek better opportunities (Anderson and Ruhs, 2010). A clear example is in the study conducted by Maher and Cawley (2016) showing how migrants in Brazil and Ireland work for very long hours with low wages and illegal deductions in their salaries (Maher and Cawley, 2016). Furthermore, the lack of documentation has made migrants become victims of exploitation. According to Ruhs and Anderson, (2010), a work permit does not necessarily guarantee migrants' rights to employment because of the conditioning in the segmentation in the labour market.

Poire (1979) states that it is important to create a relationship between migrant labour and segmented labour markets. This creates an environment for continuous demand for migrant labour that is always available thus, encouraging the segmented labour market to continue flourishing. For instance, the UK government's decision not to restrict East-Central European workers from having access to the British labour market at the time of the A8 accession in 2004, during a period of sustained economic growth was noted to be a wise decision during this period (McCollum and Findlay, 2015). Alberti (2014) questions the view that migrants are seen as mere victims of precarious employment. In his investigation on the hospitality of migrant workers in London, he found that some migrants have used temporary jobs in the secondary sector strategically, for instance, to improve their English language skills. From this perspective, his view goes beyond seeing migrant labour as a tool to make up for gaps in the labour market. Hence, he criticizes the dual labour market explanation that migrants are mere precarious victims of employment.

Finally, Wachter, Gordon, Piore and Hall (1974) came up with four hypothetical statements to assess employment in the secondary market. These are i) The secondary market pays lower

wages than the primary market. ii) The criteria for determining wages are different from those in the primary market, mainly disregarding the major differences in human capital among workers. iii) Due to institutional barriers on the demand side, there is very little mobility between the primary and the secondary sectors, and iv) Underemployment is a universal characteristic of the secondary market (ibid).

2.4. Linking theory to study

The dual market theory is suitable for this study because it describes employment in the labour market. The theory aligns mainly with the third and fourth objectives of my study which seeks to determine the impact of South Africa's immigration policy on the socio-economic status of migrants as regards employment and income. Data collected will test two of Wachter et al., (1974) hypotheses on employment in the secondary market. The researcher will examine if institutional barriers like the migration policy influence the mobility of foreign nationals between the primary and the secondary sectors and test if underemployment is a universal characteristic of the secondary market among migrants.

Moreover, since the fundamental assumption of the theory states that migrants are always in the secondary segment of the labour market characterized by limited opportunities, the study also seeks to test this claim. In addition, this study will assess if the migration policy and other factors like employers, the government, and documentation influence migrants' integration in the labour market as identified in the theory.

This theory does not only focus on how employer recruitment and employment practices produce a regular need for migrant labour, but also on how these practices combine with labour supply issues for instance; how spatial wage inequalities and international migration policies connect certain types of workers with specific segments of the economy (McCollum and Findlay, 2015). Hence, this study aims to see how the migration policy connects migrants to specific segments of the economy.

2.5. HUMAN CAPITAL THEORY (HCT)

Adam Smith first introduced the concept of human capital as an idea in the 18th century. Later, it became a modern theory in the 1950s at the Chicago School of Economics through the works of Gary Becker, Jacobs Mincer, and Theodore Schultz (Olusadum, 2020). At the initial stage, the theory was highly criticized by some liberal scholars because of its negative associations with slavery. This became a big issue in the United States to the extent that Becker one of the leading Fathers of the theory was skeptical about the title of his book "Human Capital" when he was about to publish. Surprisingly, the human capital concept that was greatly criticized

turned out to be one of the most popular topics in economics; this resulted in him winning the Nobel Prize in 1992 (ibid). Since then, the concept has grown in popularity and covers many areas from economics to education, health, etc. (Tan, 2014).

Several other scholars like Garibaldi, Tan and Olusadum contributed to the development of this theory after realizing the importance of skills and knowledge to economic growth. These scholars admitted that apart from the traditional factors of production, economic growth could be acquired from human capabilities (Psacharopoulos and Woodhall, 1997; Garibaldi, 2006; Tan, 2014 and Olusadum, 2020). The Classical English School also acknowledged that skills gained by humans are a form of capital while some economics state that the human himself is capital (Bildirici, Sunal, Aykac Alp and Orcan, 2005).

Human capital is defined as productive wealth that is embodied in an individual either in the form of labour, skills, or knowledge; these are regarded as resources or assets that can contribute to the productivity and earnings of an individual (Garibaldi, 2006: Ployhart, Nyberg, Reilly, and Maltarich, 2014; Jibir, Abdu and Buba, 2023). These resources represent a form of wealth not only for individual development but also for the economic growth of any nation (Almendarez, 2011). Investments in human beings are the most treasured of all capitals (Ployhart et al., 2014).

The theory states that apart from formal education at primary, secondary, and tertiary levels there are other types of education such as; informal education at home, work, on the job, apprenticeships, and specialized /vocational training at secondary or higher levels (Mincer, 1974). The human capital theory holds the assumption that formal education, which is a direct investment, increases the production capacity of a population (Psacharopoulos and Woodhall, 1997). According to the theory, skilled people have a greater chance of acquiring employment in the labour market (Bragg and Wong, 2016). Korpi and Clark (2017) support this notion in their study on human capital theory and internal migration, stating that migrants with high educational backgrounds get better jobs with higher salaries than other migrant categories with lower qualifications. HCT establishes that differences in levels of education and skills gained by an individual make them receive different wages (Bildirici, Sunal, Aykac Alp, and Orcan, 2005).

According to Zimmerman (2005), attracting highly skilled foreign nationals will help improve labour market conditions and increase demand for citizens despite their skills and qualifications. Thus, promoting higher education is quite beneficial for host countries because it builds strong economic relations with sending countries, increases the quality of education

because of international competition, reduces demographic decline, and fills up shortages in the labour market (Suter and Jandl, 2008). Countries like Australia, Canada, Germany, and the USA reviewed their regional policies towards skilled migration. Policies were reviewed because these nations were committed to using skilled migrants to bridge the gaps in skills and avoid demographic decline mostly in remote and peripheral areas (Herbst, 2013; Chand and Tung, 2019).

Migration should be viewed as capital that can help give value to other forms of capital in the labour market (Pham, Tomlinson and Thompson, 2019). In developing human capital through adequate migration facilities, Kerr, Özden, and Parsons, (2017) explain that host countries can attract skilled migrants to the country through good packages and favorable immigration policies to form part of the human capital pool. According to this line of reasoning if a country already has skilled migrants it would be wise to take advantage of those already living in the country than inviting external sources that can be costlier, like the case of South Africa. Schultz (1961) indicates that the provision of adequate migration facilities to individuals adjusting to better job opportunities is one of the five categories of developing human capital. Hence, it is fundamental to prioritize policies towards skilled migration, as it will help to encourage growth in economies that are still struggling in developed countries (Bildirici, Sunal, Aykac Alp and Orcan, 2005; Chand and Tung, 2019).

Gathmann (2015) believes that better assimilation of migrants in the labour market will in turn benefit destination countries through fiscal gains and better social cohesion. As such, host countries can take advantage of the skilled migrant population by opening access to citizenship. Taking advantage of skilled migrants could be a key policy instrument to the rate of economic integration that supports the integration of immigrants in the host country (Gathmann, 2020). This shows that institutions in states play a vital role in influencing the accumulation and assimilation of human capital. Thus, human capital investments can thrive in an enabling environment when policies are favorable and the extent to which capital markets function, and the level of confidence in the economy and institution.

However, several factors turn to hinder migrants from participating in the labour market. For example policies, discrimination, and documentation. In the UK, the labour migration policy introduced stricter migration laws to select optimal human capital (Mavroudi and Warren, 2013). The Points Based System introduced, reduced the annual limit on entering the labour market for certain skilled migrants only those on highly skilled visas were qualified for employment. Despite the understanding that the UK government has a responsibility to control

its borders, skilled migrants perceived that the UK government's restrictions were unfair because they believed their presence had a positive impact on the UK economy (ibid).

Duleep and Regets, 1999; Byoun, 2013; Spehar, 2021 identified devaluation of competence, lack of the acquisition of specific skills, and work experience of migrants as one of the things hindering the labour market participation of migrants in the host country's labour market. Other researchers Fulton, Pullen-Sansfaçon, Brown, Éthier and Graham, 2016; Spehar, 2021, argue that migrants' educational qualifications and work experience obtained from their home countries have hindered their entry into the host country's labour market. This is either because their skills are less valued, difficult to transfer, or might not be applicable in host countries even though some of them are highly skilled (Kanas and Tubergen, 2009; Fulton, et al., 2016; Spehar, 2021). Employers prefer employing migrants who have studied in host countries because they are certain their degrees and other qualifications can easily match the job market requirements of the host country (Byoun, 2013). In this case, having the right qualifications and work experience in host countries increases the chances of migrants' participation in the labour market. Authors like Esses, Bennett-AbuAyyash and Lapshina, (2014) and Iqbal, (2017) noted that issues like discrimination based on racial differences have continued to prohibit many foreigners from accessing the labour market.

According to the HCT narrative, migration influences growth. Becker, Murphy and Tamura (1990) allude that an economy can either be in one of the three possible development states; "poverty trap", "middle-income trap" or a "balanced growth equilibrium path" and migration can help to boost growth. The way growth is controlled at different stages critically depends on the economy's initial distribution and retention of human capital among natives and migrants. If the human capital among migrants is not utilized, the capital will be subject to depreciation. Replications of the theory specify that migration can increase the level of growth equilibrium path in host countries within specific bounds. For instance, if the inflow of migrants is sufficiently high or the human capital of migrants relative to citizens is sufficiently low, the development curve of an initially growing economy can reverse, starting a slide toward the poverty trap. The theory states that skilled migrants can expand the economy to attain a balanced growth path or can support the economy to attain this in the future. However, this does not apply to every economy especially if the economy has already attained a growth equilibrium (Ehrlich and Kim, 2015).

Despite the positive influence of the theory, the theory is criticized. For example, Bragg and Wong (2016) criticize the notion that, more skills and education increase chances of integrating

in the formal labour market and consequently integrating into the host society. This implies that paid work equates favourable integration, which according to them limits the impact of an immigration policy that focuses too narrowly on the individual's economic and labour market contributions.

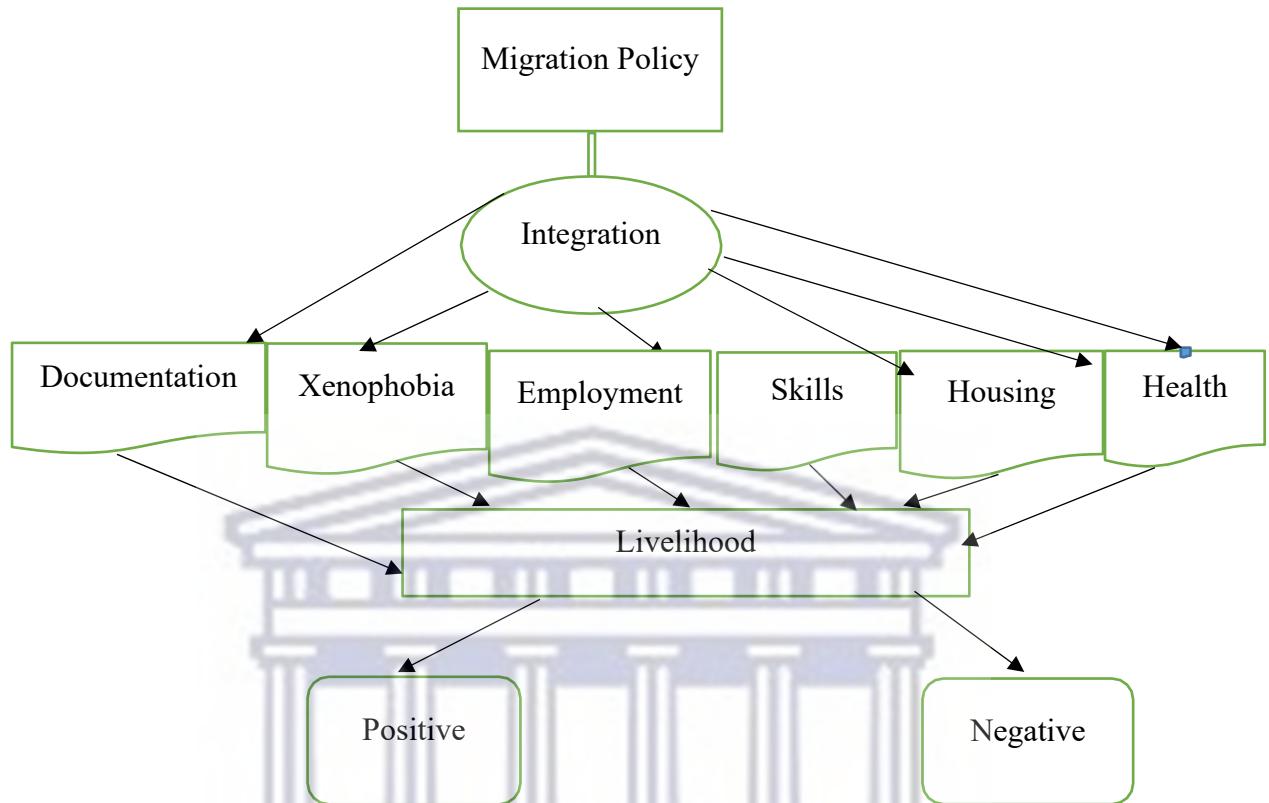
2.6. Linking theory to study

The HCT is appropriate for this study because the theory conceptualizes skilled migrants as capital that is vital for socio-economic development. This theory will complement the dual labour market theory to understand factors that affect migrants' socio-economic integration in South Africa. According to the theory, skills and education guarantees the extent to which a person succeeds in the labour market. This means the more qualified a person is the higher the chances that individual has to fit in the labour market. Since, this study deals with different categories of skilled migrants; the researcher will test the validity of this assumption to see if this applies to migrants in SA. With the assertion that getting the right qualifications and work experience in host countries increases migrants participation in the labour market, this theory will guide the researcher to identify if this is the case with migrants in South Africa.



2.7. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Fig 2: Conceptual framework



Source: Author's construct, 2019

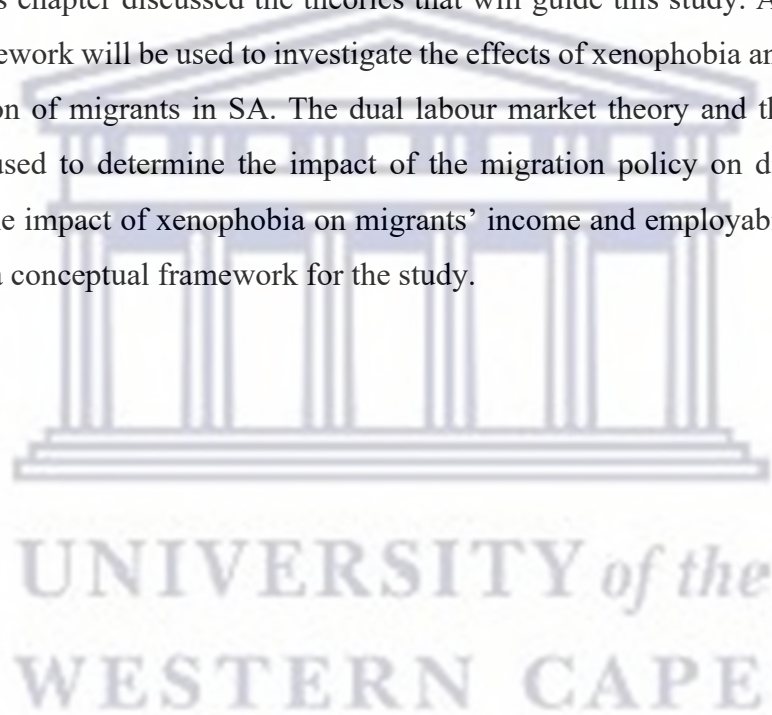
In the context of this study, the migration policy is the governing document that regulates the lives of foreigners in SA. The laws and regulations mainly influence the extent to which migrants integrate in SA. The type of documentation migrants possess, the effects of xenophobia at different levels, employment status, type of skills, choice of residence (housing) and access to health services influence migrants' integration. According to the diagram above, the migration policy is the independent variable that influences the dependent variables (documentation, xenophobia, employment status, skills choice of residence (housing) and health). These indicators influence migrants' integration and affects their livelihood either positively or negatively as illustrated in above.

In summary, this chapter has discussed the theories that will guide this study. Ager and Strang's integration framework will be used to investigate the effects of xenophobia and documentation on the integration of migrants in SA. The dual labour market theory and the human capital

theory will be used to determine the impact of the migration policy on different levels of education and the impact of xenophobia on migrants' income and employability. The chapter concludes with a conceptual framework for the study.

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In summary, this chapter discussed the theories that will guide this study. Ager and Strang's integration framework will be used to investigate the effects of xenophobia and documentation on the integration of migrants in SA. The dual labour market theory and the human capital theory will be used to determine the impact of the migration policy on different levels of education and the impact of xenophobia on migrants' income and employability. The chapter concludes with a conceptual framework for the study.



3. CHAPTER THREE: CRITICAL EVALUATION OF SOUTH AFRICA'S MIGRATION POLICY (OBJECTIVE 1)

South Africa's migration policy was set out in the 1999 White Paper on international migration and implemented through the 2002 Immigration Act, No. 13 of 2002, supplemented by the Refugee Act of 1988 (Act No. 130 of 1998) (DHA, 2017). The migration policy is one of SA's major instruments to manage and control migration. This policy is subject to revision to meet up with the changes in society. This section gives a historic overview of the migration policy, critically reviewing it through the lens of socio-economic integration, using the inclusion and exclusion criteria to show the effects of the policy on migrants. This approach is preferred because it explains how the policy influences people's lives and how it affects their socio-economic integration. The researcher will use several international protocols, conventions, and instruments relating to migration policies to make these evaluations.

Due to the nature of the objective and the availability of existing data on the migration policy, a qualitative approach is suitable to critically review the migration policy. The researcher used desk research also known as desktop research to review and analyze relevant academic articles, policy reports from different international organisation, various United Nations department reports dealing with immigrants and refugees, legislations, and governmental and non-governmental reports to make critical analyses on the migration policy. Desk research also known as desktop research collects readily available information (secondary data) to use for a study (Ntoiti and Jagongo, 2021).

3.1.1. HISTORIC OVERVIEW OF THE MIGRATION POLICY IN SOUTH AFRICA

3.1.2. Colonial and pre-1948 international migration

The discovery of mineral resources in South Africa in the 19th century attracted many foreigners mainly from the western world who sought to take advantage of these resources (Ngomane, 2010). After WW1, there was an increasing influx of migrants into the country. A large number of these migrants were Jewish and many from Eastern Europe (Shimoni, 1888, cited in Horowitz 2001 and Kaplan 2001). Over 40,000 came from Eastern Europe between 1880 and 1910 and another 30,000 between 1910 and 1948 (Shimoni, 1988, cited in Horowitz and Kaplan, 2001 p. 5-6). Jews left Europe escaping either from political unrest or economic

hardship and others just wanted an adventure to exploit the opportunities available in other countries. During this period, the government supported the immigration of white foreigners, which encouraged many of them to take refuge in South Africa (Anderson, 2006).

In 1913, the government introduced the legislation bill. This was the third immigration bill in South Africa, which later became the first nationwide Immigrant Regulation Act in South Africa (Bradlow, 1978). The Bill excluded Indians that migrated into the country as contracted labourers after 1860 through networks from their compatriots who had previously migrated to SA. These Indian migrants perceived as a threat to the white government, were restricted from migrating to SA even though not clearly stated in the act but other factors clarified the reason behind their prohibition for instance, they were treated as undesirable (Peberdy, 1997 cited in Siddique, 2004).

In addition, the Act limited movements for black South Africans in South Africa (ibid). They were restricted from entering certain areas in their country yet South Africa continued to receive migrants, particularly from Eastern Europe who were not subject to such restrictions (ibid). The racial and discriminatory nature of this Bill completely opposed people's universal rights to freedom of movement.

Although the Bill was reviewed in 1930 with the 1930 Immigration Quota Act mainly to control Jewish migrants, discrimination continued with discriminatory laws labelling some migrants 'desirable' and others 'undesirable' (Peberdy, 1997 cited in Siddique, 2004). Inequality and racism characterized laws on border controls, administrative management and granting of passports and citizenship (Klaaren, 2017). This Act was modified in 1937, with the 1937 Aliens Act. The Act only allowed non - Jewish migrants who were considered 'desirable' to come to SA and those that were 'undesirable' denied access (Peberdy, 1997 cited in Siddique, 2004). The Aliens Registration Act of 1939 that came two years after was no different from the others. It still focused on controlling the entry of particular groups (ibid). Tensions between the Afrikaans, the English - speaking communities and their political allegiances in 1946, led to another shift in the immigration policy. This was because of the United Party government's campaign to encourage British immigrants to vote which was highly condemned by the National Party accusing the United Party of trying to increase the number of English- speaking electorate (Peberdy, 1997 cited in Siddique, 2004). In response to this, the National Party revised its policy after the 1948 election shifting it to attract German and Dutch immigrants to come to SA (ibid).

Regulations during the colonial and pre-1948 era were discriminatory and racist. These regulations affected migrants' socio-economic integration differently. Foreigners with the same potentials and skills did not have the same opportunities to participate in the labour market. Migrants' nationality determined where they served in the labour market. Some group of migrants especially from Eastern Europe that were considered 'desirable migrants' had the freedom to settle wherever they wanted, set up businesses and participate in the economic activities of the country without restrictions. This was not the case for others considered undesirable. Many Jewish migrants were high skilled professionals, a category that the South African government badly needed (Peberdy, 1997 cited in Siddique, 2004), yet the 1930 Quota Act was mainly to prevent Jewish immigration labelling them as undesirable. These discriminatory laws hindered potential human capital that could foster the development of the country.

These Acts and laws conflicted several international instruments founded on discriminatory and racial tendencies. Most of these laws were contrary to several international instruments on migration and humanity like the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), UN 1963 Convention of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, UN International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of their Families (ICRMW). These instruments prioritize and promote an inclusive human rights treaty on migration stating that host countries should institute laws and policies to provide protection and equality and avoid laws that favour discrimination and exploitation among migrants (UN International steering committee, 2009). Besides, the UN 1963 Convention of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and the UDHR emphasize that laws that promote discrimination at all levels should be nullified (UNHCR, 2006). However, this was not the case in South Africa with discriminatory and racist laws.

The discovery of mineral resources in South Africa in the 19th century attracted many foreigners mainly from the Western world who sought to take advantage of these resources (Ngomane, 2010). After WW1, there was an increasing influx of migrants into the country. A large number of these migrants were Jewish and many were from Eastern Europe (Shimoni, 1888, cited in Horowitz 2001 and Kaplan 2001). Over 40,000 came from Eastern Europe between 1880 and 1910 and another 30,000 between 1910 and 1948 (Shimoni, 1988, cited in Horowitz and Kaplan, 2001 p. 5-6). Jews left Europe escaping either from political unrest or economic

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3.1.3. International migration policy under the Apartheid regime

The international migration policy under the Apartheid era encouraged the influx of migrants from other African countries as contract workers. This was different from previous Acts on migration mainly because it promoted migration from other African countries. However, their intention for opening up to Africans was primarily to use their cheap labour to meet the labour demand because the indigenous labour supply by South Africans was not sufficient (Anderson, 2006; Rasool, et al., 2012). This resulted in an increase in the recruitment of labourers from surrounding countries like Botswana, Swaziland, Mozambique, and Zimbabwe and across Southern Africa (ibid).

However, foreigners could only stay in the country temporarily because they were required to go to their country of origin at least once a year and leave the country at the end of their contracts (Crush and McDonald, 2001). The policy was to discourage African migrants from migrating and staying in South Africa on a long-term basis; it prevented skilled migrants from having long-term employment. Thus, African migrants could not work permanently, reside in South Africa, or apply for permanent residence because the law did not allow them to (ibid). However, this was not the case with white skilled migrants. The policy under the apartheid and colonial regimes allowed white migrants to obtain citizenship while African migrants could only supply cheap labour. African migrants were victims of exploitation. Crush and McDonald, (2001) state that once migrants accept to offer cheap labour, they are exposed to discrimination, exploitation, and status making it difficult for them to have minimum work standards respected. Besides, freedom of movement was limited for them and they could only settle in certain designated areas, a clear demonstration of the principle of exclusion. This hampered the socio-economic integration of African migrants because they had very limited opportunities to interact and explore as they were always by themselves. This law was against article 13(1) of UDHR, which states that everyone should be free to move and settle within the border of any state without any restrictions (United Nations, 2003). Foreign nationals during the apartheid era lived in isolation and were treated as second-class humans. In 1950, The Population Registration Act was introduced to classify people into four racial groups (White, Black, Indian, and Coloured). People were to carry identification papers stating their race and place of birth, which they claimed was a strategy to identify illegal immigrants in the country (Anderson, 2006). This made people live as aliens.

The police played a significant role in promoting exclusion by maintaining racial borders and regulating the influx of migrants into urban areas. They ignored combating crimes and conducting criminal investigations among black South Africans and migrants in townships and only intervened when it had to do with the destruction of white properties (Hornberger, 2011). This type of discrimination was against Article 7 of the UDHR, which states that everyone is equal before the law and merits equal treatment and protection without any form of discrimination (United Nations, 2003). The restrictive nature of the policy excluded the black population, encouraging segregation and hindering social integration.

During this period, the minister in charge of immigration issues and the state had the sole responsibility to control and regulate migration under the apartheid regime for several years (Peberdy, 1997 cited in Siddique, 2004). Between 1960 and 1980, they encouraged the

migration of skilled and semi-skilled white migrants from Zambia, Kenya and Zimbabwe to SA and gave them citizenship just to increase the local white population that was threatened by the increasing black population (Southern Africa Multidisciplinary Advisory Team, 1998). The government's decision to receive white migrants from neighbouring countries into South Africa continues to show the racial nature of the immigration policy. Racial discrimination dominated South Africa's migration policy before and during the apartheid era (Crush and McDoald, 2001; Anderson, 2006). According to these authors, the apartheid government brought back racist immigration policies of earlier governments by encouraging the entry of skilled white Europeans and exploiting black low-skill workers through their temporary migration programs. The exclusion of African migrants from applying for certain employment opportunities - applying for permanent residence and citizenship - hindered integration in South Africa.

The policy also falls short of several international instruments that forbid all forms of discrimination against migrants such as the Charter of the United Nations, ICRMW, and the UN 1963 Convention of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. These international instruments condemn all laws of racial supremacy based on racial differences, calling on the protection, equal treatment, and respect of all human beings who are entitled to equal protection of laws against any discrimination and against any incitement of discrimination (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2015)

In terms of migrants, socio-economic standing the migration policy under the apartheid regime mainly supported the socio-economic integration of white migrants over black migrants. Through the opportunities presented to them in the form of documentation, employment opportunities, residency, and access to certain services. Restrictions placed on black migrants promoted exclusion and prevented them from fully integrating and making significant contributions to the development of society.

3.1.4. Post-1990 international migration policy

Towards the end of the apartheid era, some regulations were relaxed, however, there were still tendencies of racism and discrimination. In 1991, The Aliens Control Act was enacted merging all former legislations to form the 'two gates' approach to immigration regulation and control (Anderson, 2006). This Act aimed at signing bilateral labour treaties with neighbouring countries ignoring previous exemptions (ibid). Those who entered the country had the possibility of getting permanent residence at a later stage, whilst those who came under the

bilateral treaties could only remain as contract workers (Crush, 1997). Despite these adjustments, the Act was still labeled racist and discriminatory, consequently leading to the amendment of the Act in 1993. According to the 1993 amended Act, the employer could back up the employee. It was not an offense for an “illegal alien” if the employer “had operated in good faith and could not reasonably have been expected to suspect that person was an illegal alien” (Peberdy, 1997 cited in Siddique, 2004). This was an improvement from previous Acts. It gave employers an upper hand to stand up for their employees, however, discrimination and racism were still dominant which prevented migrants from fully integrating into the system.

After South Africa gained independence in 1994, the vision of the new democratic government was to reinstate and integrate South Africa into the SADC region, the African continent, and the rest of the world by eliminating racist, discriminatory, and exploitative laws that shaped the apartheid era (Siddique, 2004). During President Mandela's presidency, the ANC government amended the Aliens Control Amendment Act in 1995 in an attempt to remove some of the deliberate discriminatory provisions of the 1991 Act. This Act tightened controls on entry and increased penalties for those who infringed upon it (Aliens Control Amendment Act, 1995 No. 76). The new government realized that the 1991 Aliens Control Act and all its subsequent amendments were unfit to define SA's immigration policy. In February 2000, an immigration Bill was released endorsing a radical reform of immigration policy in SA and in 2002 a revised version was implemented (Siddique, 2004). By May 2002, the Act became illegal after the government acknowledged the discriminatory nature of the legislation and its incompetence in handling the economic, social, and political environment at that time. The new Bill created a body called the South African Immigration Service (SAIS), responsible for policy formation. The body had powers to administer immigration policy and enforce it (Siddique, 2004).

The main purpose of the immigration Bill was to address the disagreements and uncertainty identified in the immigration policy since 1994 (Buthelezi, 2000 cited in Siddique, 2004). In addition, the Bill established a set of objective criteria for determining visa eligibility and offered amnesty to some undocumented immigrants in the country. This reestablishment of undocumented immigrants in the society brought fear and insecurity to so many people living in SA almost leading to the emigration of a large number of professionals from the country in subsequent years (Buthelezi, 2000 cited in Siddique, 2004). Despite the Bill's intention to rectify and address some of the inconsistencies in the migration policy, some discriminatory practices of the Aliens Control Act were still obvious. However, the Act brought in the ideology of equity which was highly absent and tantamount to most of the international laws of migration instituting laws to support the integration of undocumented migrants in the country by

providing them with documentation.

In 2003, the total number of documented migrants increased by 60% from 1994 and African migrants increased from 25% to 50% over this period (Abel, 2017). This was due to the government's legislation of the immigration Act in 2002 to reduce the rate of unemployment among African migrants creating more opportunities for them. This was to make it easy for South African employers to access foreign skills since South Africa's legislation had previously disadvantaged foreigners, especially in the mining sector, with a drop in employment from 51% in 1997 to 38% (ibid). The initiative to create opportunities and provide documentation for undocumented migrants in host communities aligns with ICRMW laws to protect migrant workers whether in regular or irregular situations and set standards for the protection of their fundamental human rights (UNHCHR, 2005). This type of inclusion gives migrants a sense of belonging and supports their socio-economic integration. Migrants were free to apply for relevant documentation, which allowed them to access certain services and opportunities. Most of them got employment during that period; this was strategic for successful integration. However, according to reports from the Department of labour, many believed that the legislation only led to the employment of migrants in the informal, rather than the formal sectors (Abel, 2017). Successful integration of migrants into host communities has more advantages than disadvantages.

Regulations during this era were much better than previous legislations under the colonial and apartheid eras in terms of migrants' socio-economic integration. Laws during the post-colonial period were a bit favourable for black migrants than under previous regulations, as there were more openings for black foreigners to integrate. The 2002 immigration bill that reintegrated migrants instilled a sense of belonging in them.

3.2. South Africa's Constitution

The Constitution is a reference document that guides all policies in South Africa. The Green Paper, White Paper, Immigration and Refugees Acts, which my study focuses on, are answerable to the Constitution. South Africa's first democratic constitution instituted in 1996 guides laws and policies governing everyone living in South Africa.

Chapter 2 of South Africa's constitution includes everyone including migrants. It centres on respect for human dignity, equality, and freedom of all people living in the country. According to the Constitution, the state has the responsibility to respect, protect, promote, and fulfill the rights in the Bill of Rights (Constitutional Assembly, 1996). The Constitution prohibits the practice of all forms of unfair discrimination against all people living in the Republic either

directly or indirectly based on their race, gender, sex, sexual orientation, pregnancy, age, disability belief, religion, conscience, language, birth, and culture. According to Chapter 2(10) “everyone has the inherent dignity and rights to have their dignity respected and protected” (Constitutional Assembly, 1996 p.1247). Security and freedom of persons for Chapter 2 subsection 12(1) state that everyone has the right to freedom and security which includes; freedom from all forms of violence either public or private, freedom from torture, and protection from cruel and degrading punishment (Constitutional Assembly, 1996).

The constitution aligns with most international laws like the UNDHR, to which South Africa is a signatory. This law mandates the government to respect and protect the rights of all people within the country, treating them with dignity irrespective of where they come from (ibid). This includes everyone regardless of his or her status. According to the constitution, undocumented migrants amongst others are entitled to decent and fair treatment. The constitution in return requires everyone including foreign nationals to abide by the laws of the land (ibid). Its dedication to the protection of peoples’ rights is evident through the delegation of power to the South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC) to specifically protect and follow up on the observance of human rights in the country. SAHRC is out to serve everyone in South Africa; it has devoted a commissioner in the area of migration to attend specifically to foreign affairs (South Africa Human Rights Commission, n.d).

The all-inclusive nature of the constitution fosters the socio-economic integration of foreigners in SA but it is worrisome to know that some policies and regulations contradict the renderings of the constitution as will be seen later in the discourse. This is of huge concern because all policies and regulations are supposed to align with the constitution, which is the principal document that governs the affairs of all people in South Africa.

3.3. Green Paper (GP) on International Migration

The GP is a drafted document that comes before the White Paper. It contains an outline of the migration policy that leads to the construction of Acts and laws on international migration. In

general, it intends to manage international migration in line with the Nation Development Plan (NDP) of the country, guiding sovereignty, peace, and security as well as establish a legislative-driven approach on how to control and manage international migration (DHA, 2016). The first Green Paper document was published in 1997. Its vision was to establish an efficient system of migration in South Africa’s national interest as well as control unauthorized migration (DHA, 2016). In 2016, there was a second strategic attempt at refurbishing the 1997 migration

policy to undertake a new paradigm for migration, which brought about the 2016 Green Paper. The 2016 GP is different from the previous GP because it provides more precision in terms of the policy's vision and intent on managing migration across the continent specifically SADC cooperation and integration (Crush and Dodson, 2017).

To manage migration, the 2016 GP supports the need to develop common goals and objectives around the migration policy. The 2016 GP encouraged a more development-oriented migration policy that will strategically manage the contributions of migrants toward achieving national interests such as; inclusive economic growth, national-building, and social cohesion (DHA, 2016). This ties in with the Migration Policy Framework for Africa's (MPFA) proposal urging member states to implement policies and update policies that reflect and address the current migration issues which is a strategic way to attain development (AU, 2018). Targeting migration policies to create more opportunities for skilled migrants will facilitate integration and promote socio-economic development.

The 2016 Green Paper outlines key principles as a guide in framing a new policy.

- South Africa has the sole responsibility to manage international migration by its national interests
- Africa must be the focus of the international migration policy.
- The policy must add to nation-building and social cohesion.
- To achieve successful and secure migration, all countries have to work collectively (DHA, 2016).

The above guiding principles support AU's 2063 agenda of the Africa-centric vision by prioritizing the African agenda of promoting freedom of movement, capital, goods, and resources within the continent (Bernstein, Altbeker, and Johnston, 2016; AU, 2018). Countries like Madagascar, Rwanda, Mozambique, Seychelles, and Comoros are already offering visa-free access or visa-on-arrival to Africans from other African countries with additional benefits to investments, economic competitiveness, and tourism (African Development Bank Group, 2013). Their vision of instituting visa-free travel for African citizens upon arrival at ports of entry promotes economic integration and presents unique opportunities to increase the development benefits of migration (AU, 2018).

Moreover, the 2016 GP recognizing that South Africa is experiencing a shortage in skills, suggests that immigration can fill this gap and support South Africa to compete on the global

skills market. Although some engagements have increased skills development, the GP claims that this has not achieved the desired results due to incompetence at the administrative level and lack of flexibility. According to the GP what is missing is the institutional arrangement that ensures that labour market information is analyzed and used to make deliberate decisions to recruit and retain skilled migrants. To address this, the GP recommends that retaining of foreign students who have studied in South Africa will be a great strategy to increase skills and fill the gap in skills (DHA, 2016). The GP further proposes a point-based system - a system proposed in the 1997 GP but rejected by the Minister of Home Affairs - as a means of transparent recruitment of skilled migrants (Crush and Dodson, 2017). In addition, the GP suggests that the process for acquiring permanent residence should be faster for desirable migrants, which is another means of retaining skills (DHA, 2016). According to Crush and Dodson (2017), the acquisition of PR will be a major shift from the current policy that is absorbed with temporary migration.

Furthermore, the GP seeks to attract professionals and academics to the country even though very limited information is given to show precisely how this will be done. However, the government is set to grant special exceptions for foreign graduates who completed their studies from SA universities with degrees recognized on the critical skills list permits (Bernstein, et al., 2016). This is a strategy to help reduce brain drain by retaining skills within the region. Besides, the DHA proposes to provide long-term visas for professionals who always come to work in South Africa as a strategy for economic growth. They intend to achieve this by granting permanent residence and postgraduate visas to qualified students after graduating from SA universities (ibid). In as much as this is a great step, the authors note that it is important for the government to create a balance between the retention of foreign graduates and the increasing number of skilled South African graduates who are also struggling to enter the labour market (ibid). If not, this could lead to further tensions and perhaps fuel xenophobic attacks.

The GP's plan of promoting skill retention and reducing brain drain aligns with AU's 2063 agenda of eradicating poverty by investing in the skills and assets of people to close the skills gap in the continent. AU intends to achieve this by investing in quality education across the continent and creating greater links between industries and labour markets to improve skills profile, employment, and entrepreneurship (AU, 2018). This strategy of promoting skill retention will facilitate socio-economic integration between countries, as they will depend on each other for support to help them attain their unique developmental goals.

The point-based system discussed above which SA intends to adopt is similar to the Blue Card system initiated by the EU to attract foreign skilled labour. The Blue Card system made visa acquisition quick and easy for skilled migrants. This system allows sectors to dictate labour shortages based on labour demand to attract and retain skilled migrants rather than having a fixed government-defined list as the case with South Africa (Bernstein, Altbeker and Johnston, 2016). The authors proposed that changing the point-based system as stated in the GP to a more comprehensive approach where people would require certain skills and be assessed based on the significance of their work experience, previous positions, and language skills will make a difference. This would require cooperation between different departments; for instance, the Department of Labour (DOL) works in collaboration with the Department of Education (DOE) to improve teaching resources at the technical and vocational level. Besides, it will encourage skill development, and the active recruitment of skilled trainers with industrial experience and market SA as a desirable foreign direct investment destination in terms of human capital (Bernstein, et al., 2016). These suggestions align with the AU's 2063 program of investing in quality education across the continent to create greater links between industries and labour markets to improve skills profile, employment, and entrepreneurship (AU, 2018). This strategy allows the labour market to identify skills needed and give everyone a fair chance to display their skills and be selected based on qualification and not influenced by other individualistic factors. Hence, enabling us to attain the Africa-centric agenda as proposed by MPFA.

Despite these positive suggestions, some proposals in the 2016 GP relating to refugees and asylum seekers have been criticized. For instance, the 'risk-based' approach is to withdraw the rights to freedom of movement and rights to work for asylum seekers and refugees while their papers are processed. This is a strategy to make things difficult for refugees and asylum seekers whom they believe are taking advantage of the asylum system (DHA, 2016). According to the Green Paper, the increasing number of asylum applications is a call for concern. Besides, they argue that South Africa's inability to deal with the Zimbabwean crisis was the cause of asylum-seeking by economic migrants. The courts gave them amnesty and the right to work made things even worse, however, they claim that removing their rights to work and placing them in reception centres will discourage economic migrants from seeking asylum (DHA, 2016).

In my opinion, withdrawing refugees and asylum seekers' rights to work might pose several other problems among migrants considering the backlogs that the DHA is still dealing with in

processing documentation for asylum seekers and refugees. It is uncertain how long foreigners will stay in these centres before their documents are processed. This might take longer than expected. The consequence of this may be more damaging because living in isolation without interacting or having a means of survival might increase their frustrations, which could lead to mental frailty and increase social ills in society. Besides, Crush and Dodson (2017) argue that this will incur more expenses on the state as they will have to spend more money to cater to these migrants. With the country's current financial status, it is doubtful how this project is going to turn out. Prohibiting asylum seekers and refugees from working ignores evidence of positive economic contributions from refugees and asylum seekers to the economy (ibid).

Furthermore, Parshotam and Ncube, (2017) state that the 'risk-based' approach that South Africa seeks to adopt is similar to the EU's migration and refugee policies, which they consider a trajectory. This eliminates their rights to freedom of movement and employment in line with some international laws with more stringent control on migration and asylum seekers (ibid). Bernstein, et al., (2016) claim that the encampment policy that the GP proposes to protect vulnerable refugees/asylum and identify those who could present criminal threats to the country is in itself problematic. This approach will promote isolation and segregation, which will lead to concentrated disadvantage especially if people do not receive the necessary assistance.

Besides, the GP's intention to use humanitarian services and have several organizations stationed at the centres to provide the necessary services is contrary to the International Organization for Migration (IOM) and the UNHCR's obligations on the rights of migrants. These organizations have expressed concerns over their proposed encampment policy because it digresses from current international norms of supporting the integration of migrants into host communities (Bernstein, et al., (2016). In addition, there are concerns that the idea of profiling refugees before entering the country will only strengthen xenophobia sentiments and biases which the country is still trying to deal with. Parshotam and Ncube (2017) and Bernstein, et al., (2016) raised some concerns about the financial and technical resources to run the project, the sustainability of the cost of running these camps, the extent to which private sectors would get involved in providing services to the camps and if this would help the governments address the current backlogs in processing existing asylum-seeking requests. In addition, no detailed information is given on how these resources will be obtained (Bernstein, et al., 2016). These issues of great concern need further clarification.

Nevertheless, some very important suggestions were made in the 2016 GP which if considered will not only support the socio-economic integration of migrants but also the South African community. Managing the contributions of migrants, which was one of the objectives of the GP, creates an opening for positive competition between migrants and locals. This is essential for the continuity of growth and development. Therefore, creating more opportunities and platforms that allow migrants to participate and be involved in different spheres of society is essential for developing local skills. There is the assumption that most skilled foreigners are purpose-driven so they stand a better chance of influencing locals positively.

In addition to the GP's suggestion of instituting development-oriented policies, the policies must be inclusive to attain holistic socio-economic development. The advantages of integrating foreigners socially and economically outweigh the disadvantages. Consequently, many nations are now taking advantage of skilled migrants and instituting development-oriented policies because of their impact on economic growth.

3.4. White Paper on International Migration (WPIM)

The WPIM first introduced in 1999 presents a policy framework to guide a comprehensive review of South Africa's International Migration policy. (DHA, 2017). The WPIM emanates from the GP, which is later legislated as laws and regulations if ascertained by the parliament. The WPIM is then legislated through the Immigration Act, of 2002 (Act No.13 of 2002) which regulates international migration to SA, and partly through the Refugees Act, of 1998 (Act No. 130 of 1998) which governs the asylum regime' (DHA, 2017). My focus of discussion is the 2017 WPIM - the most recent WPIM which includes discussions around refugees and asylum seekers in the policy that was absent in the 1999 WPIM.

The 2017 WPIM outlined certain adjustments for the migration policy. Firstly, it looks at international migration holistically because of the interconnection between different groups of migrants. It claims that providing protection and the right to work is a right for all groups of migrants. This aligns with the universal human rights, stipulated in the UN 1951 Convention, and its protocol guaranteeing the rights of refugees to work in host countries (DHA, 2017). Human rights protection is something that has always been fundamental and highly emphasized both at the international and national level in most countries. In the 2013 Dialogue on International Migration and Development, most governments reiterated that all member states should include a human rights approach to their migration policies and be committed to protecting and promoting the human rights of all migrants regardless of their migration status

(United Nations, 2013). This inclusive measure eases the integration of migrants into host communities.

In addition, the 2017 WPIM aims to manage international migration, causing it to align with the country's national goals. According to the WPIM, there has not been any mapped-out consensus at the legislative and strategic levels on how to effectively manage migration for development in the policy. One of its goals is to ensure that the state and the society work together to manage international migration to achieve the development goals as stipulated in the National Development Plan (NDP). This is similar to one of the 2030 Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) calling on countries to address international migration by legislating planned and well-managed migration policies (IOM, 2018). According to the MPFA, managing migration means having relevant information and using it to monitor and evaluate migration strategies (African Union, 2018). Hence, MPFA encourages member states to carry out research to generate information on migration, identify challenges and opportunities, and devise appropriate responses and strategies to enable them to manage migration effectively (ibid).

Even though migration is happening all over the world, the trend and manner in which migration takes place is not the same for every country. Therefore, the general rules provided as a guide in controlling and managing migration might not work for every country because of their dynamics. Therefore, countries need to carry out individual research to study the migration patterns and identify the unique challenges and opportunities as suggested by the MPFA to enable them to come up with definite and context-specific strategies that will help in managing migration effectively.

The White Paper further elucidates that South Africa has not established effective strategies, policies, institutions, and capacity to attract, recruit, and retain foreign nationals with the necessary skills and resources to help attain its national goals (DHA, 2017). Hence, the WPIM suggests that South Africa should acknowledge the importance of international migration, which is vital in achieving national priorities such as economic development (DHA, 2017). Several other countries are taking advantage of this strategy and instituting policies to attract and retain foreign labour. Statistics from the international report on migration show that in 2019 globally, 81% of governments legislated policies to ease the recognition of foreign skills and qualifications obtained abroad, and 78% of governments reported to have instituted measures to promote fair and ethical recruitment of migrant workers (UNDESA, 2019).

To achieve all the above, the WPIM recommends strategic interventions for the improvement of the policy in the following areas; management of residency and naturalization, management of international migrants with skills and capital, management of international migration within the African context, and management of asylum seekers and refugees.

□ **Management of residency and naturalization:** This intervention aims at granting residency and citizenship status to migrants founded on strategic security considerations that align with the national priorities of the country (DHA, 2017). According to the WPIM, the conditions for granting residency and the linkage between residency and citizenship give the misconception that immigrants have constitutional rights to progress toward residency or citizenship. This creates opportunities for widespread abuse of the system and granting residence status to people that can put the nation at risk. Hence, the WPIM proposes that the two should be delinked and there will not be any more progression from residency to citizenship in law or practice. The WPIM recommended the introduction of a new system known as the points-based system to determine if an applicant will qualify for a short or long-term residence visa. According to this proposal, the number of years spent in the country will no longer qualify a person to apply for naturalization as previously. The White Paper calls for the replacement of the permanent residence permit (PRP) with a long-stay visa to deal with the misconceptions that immigrants have a constitutional right to apply for citizenship based on the number of years spent in South Africa.

Moreover, the White Paper suggests a new visa regime to control the entry of immigrants coming to stay temporarily in the country for a specific purpose. This new visa regime will take into consideration certain criteria before allowing immigrants to stay in the country for a longer period. Long-term residence visas/permits extended categories of migrants, like holders of relatives, business, critical skills visas, and students graduating in critical skills occupations. Moreover, refugees will now apply for a long-term residence visa only after ten continuous years of living in the country as a refugee. Before a refugee applies for a long-term visa, the refugee must apply to the Standing Committee for Refugee Affairs (SCRA) for certification before being given the status of a refugee. Hence, refugees and asylum seekers can only be granted citizenship if the migrant is considered exceptional after an executive decision of the Minister.

This is likely to be very difficult based on previous experiences. Some studies have shown the struggle asylum seekers and refugees face in getting residency after five years as stipulated in the Refugee Act (Amit and Kriger, 2014). Hence, the chances of getting a long-term visa for

this group of foreigners will be difficult. The projection of the documentation status of foreigners in SA is directly opposite to Article 34 of the 1951 Refugee Convention, asking all member states to go the extra mile to support the assimilation and naturalization of refugees (UNHCR, 2007). Contrarily, this intervention reduces the possibility of assimilating and naturalizing refugees. This new system stands a high chance of frustrating more migrants because its effectiveness is not guaranteed. Knowing that foreigners are already facing the challenge of documentation, this system will only help to further delay their integration because access to most opportunities and services are linked to certain statuses like; permanent residency, SA ID, and citizenship.

□ **Management of international migrants with skills and capital:** This policy intervention aims to encourage and increase South Africa's international competitiveness for critical skills and investment by attracting and retaining highly skilled migrants (DHA, 2017). Due to South Africa's incapacity to encourage and retain international skills and investment, the intervention aims at admitting visas to those with skills that are not attainable in South Africa's labor market. The White Paper claims that the policy is not linked to the skills development and priority of the country because the present permitting regime is not proactive and flexible enough to enable South Africa to compete with requisite skills and investment. Besides their inability to come up with a special regime for international students studying occupations that the economy needs, the White Paper acknowledges that from international experience the country gains value by recognizing and granting visas to migrants with high professional qualifications irrespective of the field (ibid).

This intervention aims to introduce an easy and liable immigration regime that will constantly contribute to the economic growth and development of the country. To achieve this, the country has to attract and retain international migrants with critical skills and capital to invest in the country. It advises that attracting migrants with skills, investments, and business interests should be linked to a point-based system, which sometimes combines a critical skills list or quotas to respond flexibly to the demand of other countries that will help facilitate the proactive recruitment and retention of migrants with skills and capital.

Moreover, the White Paper on migration supports the National Development Plan (NDP) proposal that all foreign graduates should receive a seven-year work permit, a good strategy for retaining post-graduate international students (DHA, 2017). According to the White Paper, many countries grant residence and permits to international students including South African students after graduating as a drive to motivate students to remain in the country after

graduating. Hence, the White Paper recommends the extension of residence visas to international students who meet the criteria after graduation (ibid). This is similar to the 'Blue Card' program initiated to attract skilled migrants into the European labour market (Bernstein et al., 2016). Many other countries are exploiting the option of retaining international students after graduation as well as skilled professionals (Geddie, 2015; Chiou, 2017; Riaño, Lombard, and Piguet, 2018). Some countries have legislated policies to promote the immigration of highly skilled migrants, and policies to facilitate the integration of migrants into host countries such as naturalization policies and the acceptance of dual citizenship (UNDESA, 2013).

This is a great strategy to address the skills shortage in South Africa. However, the above intervention primarily focuses on highly skilled foreigners, and not much is said about semi-skilled migrants who are also active contributors to the development of society. According to Mbiyozo (2018), South Africa's migration policies still prioritize restrictive measures that portray negative attitudes toward low-skilled African migrants and asylum seekers despite the lack of substantial evidence for their claims. For example, foreigners have come to steal their jobs and are a burden to national integrity, etc. However, there is practical evidence to show that some semi-skilled migrants have set up businesses in major areas in cities and townships that have played a significant role in providing affordable services to the public, yet most of them have challenges getting the right documentation to allow them to operate freely. Consequently, some of them operate illegally, others undocumented and some others see no possibility of having their businesses expand because of the limitations in the system. This would likely make things worse and further complicate the socio-economic integration of this group of foreigners.

According to The Centre for Development and Enterprise (CDE), one of the leading development agencies in SA providing advice on important issues and their relationship to economic growth, an open migration policy will best serve the country's national interest. Concerning skilled migrants, CDE has always voiced that SA should enact an open policy that welcomes anyone with business, professional, and technical skills. A migration policy that prioritizes the aggressive recruitment of skilled people is important for economic development. Skills here widely represent any person with a formal tertiary qualification from recognized institutions as well as people with entrepreneurial ability and significant technical expertise (Bernstein, 2011). These vital contributors to economic development - which is sometimes ignored in society - have prevented South Africa from exploring the potential of many.

□ **Management of international migration within the African context:** This policy intervention aims to facilitate cross-border movement for African citizens and provide a legal route for (SADC) economic migrants (DHA, 2017). According to the White Paper, South Africa's international migration policy does not adequately align with its African-centred foreign policy that desires to continue supporting regional and continental processes to respond to, solve crises, strengthen regional integration, significantly increase intra-African trade, and champion sustainable development and opportunities in Africa (ibid).

Moreover, the recent international migration policy is not effectively responding to continental developments about the freedom of movement of Africans in Africa. Another very important point noted was that the migration policy has not satisfactorily addressed migration flows mainly from her immediate and regional neighbours. This predominantly is about semi-skilled and unskilled economic migrants, who constantly face difficulties getting visas and permits (DHA, 2017). Hence, the WPIM specifically expresses the need for a clear policy vision that seeks to harness the strategic potential of migration, grounded on African realities. It concedes that no national economy can grow in isolation from its region so SA policies should focus on the Africa-centric agenda to promote freedom of movement.

Hence, the White Paper recommends the elimination of visa requirements for all African citizens in a secure manner. Although the free movement of people across national borders could be challenging, with risks and benefits, each country has to take responsibility to collaborate and deal with the challenges amicably. Because an estimated 75% of foreigners migrating to SA are from other African countries (Halstein, 2021) African nations need to consider working together and develop better policies and strategies to utilize their wealth of human capital.

□ **Management of asylum seekers and refugees:** These policy interventions are to support South Africa in providing refugee protection and basic services to asylum seekers and refugees humanely and securely (DHA, 2017). Seeing that asylum seekers and refugees generally face security risks, the White Paper proposes some policy interventions to address, protect, and provide their needs humanely and securely (ibid). In support of South Africa's 1996 constitution of upholding and protecting human rights and its international commitments to protect the rights of refugees and asylum seekers, the White Paper provides other ways to attain to this such as; protecting refugees and asylum seekers in a manner that is humane and safe. Moreover, the White Paper proposes that the government should continue with the current policy of non-encampment, which is a better way of integrating refugees into communities. In

addition, ensure that the relevant personnel are working to provide the necessary support for migrants. Furthermore, the White Paper supports the current principle of an inclusive approach that allows any foreigner to claim asylum based on the current Refugee Act.

The 1996 Refugee Act proposes the establishment of Asylum Seeker Processing Centres to help effectively provide security. These centres are to profile and accommodate asylum seekers during their status determination process to special services. The centres will work in collaboration with other stakeholders like the DHA, Refugee Appeal Board (RAB), SCRA, Department of Social Development (DSD), Department of Energy (DoE), Department of Health (DoH), and United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR).

In addition, the WPIM proposes that Asylum seekers' rights to work and study or do business be withdrawn except for exceptional cases where they (refugees and asylum seekers) can work while awaiting their status determination (DHA, 2017). In my opinion, although these centres intend to support the management and control of international migration in SA, preventing asylum seekers from working means the government has to cater to them, and this requires large sums of money. As earlier indicated under the GP, establishing and running these centres could be challenging bearing in mind that the government has other commitments that require huge financial support. Running and servicing these centres will further complicate life for asylum seekers.

□ **Management of the integration process for international migrants:** Through this policy intervention, the White Paper aims to establish a secured integration approach to support the integration of migrants into communities (DHA, 2017). This policy applies to foreign nationals that will stay in the country for longer periods such as those with permanent residence status, refugees and naturalized citizens. These groups of migrants who intend to settle in the country for an extended period, have to interact with the host community, financial institutions, and many other institutions. In this understanding, South Africa needs to design a policy to address the integration of foreigners, hence, it might be difficult to achieve. The lack of a common vision of the value of international migration could be the reason why there is no clear and coherent policy for integration. For this to be successful, South Africa needs to have an integration policy that focuses on migrants' integration. An integration policy will provide structures to ease the integration of migrants into the country's value system and population and promote social cohesion.

Even though the Department of Home Affairs (DHA) has made proposals for an integration policy as outlined in the Green and White Paper on International Migration, it does not reveal

a holistic approach to integration (Hamilton and Bax, 2018). This is because integration is not only about legal issues but also an economic, social, and cultural process. However, natives need to receive proper education about migrant settlement in their communities. Inspiring activities that promote and encourage problem-solving dialogues between natives and foreigners to address problems they face in their communities will strengthen their relationships (Hamilton and Bax, 2018). Ekanade and Molapo (2017) suggest that the DHA should develop policies that would enhance the goals of regional integration, especially when people are running away from human security threats in their home countries. This demonstrates the virtues of South Africa as a democratic state that can even extend humanitarian support to neighbouring countries.

Besides, instituting integration schemes to facilitate the integration of international migrants in any community creates a conducive environment for cooperation between foreigners and nationals. This is very important in any society because cooperation brings about the spirit of togetherness and gives people a sense of belonging, which ultimately is vital in attaining socio-economic development. It is therefore important to provide adequate information about the resettlement of migrants in host communities to create awareness and allow nationals to welcome foreign nationals into their communities. This will go a long way to prevent discrimination, and xenophobia and promote the Africa-centric vision. Lack of proper integration results in closed migrant communities, which contrary to the international best practice calls on governments to use an integrated approach and work together with departments and civil societies to manage the integration of foreigners (Hamilton and Bax, 2018).

3.5. IMMIGRATION ACT

The Immigration Act regulates the admission of foreigners to South Africa, their residence in and departure from SA. Its preamble is to establish a system that governs and regulates the admission of permits, security, and state control over immigration (DHA, 2014). The Act was first legislated in 1913 and it limited the free movement of Asians and restricted their entry into SA (Klaaren, 2018). During that time, the Act was biased based on gender, national origin, race, and class (Dodson and Crush, 2004). The differences between the whites and blacks were alarming (Klaaren, 2018). Consequently, the act was amended. The Immigration Act has been amended several times over the years - in 2002, 2004, 2007, 2011, and 2014 - to address different issues around immigration.

The Immigration Act only allows foreigners using certain permits to work in the Republic. These include; permanent residence holders, work permit holders, students and those on retired person permits who can only work a limited number of hours (DHA, 2018). Although immigrants and other groups of migrants qualify for the rights to work and several other rights as stipulated in South Africa's Constitution, Refugee Act, and Immigration Act, these rights are not fully enjoyed by migrants.

Under the 2002 Immigration Act, which was the first official immigration act after SA gained independence, things were a bit relaxed for foreigners. The 2002 Immigration Act saw immigration as a positive tool for socio-economic development and also a tool to address skills shortage (Dodson and Crush, 2004). It guaranteed the migration of skilled migrants, students, tourists, and other categories of permanent and temporary migrants. However, the legislation maintained the strong security and sovereignty-centered agenda of the Aliens Control Act influenced by themes like; security, border control, and the use of law enforcement to manage migration (Hiropoulos, 2017). This Act was used for at least fifteen years to control major changes in the flows and the redistribution of foreigners across the economy (OECD/ILO, 2018). Things became better for migrants than under previous Acts which were highly biased and excluded black migrants'. The introduction of the quota permit during this period promoted skills transfers and created opportunities for skilled migrants to easily get employed (ibid). This supported the integration of skilled migrants who were fortunate enough to secure jobs. They were able to convert their human capital into monetary value, which helped them to be financially viable to support themselves and their families. When societies are structured in a way that everyone including foreigners can access opportunities, value is added to society.

Although things were much better for foreigners under the 2002 Immigration Act, it still revealed much continuity with previous legislation (OCDE/ILO, 2018). The laws placed a limit on permanent high-skilled immigration and temporary lower-skilled migration mainly through corporate permits (ibid). There was still discrimination, non-white asylum seekers were treated like irregular migrants and deported. Besides, the lack of legal possibilities for low-skilled migrant workers to enter the labour market increased the number of irregular migrants (ibid).

By 2004, the 2002 Act was amended with stricter regulations. Lefko-Everett and Williams (2005) posit that the 2004 Immigration Act was very strict and withdrew the liberal rights of easily acquiring permits like under the 2002 Act. This prevented many foreign nationals from easily obtaining permits. In 2004, some amendments were made leading to the 2004 Immigration Act. This Act acknowledged the economic gap created under previous Acts and

made some amendments to promote foreign employment, encourage foreign investments, attract skilled or qualified persons, and increase tourism. However, the limitation of implementing the necessary mechanisms hindered its accomplishment (Lefko-Everett and Williams, 2005).

In 2017 this limitation of implementation was highlighted in the WPIM, emphasizing inconsistency in aligning SA's migration policy and practices within the framework of an Africa-centred foreign policy and implementation (DHA, 2017). Although the DHA has designed several policy proposals to address the realities of economic migration to South Africa from its surrounding countries, implementation has always been a barrier (Mbiyozo, 2018). The 2017 WPIM claims that instead of addressing serious administrative issues within the government, the current policy developments try to shift the blame to migrants (DHA, 2017). These actions oppose the AU's call on member states to institute development-oriented migration policies. The policy vision of the DHA to link migration to its African-centred agenda is still limited in the area of implementation. Restrictions in the Immigration Act have continued over the years with fewer and fewer people qualifying for permits.

However, the restrictions mentioned above continued in 2014. During the year, the immigration act was amended creating the critical skills visa and abolishing the quota visa that was used in the past. The reluctance of the Department of Labour to come up with the list and the Department of Trade and Industry's unwillingness to be part of the process, as well as the lack of commitment from the Department of Education resulted in the DHA designing the critical skills list single-handedly which resulted to a lot of complications (Bernstein, Altbeker and Johnston, 2016). The list is supposed to be updated every year to ensure that the list remains current but that did not happen. It was only updated after several years. This could be attributed to the heavy workload of DHA because only one party was involved. Bernstein et al. (2016) claim that the seeming lack of coordination among departments, along with the denial to take on responsibilities for issues by specific departments, could be attributed to interdepartmental politics. This creates a huge barrier to attaining desired results and consequently, has diverse effects on foreigners. It is not only vital but essential for relevant stakeholders to work together to enable successful implementation and attain desired goals.

During the 2016 AU Commission evaluation of the MPFA, member states were advised to involve all ministries and departments related to migration issues when developing and implementing policies on migration through national coordinating mechanisms on migration (AU, 2018). Besides, they were instructed to use migration governance to facilitate the

socioeconomic well-being of migrants and society as well as develop strategic migration policies to meet labour market opportunities, including permanent, temporary, and circular migration for different skill levels (ibid). Bringing relevant stakeholders on board will not only help to build a solid structure to coordinate and direct issues around migration but will provide the necessary support needed to carry out independent research to monitor and evaluate the effects of policies. This will help to build and set up a strong foundation for more inclusive policies rooted in promoting the socio-economic development of migrants.

Bernstein et al. (2016) criticized the government for its inability to differentiate between skills that are critical for economic growth and a much broader list of skills needed to harness socio-economic growth in the SA. Looking at the critical skills list and the gaps in the labour market, it is evident that certain measures were not taken into consideration. These authors claim that no pilot-case testing was done before implementing the critical skills visa rule as it failed to identify the required critical skills needed. These responsibilities were left in the hands of professionals, excluding other skill sets like technicians and teachers that are highly needed in the country (ibid). According to the authors, skills selection for the critical skills list is influenced by political factors making it difficult to address skills shortage in the country.

In response to the above concerns, in 2018 the cabinet made some changes to the visa and permit regime to make it easier for tourists, business people, and academia to come to South Africa. This was a strategy to attract and retain critically skilled labourers into the country to improve economic development and advance the country's new path of growth, employment, and transformation. This was in alignment with Home Affairs's vision to manage immigration in a way that will advance national development, and security and fulfil international obligations (DHA, 2017).

Many countries are shifting their migration policies to attract highly skilled migrants. Statistics from the 2019 report on international migration show that globally, many countries are adopting policies that attract highly skilled foreigners. 40% of governments with data have legislated policies to increase the immigration of highly skilled workers (UNDESA, 2019). Other statistics show that out of the 111 countries with available data, 68% reported having designed current migration policies to meet labour market needs. In addition, 77% of governments had their migration policies focus on promoting the inclusion and integration of foreign nationals (ibid). According to this report, suitable integration and inclusion policies per access to education, health care, language training and access to justice are crucial to achieving inclusion and sustainable economic growth and development (ibid). In the same vein, the AU

Migration Policy Framework encourages member states to provide comprehensive and integrated policy guides to promote migration and development. Arthur-Holmes and Busia (2022) point out that limiting opportunities for migrants will show directly on the economic growth of the country and hinder skill development.

Immigration lawyers in South Africa are concerned about the effects of the new regulations in immigration policy on prospective migrants and migrants already living in South Africa (Writer, 2018). According to the author, the DHA officials are known for their interpretations of immigration laws contrary to immigration renderings. The speculation is that due to the increasing and unlawful rejection of visa applications, they noted that these new regulations can to some degree be a barrier to foreign investments and skills flow into South Africa (Writer, 2018).

This claim stems from a series of reports that lawyers had received from stakeholders across immigration and businesses expressing serious concerns about the possible impact of the draft bill and critical skills list on the economy (Writer, 2018). They expressed their frustrations and explained how this has affected their efforts to form a multi-task team under the auspices of

Business Leadership in South Africa. In a report by Dan Brotman, one of the stakeholders who is part of uniting and motivating the immigration reform, mentioned that immigration has tremendously affected the GDP growth in other countries (ibid). He further stressed that in compiling the new critical skills list the business and industry were not involved, only the DHA, Department of Labour and Higher Education and Training (DHET) were involved. However, this contradicts information from DHA stating that there are ongoing discussions with other government departments, academics, businesses, and organized labour to give their input before publishing the reviewed list in 2019 (DHA, 2017). According to Dan Brontman, without input from the industry and business, the critical skill list cannot provide the skills needed by South Africa to grow its economy and compete globally.

Immigration lawyers have observed that the new critical skills list is shorter than previous lists and ignores many key skills for instance ‘corporate general manager’ (Writer, 2018). They observed that the corporate general manager is no longer on the list and there are no provisions made to replace it. This excludes high-level CEOs, business managers, and consultants from applying for scarce skills visas. The issue now is will foreign business investors and multinationals be able to sustain their local investments with the right level of staff. This will cause serious damage leading to the shutting down of many companies. More recently, the revised critical skill list that was released in 2021 has even fewer categories. Revising the

critical skills list was one of the mechanisms for economic reformation as SA intends to achieve higher growth rates and employment (Bernstein, 2021). Skilled migrants can contribute to growing the economy.

Restrictive regulations have forced some foreigners to get into corrupt practices to survive in the community. Securities reported in Alfaro-Velcamp, McLaughlin, Brogneri, Skade, and Shaw, (2017) study that about 85% of Home Affairs officials have encouraged this by engaging in corrupt practices with foreigners. Opportunities for safe mobility and residence are now sold as commodities in an illicit market (ibid) According to the author, some of these laws and regulations are conditioned to force foreigners to participate in the illicit market to purchase documents that will allow them to integrate in society since things are getting more difficult for them (ibid). The effects of these new regulations are diverse and affect different groups of foreigners in different ways.

3.5. THE REFUGEE ACT

Over the years, South Africa has collaborated with several organizations to support the integration of refugees and asylum seekers in SA. She became a signatory of the UN International Convention on the Status of Refugees and its additional protocols in 1993 (Crush Skinner and Stulgaitis, 2017). SA is part of the 1969 Organization of African Unity (OAU), the Union Organization Convention Governing Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa, and The African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights (Crush, et al., 2017). These organizations are to protect and promote the rights of refugees dealing with the unique problems faced by African Refugees (Nicholson and Kumin, 2017). After the 1994 democratic elections, South Africa built a reputation as a protective and progressive refugee-receiving country that conferred a variety of legal rights to documented foreigners (Amit and Kriger, 2014; Crush, et al., 2017). This open-door policy encouraged an influx of immigrants from many nations of the world especially from other African countries who suffered from war, famine, drought, and other forms of persecution in their home countries (Amit and Kruger, 2014). These foreigners came in their numbers because of the economic strength at the end of apartheid and the rise of restrictive policies in Europe and North America (Siddique, 2004) So, SA became the choice destination for most refugees and asylum seekers.

The first formal act for refugees was legislated in 1998 after SA became a signatory to several international legal instruments such as the 1951 Refugee Convention and the 1967 OAU protocol on migration. It was called the 1998 Refugee Act. This Act became very famous internationally because of its rights-based approach towards the protection of refugees and

asylum seekers in terms of accessing health services, education, and employment (Amit and Kriger, 2014; Crush, et al., 2017). The Act incorporated international refugee protections into domestic law and surpassed international standards (ibid).

Inspired by the constitution of SA, particularly Chapter 5, Section 27 of the 1988 Refugee Act offered temporal integration to refugees and asylum seekers to generously benefit from all related protections and rights granted to citizens as stated in Chapter 2 of SA's Constitution (Landau and Amit, 2014). These foreign nationals were entitled to identity documents as stated in section 30 of the Act and could easily access employment, study, move freely, access health, basic education from time to time, and some form of social protection. The Act allowed refugees who had stayed in the country for five years to apply for permanent residence and expected all refugees and asylum seekers to abide by the laws of South Africa (Crush, et al., 2017; Hiropoulos, 2017). In addition, the 1988 Refugee Act allowed urban settlement (self-settlement) and self-sufficiency for asylum seekers and refugees (Kavuro, 2015; Hiropoulos, 2017).

Crush, et al., (2017) note that these progressive policies are cost-effective and reduce the cost for both the government and UNHCR in providing material support for refugees and migrants. Regulations in the 1998 Refugee Act are harmonized with the 1951 UN Convention on Refugees and OAU Convention encouraging member states to receive refugees and provide protection for them. These legislations support the socio-economic integration of Refugees and Asylum seekers as foreigners could easily get documentation, employment, education health amongst others, which are essential services for the successful integration of foreigners in host societies. According to Ager and Strang's integration model, accomplishments in the above domains show progress toward integration and support achievement in other areas (Ager and Strang, 2004). Policies that support the integration of migrants are vital for human development.

By 1999, the number of refugees and asylum seekers increased, pushing the DHA to come up with some proposition to manage this influx. They suggested the construction of reception centres for those seeking asylum, intending that prospective refugees must stay in these centres until their applications are processed (Siddique, 2004). They also suggested that the right to work and study be withdrawn from refugees and asylum seekers. Subsequently, in 2000, the Act was amended withdrawing the rights to work, study, and self-employment. Asylum seekers were only allowed to work after the refugee status had been granted. However, some of them were allowed to work under special consideration after residing in the country for up

to six months (ibid).

This made things difficult for refugees and asylum seekers hence affecting their socio-economic integration. Kavuro (2015) makes it clear that preventing refugees and asylum seekers from employment opportunities was disadvantageous to South Africa because it prevented those with skills from contributing to the economy. Jacobsen refers to these skills as economic assets that South Africa could benefit from (ibid). 1998 brought with it liberal laws that changed the lives of many refugees and asylum seekers to some extent. For example, access to education, health, and the right to work through integration remains problematic to this day.

The removal of the rights to work and study and other privileges were highly criticized leading to an amendment of the act in 2008. After several deliberations, the right to work and study was reinstated (Kavuro, 2015). In the 2004 Watchenuka case cited in Kavuro (2015) stated that the Supreme Court of Appeal claimed that such general exclusion was unlawful and violated human dignity especially when employment is the only means of getting support and where education offers an opportunity for human fulfillment (ibid). At a critical period in one's life taking away these essentials from them affects their rights to dignity and can stimulate further problems, especially with the very limited support that refugees and asylum seekers receive from the government (ibid). Withdrawal of these rights was contrary to the country's Bill of Rights and other international instruments and protocols calling for the protection of human dignity save guarding the integration of all foreign nationals.

Although the rights to work and study were later restored supporting the integration of refugees and asylum seekers, other issues arose further complicating their socio-economic integration. The amendment of the Act in 2012 closing some Refugee Reception Centres (RRC) leaving only three centres, had different effects on this group of migrants. Firstly, this was problematic for new applicants who had to travel long distances to apply for and renew their permits (Reiss, 2016). Secondly, lack of documentation or a limited number of months affected the employability of some migrants (Anjofui, 2018). According to Crush, Skinner, and Stulgaitis, (2017), the administrative action decision to close the RRO without consulting with affected groups and stakeholders neglects the rights of the public. Long-distance traveling had serious implications for asylum seekers especially financially. Some of them lost their jobs and there was an increase in undocumented migrants in the country leading to several illegal practices.

The act was later amended in 2014, removing the clause that allowed refugees and asylum seekers to change from a refugee or asylum permit to any other permit (Kavuro, 2017). This made life more complicated for refugees and asylum seekers. Their status as refugees and asylum seekers exempted them from enjoying certain services, privileges, and opportunities. Although the laws do not directly influence some of these exemptions, they created an environment for other factors to influence negative attitudes and behaviours towards migrants.

For instance, although Article 17(1) of the Refugee Convention states that refugees should be included and not excluded from any labour market restrictions, refugees and asylum seekers have been exempted from some sectors in SA. Kasuvo (2015) depicts that employers and professional bodies extend restrictions to refugees and asylum seekers. Refugees and asylum seekers continue to experience discrimination from employers mainly because they are ignorant of the rights and privileges of migrants (ibid). Some employers claim they are afraid of criminal sanctions if they employ refugees and asylum seekers but these sanctions are applicable only if an employer employs an undocumented migrant. There is a misunderstanding in the application of the Immigration and the Refugee Act among employers. Some employers already have deep-rooted ideologies about employing refugees and asylum seekers that will take a long process to erase. This leads to the conclusion that legislating laws that limit integration into the labor market will only strengthen an already existing problem. Therefore, it is important to understand the challenges that these migrants face so that an appropriate policy framework is developed, especially one that empowers in terms of integration and participation in local affairs of the host community.

The rights and privileges that refugees and asylum seekers enjoyed in the past have continued to reduce over time due to the government's failure to effectively implement its migration policy in line with international legal instruments. This has been influenced by the claim that many economic migrants are taking advantage of the asylum system hence, the post-apartheid refugee rights-based legislation that was too generous is now limited with more restrictions and fewer rights (Crush, et al., 2017). So, in 2016 the Refugee Act was amended with major changes made in the 1998 Refugee Act. This action is similar to many other countries that have now enforced stricter policies for asylum seekers and refugees (Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, Loescher, Long, and Sigona, 2014). Restrictions are used as one of the ways to reduce the influx of migrants. Conversely, I believe there are better ways of doing this than instituting restrictive policies that infringe on the rights and well-being of migrants. In my opinion, instituting effective border control policies that prevent the entry of unwanted foreign nations is a better

solution for the increased influx of migrants than creating stricter laws that affect refugees and migrants already living in the country.

Countries like Uganda and Ethiopia still have open policies despite the changing migration trends. Despite the national challenges that Ethiopia was facing, the country still opened its doors to refugees and legislated an open-door policy to support their integration into Ethiopia. Similarly, Uganda enforced an open-door policy and offered land for refugees to cultivate on (Okello, 2014). This aligns with the CDE and MPFA vision of promoting the establishment of open-door policies. MPFA encourages member states to support the integration of migrants into host communities and ensure that they have the same access as citizens to health care, psychosocial support, social services, education, basic services, and housing (African Union, 2018).

In 2017, the Department of Home Affairs (DHA) revised the Immigration and Refugee Act again and implemented regulations and strategies to address obvious gaps identified in the legislation. They aimed to address the problems in the asylum management system by closing or allocating refugee reception centres and withholding the rights to work, study, and be self-employed as they did under the 2002 Act (Mbiyozo, 2018). Two years later the Refugee Act was amended implementing these suggestions (DHA, 2019). In 2019, the Act was amended. The 2019 Refugee Act is considered the most restrictive so far because of its strict regulations. The freedom to work and study in the republic is withdrawn for some groups of migrants and others who are eligible to work can only work in certain areas. Refugees and asylum seekers do not have the freedom to study and work wherever they choose to like before. The freedom to study any course and work anywhere has been withdrawn. They will only be allowed to study certain courses and work in designated places (DHA, 2019). These new restrictions infringe on the rights of refugees and asylum seekers, affect their integration and it is a deviation from international and constitutional standards for refugee protection to protect and treat them with dignity. This has drastically changed South Africa's international reputation from a protective and progressive refugee-receiving society to a regressive and closed society.

Even though the right to work is set in countries according to the country's discretion, it is important to be considerate in incorporating the rights to work for refugees and asylum seekers. The opportunity to earn a living is essential for an individual's existence and living a decent life (Kasovu, 2015). Work will help them to be productive and contribute to the country. This will also lift them out of poverty, improve their wellbeing, protect them against market-related shocks, and help to restore their dignity' (ibid)

Market-related shocks should be aligned with several international instruments and protocols of the UN since they primarily focus on promoting labour market integration with a premise of impacting on human and societal development. The UN first introduced the right to work in its 1945 Charter as a mechanism to promote the conditions for a dignified life, socio-economic progress, and development (Kavuro, 2015). This is further embedded in the UNDHR as a fundamental right that promotes high standards of living which is greatly encouraged to be practiced globally among nations and applicable to everyone (ibid). The freedom to work promotes integrity and self-fulfillment.

The 1951 Refugee Convention and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) further assert that people residing in any host country should be free to work with flexible working conditions (Kavuro, 2015; Odunayo, Asuelime and Okem, 2017). The rights to work according to the 1951 Refugee Convention does not only refer to the officially recognized refugees but also refugees and asylum seekers who are legally in a host country simply because of their physical presence, brief or temporary stay. Their mere presence in the country confers the right to work under the Refugee Act. Withdrawing the right to work can lead to frustration, despair, and hardship. Amit and Kriger (2014) claim that the DHA has employed several administrative procedures to make it extremely difficult for migrants to obtain documentation or acquire refugee status. They have done this by creating various barriers to prevent migrants from maintaining their status as asylum seekers and the key among these barriers is the difficulty in renewing expired permits (ibid).

Another issue of concern in the 2019 Refugee Act is the compulsory application at the border and reduction from fourteen to five days before sanctions (DHA, 2019). Potential asylum seekers and refugees are expected to apply for legal status within five days of arrival. A temporary permit is issued at the border and will then be allowed to stay in the country but the asylum applicant will get to the reception centre before applying for an asylum permit if the five days expire without fulfilling this requirement, the asylum seeker's application will be rejected or subject to imprisonment (ibid). This contradicts international and domestic laws that forbid punishing asylum seekers who enter a country through illegal means (Crush, et al., 2017). Besides, the regulation pays no attention to the 1951 UN Convention and the OAU Convention calls on member states to grant temporary residence to failed asylum seekers pending resettlement and not enforce repatriation or imprisonment as stated above. According to these Conventions, member states should receive refugees and secure the settlement of those who are unwilling to return to their country of origin (Abebe, 2017).

The regulations mentioned above exclude refugees and asylum seekers from integrating and fully engaging into the society is likely to create more problems not only for these foreigners but also for the South African society as a whole. South Africa has been accused of its xenophobic policies and practices which is a huge hindrance in achieving an African-centered migration (Mbiyozo, 2018). In response to the xenophobia and discrimination that characterize member states, MPFA calls on member states to enforce the principle of non-discrimination by combating racism and xenophobia; which are essential for a comprehensive national migration policy. This is because discrimination against migrants creates social tension in both origin and host countries, it hampers the successful integration of migrants into host communities and prevents the fulfillment of migrants' rights. (AU, 2018).

Odunayo et al., (2017) argue that the leadership of South Africa neglects the minority group of refugees and asylum seekers in her efforts to build a solid international reputation both economically and socially at the detriment of this minority group. The authors further argue that although SA has promised to comply with international and constitutional standards, SA's migration policy is far from meeting up with the UN Charter on other international instruments on Refugee and Asylum Seekers. Hence, there is so much to be done to meet up with international community standards (Odunayo, et al., 2017; Crush, et al. 2017). It is therefore vital for the DHA to work with all relevant stakeholders to fully participate from the formation to the implementation of the migration policy ensuring that the policy adheres to international standards.

Although the South Africa Refugee Act is supposed to adhere to international legal standards and ensure the safety and security of asylum seekers, South Africa's refugee system like many others in the world is plagued with certain problems that require responses from all relevant stakeholders to make things work (Odunayo, Asuelime and Okem, 2017).

Several empirical studies around policies on migration show that there are more disadvantages to restrictive migration policies than advantages. Studies conducted by Czaika and Hobolth (2016) show that restrictive migration policies have superficially prevented asylum seekers from accessing certain services and forced potential or rejected asylum seekers and immigrants to go into hiding and eventually end up as irregular migrants. Czaika and Hobolth's (2016) qualitative bilateral analysis of 29 European states on asylum and visa policies in the 2000s shows that a 10% increase in asylum rejections of asylum applications increased the number of irregular migrants by an average of 2%- 4%. Equally, a 10% increase in short-term visa rejections led to a 4-7% increase in irregular border entries implying that despite the strategy

to discourage migration, people are still migrating. They further identified the significant differences in the impact of restrictive asylum and visa policies on the number of apprehensions ‘at the border’ versus ‘on territory’. Evidence from their study shows that restrictive asylum and visa policies may not only reduce the number of asylum entry into the country but might push migrants to enter through irregular entry routes or get irregular residence status. This suggests that restrictive migration policies do not only hinder the integration of existing migrants but also pose more problems, for instance; promoting irregular migration. Although previous studies have supported the idea that governments can claim some ‘success’ in reducing the number of asylum claims by implementing restrictive asylum and visa policies and practices, this conclusion is problematic because part of these restrictions have increased irregular migration with migrants using irregular entry routes and residence status (ibid).

According to Castles (2004), migration policies might fail if they base their focus mainly on a short-term view of the migratory process. He further explains that other factors that characterized the experience of migration could lead to consequences that participants did not predict. The restrictive nature of the policy might expose foreigners to exploitative working conditions, discrimination, and xenophobic attacks from members of the host society.

Similarly, in an explanatory analytic study to explain the protectionist nature of South Africa’s migration agenda, Boynton (2015) expounds that the recent regulations and amendments in the migration policy have only demonstrated South Africa’s commitment to restrictions and nationalist migration agenda. This is because these laws are not in line with the new Constitution of South Africa’s desire to establish a liberal democracy. The author states that this policy has had negative effects on the country and the region, migration flows, xenophobia as well and the assaulting treatment of migrants and asylum seekers. Boynton (2015) and Sawa (2016) highlighted that these restrictive laws have led to continued human rights abuse, encouraging anti-immigrant sentiments across the country.

The implications of the policy cannot be overemphasized as it has led to the mistreatment and neglect of mostly refugees and asylum seekers, the unlawful detention and deportation of legal in-migrants, failure to address societal problems like xenophobia, the persistence of severe skills crisis and the absence of operational regional bodies to manage migration (Boynton, 2015). Additionally, these laws have contradicted South Africa’s attempts to establish a national identity based on human rights, pan-Africanism, democracy, and ubuntu. Boynton (2015), claims that the implementation of strict migration regulations favouring bilateral labour agreements and deporting thousands of SADC migrants contradicts and clashes with South

Africa's commitment to SADC's 2005 Protocol on the Facilitation of Movement of Persons and the AU's 2006 Common Position on Migration and Development. These protocols see migration as a tool for development, an opportunity for better regional cooperation, and a call for the protection of migrants' rights.

Sawa's (2016) desktop study examining the impact of the immigration policy on the socio-economic transformation in South Africa highlighted that the immigration policy has not been favourable to migrants especially migrants from other African countries. Even though they are highly educated, skilled, and entrepreneurial and have brought a lot of benefits to the country, they are highly restricted by some regulations in the migration policy (ibid). The author further states that South Africa's immigration crisis does not pose the kind of threat that it seems to create, instilling fear among South Africans and migrants which has generated negative consequences delaying the transformation process that SA is trying to build. Hence, the author suggests that rather than the government placing more efforts in trying to combat migrants, they could divert their resources to develop the productive capacity of the majority of unskilled South Africans to further enhance the socio-economic transformation of South African society (Sawa, 2016). It is no doubt that the government must prioritize the affairs of its citizens but the challenge of trying to strike a balance between the welfare of citizens and migrants has made it difficult to take advantage of the potential benefits of migration (ibid).

Although South Africa's migration policy is bound by international and regional laws, treaties and acts to support, manage, and protect migrants in South Africa, evidence from literature shows they are still far from applying the immigration and refugee acts to protect and support the integration of migrants in the country. Despite the numerous amendments made in these several acts, things have gone from bad to worse for most African nationals which is worrisome. These restrictions affect their integration with long-term negative effects not only on migrants but also on society. When people feel relegated, they become despondent. It is therefore vital for the government to re-evaluate and assess the effects of the migration policy to develop better ways of dealing with problems they believe foreigners pose toward South Africa's national sovereignty.

Policy implications

SA Government: Restrictions in the migration policy cut the very important role skilled migrants play in building economies which, many countries are today.

Restrictions in the migration policy lead to skill loss, emigration of skilled migrants to other countries, challenges to South Africa's development objectives, and slow productivity.

Migrants: Restrictions in the migration policy kill migrants' ambitions and lure many to become a nuisance to the community. Integrating skilled migrants will promote social and economic development.

Home country: Strict regulations will only reduce the chances of achieving the African-centric dream of building an African community where everyone enjoys the same rights and privileges.

Conclusions made in this chapter were based on desktop research methodology, which entails secondary data. The policy documents and international reports used were deduced from a large quantity of already collected information, covering a large scale of many detailed topics. The researcher did not see the need for primary data because of the availability of information from other researchers on the migration policy but in a different context. So, the researcher was able to use existing data for analysis and conclude this research objective.

In summary, this paper discussed different policy frameworks around the migration policy in South Africa measuring it to other international laws, conventions, protocols, and other related policies on migration. Discussions show that several attempts have been made over the years to make improvements on the migration policy yet the policy has been highly criticized for its restrictive nature. These restrictions have progressed over the years making things more complicated for foreigners. From the literature, South Africa's migration policy has a history of prejudice that has affected migrants' integration in several ways. Therefore, it is important to design policies that promote social and economic development for all who live in South Africa.

4. CHAPTER FOUR: EFFECTS OF XENOPHOBIA AND DOCUMENTATION ON FOREIGNERS INTEGRATION (OBJECTIVE 2)

The growing trends of international migration and integration have influenced a lot of research globally with many researchers focusing on a specific group of foreigners' integration in host societies. However, not many have looked at foreigners' integration holistically. Research on different groups of migrants is important because it provides a clear understanding of their differences and similarities to show how this affects integration in host societies. This chapter reviews empirical and theoretical literature on the socioeconomic effects of migrants' integration, mainly focusing on social cohesion, xenophobia, and documentation. Topics to be covered include; social cohesion, xenophobia, and documentation. The chapter concludes by discussing the qualitative approach to examine the effects of xenophobia and documentation on migrants' integration.

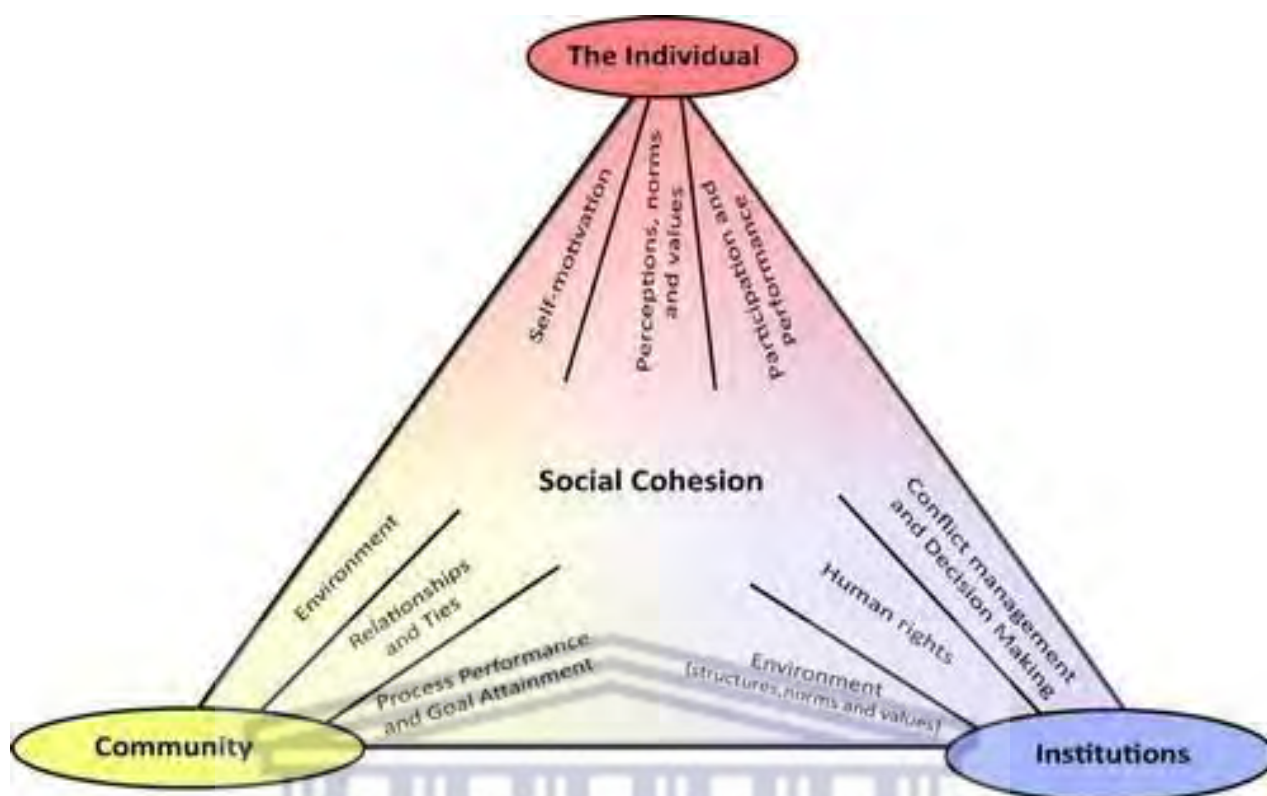
4.1. Theoretical literature

The globalization of international migration has produced immigrant diversity in countries and cities around the world. Hence, different strategies are required to facilitate integration, especially dealing with diversities among different groups of people in the host country. IOM (2020) highlighted that the common denominator between foreigners and the host population is the art of coping with diversity in building a stable and inclusive society. The researcher identifies social cohesion as a significant tool to facilitate the integration of foreigners into host societies.

4.1.1. Social Cohesion: (key to integration)

Social cohesion has gained popularity and has been defined differently by researchers. Standley (2003) defines social cohesion as the readiness of members of any society to work together to survive and prosper. This means every member should be willing to cooperate and allow others to equally realize their goals and share the fruits of their endeavors. According to Fonseca, Lukosch, and Brazier (2019), current definitions of social cohesion overlook the multiplicity of values and cultures found in societies, which is a very important aspect in defining the concept. This is because societies might be governed and shaped around elements that contribute and lead to prolonged conflicts (ibid). In their recent work on social cohesion, they explain that social cohesion can only occur if there is an intersection at the individual, community, and institutional levels (Fonseca, et al., 2019). The diagram below explains this concept.

Fig 3. A framework to characterize social cohesion



Source: Fonseca et al., (2019)

This framework shows the interconnection between individuals, communities, and institutions. According to the authors, an individual can have the drive to participate and perform in society but the formal structures of that society can be a hindrance hence, preventing social cohesion which affects integration. So, communities and institutions need to create an enabling environment with favourable climate, policies, values, and norms to provide an appropriate atmosphere for people to operate.

Social cohesion became very popular around the late 1980s when governments, international organizations, and many others were undergoing transitions. This was a strategy by some countries to deal with economic recession, changing migration patterns, and ethnic and cultural conflicts just to name but a few (Lefko-Everett, Burns, Nontshokweni and Njozela, 2018; Jenson, 2019). According to Standley (2003), social cohesion became very popular because of the role it played in social relationships, cultural development, individual well-being, and identity although greatly ignored in policies. Social cohesion plays a significant role in peacebuilding in post-conflict situations and has socio-economic effects (ibid). Jenson (2019), states that social cohesion has gained popularity for many centuries now because of the connection between social cohesion and wellbeing. Hence, the absence of it or threat to it creates anxiety in communities.

Many countries are nurturing a more cohesive society and fostering integration, which is now an important policy goal (Lefko-Everett, 2016; Burns, Hull, Lefko-Everett and Njozela, 2018). Canada first became interested in the concept of social cohesion in 1996 after the government realized the importance of researching to inform policy formation. To address this, various government departments were required to identify critical policy issues that would arise over the next ten decades and start exploring them. This strategy was to go beyond the traditional department limits and concerns to study issues critically and challenge existing policies (Stanley, 2003). Consequently, social cohesion was included in policies because they realized its contribution to social and economic development. Canada has learned how to be strong and dynamic despite its diversity. Their interest in diversity and inclusion is more than Canadians being nice and polite but is their commitment to making Canada a better and safer place for all (Jenson, 2019). Thus, cohesive societies create an inclusive environment for the benefit of all.

Social cohesion promotes integration with a view that cohesive societies work for the well-being of all its members, reduce disparities, and avoid marginalization (Lefko-Everett, 2016). Cohesive societies promote unity. Once there is unity in any society that society will achieve a lot. Ballard, Mkhize and Hamann (2019) identify three major ways in which societies can be integrated and transformed into cohesive societies, these include; building networks of relationships, trust, and identity between different groups, fighting discrimination, exclusion, excessive inequalities, and supporting upward and forward social mobility.

Highly cohesive societies accomplish better than non-cohesive societies in terms of economic productivity and growth, stable and participatory democracy, effective conflict management and resolution, inclusivity, and tolerance as well as quality of life (Lefko-Everett, 2016 and Jenson, 2019). Additionally, cohesive societies promote people's relationships, interaction, and stable democracy in society (Cuellar, 2009). Cohesive societies facilitate productivity, growth, inclusiveness, and acceptance of diversity and multiculturalism (Dhéret, 2015). These societies easily manage conflict and provide speedy solutions, especially with the crisis that has to do with intolerance, violence, and protests (Dhéret, 2015 Jenson, 2019). Reforming South Africa into a cohesive society can put an end to violence, conflicts, intolerance towards foreign nationals, and hostility in society. Literature has proven this to be a solution to a wide range of societal issues.

According to Novy, Andreas, Daniela Coimbra Swiatek, and Frank Moulaert (2012) social cohesion is an important human need because it holds the country together. Besides, it also improves conditions of resilience and peace coexistence between people from diverse cultures

(ibid). Similarly, reports from the World Bank and the OECD claim that social cohesion and inclusion are fundamental for development in any society (Jenson, 2019). Therefore, encouraging social cohesion in communities means creating societies where people can live together despite their differences.

Social cohesion and successful integration have been instrumental in building relationships between foreigners and host communities. This is further proven in the peaceful integration achieved between foreigners and host communities through the integration plan instituted in Africa to promote social cohesion (Oucho, and Williams, 2019). It promoted social and cultural relations between foreigners and the host communities, as well as created economic opportunities for migrants (ibid). Migrants had the opportunity to produce crops and trade in the local markets in Kenya. Besides, migrants became agents of economic diversity through their cross-border trade activities making significant contributions to regional economic development integration. This increased cross-border trade in West Africa, mainly between Nigeria with its high population (ibid). Social cohesion was also promoted at the international level to support integration. The international community, in its attempt to promote peaceful cohabitation between migrants and host communities, has developed several strategies to promote social cohesion between foreigners and host communities (Oucho, and Williams, 2019).

Conversely, Green and Janmaat (2011) argue that highly cohesive societies can be very exclusive, closing up to minority groups and foreigners. This brings about a contradiction between the national laws and the local norms and beliefs in the community. For instance, cohesion in a traditional society ties with beliefs around the seclusion of women in society, which is contrary to most international laws and policies. Few minorities under the new labour regulation used social cohesion in the UK as a strategy to settle their fears and distract citizens from material inequalities (Burns et al., 2018). I think the atmosphere a society creates will determine if the host population will embrace or disregard the people that live in it. Green and Janmaat's argument of highly cohesive societies being exclusive and closing up to minority groups is founded on their definition of social cohesion which is subjective to their interest in that particular society and not as the concept entails. If we go with the basic tenets of the concept, it does not give room for the exclusion of any. Cohesive societies will create bonds in societies that will be beneficial to society.

One way to encourage integration is to promote social and economic relations, especially in cases where migrants provide quality services in host communities. The relationship between

the European and Kenyan communities is a good example of cooperation that led to successful integration. Kenyans and European migrants had a great relationship. Kenyans copied European attires, which resulted in the creation of a big market for European goods in Kenya markets. Furthermore, this relationship led to the signing of several trade pacts between Kenya and several European countries, which expanded the market in Kenya creating many opportunities for small and medium-sized markets (Oucho, and Williams, 2019). This shows that there are several other benefits to integration than the perception that foreigners are intruding, cooperation in diversity yields more advantages than disadvantages.

Oucho, and Williams, (2019) recommend the sensitization of host communities as important to reduce negative perceptions and problems that may arise between these two groups. They suggest that sensitization through airing programs on radio; television, posters, newspapers, and any other means can help to pass the message through to community members. This will promote mutual understanding and cooperation. According to the authors, social cohesion and successful integration can be achieved through mutual agreement between migrants and host communities. Jenson (2019) stated that the community strengthening unit was very helpful in building relationships and strengthening trust between members of the community through different community activities.

4.1.2. Social cohesion in the South African context

Since the nature of a concept influences the way it is applied in different societies, it's important to understand the meaning of social cohesion in the South African context. There have also been several debates on the definition of social cohesion in SA. Burns et al., (2018) define social cohesion as the degree to which people cooperate within and across group boundaries in any society, without pressure or for selfish reasons. Similarly, the Department of Arts and Culture defines it as the degree of social integration and inclusion in communities and societies as a whole, and the level to which reciprocal solidarity is expressed between individuals and communities (Palmary, 2015). According to this definition, inequality, exclusion, disparities based on ethnicity, class, nationality and any other differences that stimulate division distrust and conflict should not influence the way people behave towards or treat each other in society. For any society to be cohesive, it requires the active participation and involvement of every member of the community working together to attain shared goals, designed and agreed upon to improve the living conditions of everyone (Ibid). A working definition of social cohesion will help determine how much social cohesion exists in South Africa today, and how it can be measured and tracked over time (Burns et al., 2018). These definitions are similar to other

definitions highlighting key principles of social cohesion such as the inclusion of everyone in society including foreign nationals.

In South Africa, social cohesion is closely associated with the concept of “Ubuntu” (Palmary, 2015; Burns, et al., 2018). “Ubuntu” is part of the African culture that welcomes much of African values and social thinking as an alternative to the integration policy adopted by other African countries (Buqa, 2015). It is an African concept characterized by generosity, hospitality, compassion, caring, and sharing. It believes that it is inappropriate to mistreat others based on race, culture, creed, gender, or status. “Ubuntu” requires respect for human dignity regardless of where they come from (Buqa, 2015). In South Africa, the use of the concept “ubuntu” means we are who we are because of others. It advocates for interdependence, respect, hospitality, and reciprocity. According to Ngcoya (2015), the only way to achieve true human potential is if people work together.

The concept “Ubuntu” is generally used to refer to integration; this could be the reason why South Africa does not have a specific policy to support the integration of foreigners, seeing that the society already has a system that welcomes people from different races, culture, creed, gender, and status. Since borders are open and there are no camps, they believe foreigners are already integrated but this is not the case as migrants living in South Africa still face several challenges in terms of integrating into South African society. This assumption of South Africa creating an environment for integration has posed more problems and uncertainties.

According to Hamilton and Bax (2018), one of the reasons why integration is a challenge among foreigners is because of the absence of a clear holistic policy for the integration of foreign nationals in South Africa. Inadequate preparation by receiving communities leads to resentment, discrimination, and attacks on foreigners. In Ekanade and Molapo’s (2017) study of Ethiopian migrants in Durban, findings show that foreigners, especially Zimbabweans were targeted, harassed, and discriminated against by nationals. Despite the DHA’s proposals for an integration policy as outlined in the Green and White Paper on International Migration, it does not reveal a holistic approach to integration (Hamilton and Bax, 2018). This is because integration is not only a legal issue but also an economic, social, and cultural process.

One reason given for the insufficient attention to immigration matters is that South Africa is a country with growing unemployment, continuous racial inequalities, violence, and mistrust among others (Burns, et al., 2018). This has made it very difficult for policymakers to formulate policies that can significantly improve integration and attain inclusive development (Palmary,

2015). Statistics show that from 2003 - 2013 less than a third of South Africans often and always communicated or socialized with someone from a different racial group. The trend of communication and socialization is interracial and there has been no improvement in recent years (David, Guilbert, Leibbrandt, Potgieter, and Hino, 2018). This is a clear indication that foreigners who are outside the clique might face greater challenges.

To deal with these challenges the government recently introduced within the national policy agenda to focus on measures to expand social cohesion. Social cohesion has become a popular topic in most development debates and features in government planning documents, academic panels, media debates, and parliamentary hearings (Struwig, Davids, Roberts, Sithole, Tilley, Weir-Smith, and Mokhele, 2012). This only became an important construct in the post-apartheid era and precisely around 2012 when the Department of Arts and Culture took up the responsibility to draft the social cohesion strategy (Palmary, 2015). Preceding the National Social Cohesion Summit that took place in Kliptown, Soweto in 2012, the department introduced a project on developing a National Strategy and Social Cohesion. This was the basis of discussion for the summit.

The department further developed a strategy to gather information from the wider population by conducting a nationwide campaign and holding community conversations and dialogues. Information obtained from these community conversations was included in the National Social Cohesion strategy (Lefko-Everett, et al., 2018). The Department of Arts and Culture now acknowledges social cohesion as a national priority in many policies and plans (Lefko-Everett, et al., 2018). Under the auspices of the Department of Art and Culture, several summits have been held and in 2012, the social cohesion strategy adopted was “social cohesion and nation-building” (Palmary, 2015). Social cohesion was also part of the President’s Twenty-Year Review and the 2030 National Development Plan. Besides, the Department of Planning, Monitoring, and Evaluation (DPME) in its Medium-Term Strategic Framework (2014-2019) included social cohesion and nation-building as one out of the eight priorities associated with the electoral mandate for this period (Lefko-Everett, et al., 2018).

South Africa ties social cohesion to its broader nation-building project that has been part of the major symbolic interventions of the post-apartheid government (Sayed, Badroodien, McDonald, Balie, De Kock, Garisch, Hanaya, Salmon, Sirkhotte-Kriel, Gaston, and Foulds, 2015). A lot of efforts have been made to promote social integration however, some South Africans use the concept negatively through their violent demonstrations in the name of

freedom, love, and protection for the nation. Violence against foreigners according to Palmary (2015) is an act of social cohesion with negative effects, something that is very common in South Africa.

Besides, some government departments have not been helping matters as officials boldly told migrants that they have very limited rights claiming that freedom is not for foreigners but limited only to South Africans (Palmary, 2015). Some institutions are at the forefront of promoting negative integration hence, creating an environment for the exclusion of foreigners. Although the government of South Africa has instituted several policies and legislations to promote social cohesion, foreigners are not their focus, it is mainly tied to national interest. This could be one of the reasons why foreigners still face diverse challenges when it comes to integration. Even though the definition of social cohesion claims inclusion for all, exclusion is the reality of some.

Besides, the general claim in the preamble of the constitution that South Africa is united in diversity and belongs to everyone who lives in, it does not specifically refer to citizens alone but refers to everyone living in the geographical space. Moreover, there is the allusion that social cohesion is only for citizens (Struwig, et al., 2012). This presents a misunderstanding of the word leading to propositions. It focuses on encouraging pride, love, and justice; this creates exclusion in the document ignoring others in society. Even though chapter nine of the constitution lays the foundations for an inclusive and just relationship between the citizens and the state at different levels of government', the document already creates the exclusion of non-citizens which helps to frame and influence citizen's negative attitudes towards foreigners (Lefko-Everett, et al., 2018). Besides, the social cohesion policy ignores foreigners building an environment for discrimination and exclusion. The result of this is evident through widespread resentment and xenophobia towards foreign nationals (Palmary, 2015).

Social cohesion is possible in an environment where there is unity in diversity, inclusiveness, access, and the spirit of community solidarity. These factors were key pillars in achieving social cohesion at the 2012 National Social Cohesion Summit (Lefko-Everett, et al., 2018). The former president Zuma acknowledged that these are building blocks of social cohesion (Struwig, et al., 2012). These are facts of the benefits of social cohesion in South Africa. The government has focused on building and putting in place measures to expand social cohesion but their focus is mainly on citizens.

Rugunanan (2017) states that understanding how temporary migrant communities experience a sense of belonging is one of the ways social cohesion can be developed. According to Potgieter (2018), society is not necessarily cohesive because everyone likes, trusts, and agrees with each other or a society that is free from tension and conflicts. Societies can still be cohesive with some degree of distrust, tensions, and conflicts. So, viewing social cohesion as a state in which conflicts and opposition are absent is unrealistic. Promoting social cohesion in communities with people with diverse cultures can to a greater extent deal with social tensions and conflicts at different levels. It is impossible to achieve integration without building a system that strongly promotes social cohesion.

4.1.3. Empirical literature on integration and social cohesion

Several empirical studies have been conducted on social cohesion and the integration of migrants in host communities. In a study by Valli, Peterman, and Hidrobo (2018), positive integration was evident among refugees through several activities and programs. Through an experimental evaluation of transfers using cash, food, and food vouchers targeted to Colombian refugees', results showed that these programs increased their relationships in hosting communities. The short-term programs offered helped the integration of Colombians into host communities through personal agency, attitudes, acceptance of diversity, confidence in institutions, and social participation. This increased the social relationship between Colombian refugees and the host communities.

Most countries use integration policies as a major tool to facilitate the integration of foreign nationals in building a strong relationship between migrants and host communities. Some governments collaborate with non-governmental organizations and business communities to set up programs and institutions to facilitate migrants' integration (Obeng, 2012; Magnúsdóttir and Calini, 2012; Takenoshita, 2015; Drbohlav and Valenta, 2014 and OECD/EU, 2018). In Obeng's (2012) qualitative study on the integration of migrants into the Finnish society, non-Government organizations played a significant role in the integration of refugees through activities to satisfy their aspirations. These activities were in line with the Finish integration policy and the constitution of the country to help refugees get adequate knowledge about employment opportunities, political orientation, and society.

Similarly, in Magnúsdóttir and Calini's (2012) study, NGOs were solely responsible for providing support to asylum seekers and refugees. Despite limited funding, NGOs managed to organize short-term programs for young Chechen asylum seekers/refugees in schools. Although their intention to design long-term programs was restrained by some structural factors

that limited them to only organize short-term programs, these NGOs were vital in supporting Chechen asylum seekers to successfully integrate into the Polish system. These organizations always come in to fill the gap in the educational sector due to a lack of resources and subsequently skilled operators. Their efforts to help children integrate into the Polish system have proven successful.

The Japanese government, like many other European countries like Denmark, France, and Sweden, are using integration programs to help integrate the massive rise of unemployment among migrants in Japanese society. Although the Japanese government had previously refused to support the integration of migrants into society, they later agreed to assist migrants by legislating integration-oriented policies that helped to improve the conditions of migrants in the labour market. Free language and vocational courses were provided for disadvantaged immigrants to gain easy access to integration measures (Takenoshita, 2015).

Despite the financial capacity, some nations have continued to support the integration of migrants even though the budget allocated for these programs continues to decline over the years. In Japan, the government 2009 and 2010 spent about 1 billion JPY on integration courses for Nikkeijin immigrants. In 2011, the budget was reduced by 20%, and in 2012 the budget was 40% lower however, the money in hand helped to integrate immigrants into Japanese society though some aspects of these integration courses have not been sufficient to provide social inclusion for immigrants (Takenoshita, 2015). Nevertheless, the government has been providing some support for migrants. This is similar to the Swedish government's "introduction plan" in which the Public Employment Services provide language training, employment preparation, and basic education to refugees in Sweden (Drbohlav and Valenta, 2014).

France uses the assimilation model to facilitate the integration of foreign nationals. According to Dubucs, Pfirsch, Recchi, and Schmoll (2017), the structural and socio-cultural integration of Italian Immigrants in France, and the French assimilation model played a significant role in facilitating the integration process of Italians into French society. Using the mixed methods approach, results show that the diversified nature of the labour market helped to accommodate a large number of Italian migrants in jobs that do not match their educational qualifications. Statistics show that 24% of master's and Ph.D. educated migrants worked in routine employment. Although some Italians come to Paris to look for better jobs, most of them come because of the lively and beautiful environment to gain better social recognition. However, despite the French assimilation model in facilitating the integration of Italian migrants, African migrants suffered from exclusion; they were ignored and relegated to the back sphere. Unlike

Italian migrants who were better integrated and free from the enclave living conditions. This is similar to other European countries (Drbohlav and Valenta, 2014) as well as South Africa (Crush and Peberdy, 2018).

Furthermore, in Almeida, Biello, Pedraza, Wintner, and Viruell-Fuentes (2016) study investigating the association between state-level anti-migration policies and perceived discrimination among Latinos in the United States (US) showed that about 70% of participants had experienced some form of discrimination. Higher levels of discrimination were associated with anti-migration policies. The association between anti-migration policies and discrimination differed by place of origin, slightly moderated by generational status. These anti-migration policies did not only affect foreigners but US-born Latinos creating a hostile social environment for them. The finding provides evidence that spreads beyond migrants and documentation status. This made them vulnerable, exposing them to discrimination and social exclusion (Almeida, et al., 2016). These anti-migration policies negatively affected the integration of migrants hence, defeating the purpose of policies to provide protection.

Andrew's (2015) study found that increased social cohesion could provide a favourable environment to encourage labour market participation among foreigners in host societies while negative social cohesion reduced the labour market participation of foreigners. Evidence from his quantitative study in England showed that perceptions of cohesion were negatively associated with labour migration. Although residents had negative perceptions of social cohesion towards labour migrants, areas with strong community capacity offered prospects of incorporating labour migrants into the community (Andrew, 2015). This supports the argument that positive perceptions of social cohesion are highly associated with greater community participation.

Government officials play a key role in promoting integration. A study conducted by Monson, Takabvirwa, Anderson, Ngwato, and Iriann (2012) to understand the root causes and activities used to promote social cohesion and reduce xenophobia among selected organizations showed that local leaders denied the exclusion of foreigners in their areas and public areas. This influenced the way citizens treated foreigners hence, promoting integration.

Similarly, the study by Bedford and Spoonley (2014) found that positive attitudes toward foreigners from host communities promoted integration among foreigners. Positive attitudes towards foreigners are principles of social cohesion that lead to positive integration. Citizens from Australia, Canada, and New Zealand had positive attitudes toward foreigners with more respondents desiring an increase in the level of migration. This was contrary to nationals from

European countries who had only a few people who wanted to see immigration increase. Most of them did not want migrants into their countries. Yet, immigrants in Australia, Canada, and New Zealand contributed to the economic development and nation-building of their host countries. Respondents in Switzerland were most likely to agree that immigration provided benefits, followed by respondents in Canada and New Zealand. The figures ranged from a height of 76% (in Switzerland) to a low of 33% (UK).

In South Africa, Schippers (2015) also found that attitudes affected the integration of foreigners. Using the World Value survey data to assess attitudes towards foreigners in South Africa between 1996 and 2013, reports show that South Africans have always been xenophobic towards foreigners; having high levels of distrust and social intolerance towards them. In another study by Lefko-Everett, et al., (2018) exploring South Africa's understanding of social cohesion, findings showed that there is a huge division among South Africans in terms of race, culture, and economic situations. This has led to a lack of interpersonal trust among them.

Research conducted by Roberts and Gordon (2016) showed that South Africa is a society with low levels of trust. Irrespective of South Africa's notion of "Ubuntu" and being referred to as a rainbow nation, statistics from the national and comprehensive data on social trust show that South Africa is a society regarded with low levels of trust. Misago (2016) also emphasized this in his study evaluating several anti-xenophobic programs by the government and civil society organizations. Results from the study show that they have been unsuccessful in their attempt to address xenophobia among foreigners in the country. Besides, Misago claims that the government's past and current responses to issues around xenophobia are based on wobbly assumptions and untested theories of change with their interventions mainly focusing on public attitudes. According to the author, there is no clear understanding of the factors influencing xenophobia.

In a similar study by Gordon and Maharaj (2015), the authors found that African societies have a very low level of trust. Investigating the effects of social trust, social bonds with neighbors, and a sense of community on attitudes toward foreigners, results reveal that social capital may be a more important predictor of attitudes than economic status. Social bonds between neighbours and a sense of community were found to be more salient determinants of prejudice than social trust. It is therefore important to invest in programs that promote social cohesion within communities in African societies. This is because social cohesion creates an avenue for growth and development for societies.

South Africans' distrust of foreigners has affected their beliefs regarding the rights of foreigners. A majority of them are not open to foreigners. Statistics from research done by Potgieter (2018) show that about 4 in 10 South Africans specified that they would prevent African migrants from accessing services. 41% would prevent African foreigners from getting employment, 42% would prevent foreigners from having access to government services, 42% would prevent them from operating businesses in their areas and 40% would prevent them from moving to their neighbourhood. Only 3 in 10 South Africans said otherwise, while about 3 in 10 South Africans stated being neutral.

Njozela, Shaw, and Burns (2017) reveal how social cohesion is higher among the educated than the uneducated. Using four waves of the NIDS data to measure a construct of social cohesion in South Africa, results show that there is a high level of correlation among people who are highly educated, employed, and have a high income. Furthermore, they assert that poverty, unemployment, severe protest, and perceptions of crime result in negative cohesion. Moreover, municipal policy and competence are closely associated with higher social cohesion. This suggests that favourable policies promote social cohesion. However, Njozela et al., (2017) propose that researchers should conduct further research on social cohesion, and economic and social development.

Several other studies show how social cohesion is measured. In research done by Lefko-Everett, et al., (2018) using four national data sets to construct a Social Cohesion Index among South Africans, five dimensions of social cohesion were used to measure social cohesion. These include; inclusion (mainly to participate in economic and social life, belonging (identity, shared norms and values, and feeling of acceptance and belonging in society) social relationships (social networks, trust, and the acceptance and value placed on diversity in society) participation (active involvement in political life, legitimacy (trust in institutions, and feeling of representation).

Struwig, et al., (2012) used Turok Kearns, Fitch, Flint, McKenzie, and Abbott's 2006 revised model to measure social cohesion. The authors used the model to investigate and present a measurement framework that will help researchers measure social cohesion in South Africa. The researcher focused on the economic and social domains of the model. For the economic domain; employment, education, and housing were used as indicators to measure social cohesion. Having employment, income, and education resulted in high levels of cohesion in this domain. Findings showed that high levels of economic indicators such as employment and income promoted social cohesion in society. Indicators under the social domain consist of

social networks, personal well-being, discrimination, racism, tolerance, and fear of crime. They used three variables to measure tolerance, which are; racial tolerance, tolerance towards same-sex relationships, and tolerance towards foreigners. Findings show that young people between the ages of 16 to 19 were more tolerant towards immigrants and gay people. They also gathered that social cohesion offers the basis for the growth and development of societies stating that social cohesion is essential in government policies.

Lefko-Everett, et al., (2018) study exploring social cohesion in South Africa shows that respondents said social cohesion can be increased in South Africa through political leadership, economic transformation, freedom of speech, sensitization, creation of job opportunities, training opportunities, and learning about other cultures through initiatives that bring them together like workshops where they can dialogue and develop shared ideas. Some of these indicators are similar to those emphasized in Ager and Strang's integration model. This study will use Ager and Strang's model of integration to assess foreigners integrated in South Africa.

Similarities

Most studies on social cohesion focus on the relationship between social cohesion and trust, and show how individuals and group identities influence relationships in societies (Gordon and Maharaj 2015; Demireva and McNeil, 2015; Roberts and Gordon, 2016; Lefko-Everett, Burns, Nontshokweni and Njozela, 2018; Mckenna, Lee, Markus, Hewstone and Reynolds, 2018). A majority of empirical literature done on this subject show that increased diversity reduces trust and partly explains the reason for differences in cohesion (Saggar, Somerville, Ford and Sobolewska, 2012), with a negative relationship between diversity and cohesion (Demireva and McNeil, 2015). Discrimination, racism, xenophobia, and perceptions are highlighted as some of the obstacles that affect social cohesion among migrants in host communities (Monson, Takabvirwa, Anderson, Ngwato and Iriann, 2012; Spoonley, 2014; Schippers, 2015; Njozela et al., 2017).

Moreover, many researchers argue that high levels of cohesion and social capital in a community increase the level of trust between individuals and the observation of common social norms within the community (Saggar, Somerville, Ford, and Sobolewska, 2012; Demireva and McNeil, 2016;). If a high level of social cohesion increases the level of observance of the social norm, then there is a relationship between trust and norms. This can also influence the observance of migration policies. According to McKenna et al., (2018) and Sturgis, Brunton-Smith, Kuha, and Jackson (2014), contact between people is an indicator of

social cohesion both directly and indirectly as it reduces perceived threats in host communities. Sturgis, Brunton-Smith, Kuha and Jackson (2014) emphasized that when there is interethnic contact, there are no direct negative effects between diversity and social cohesion. According to Sturgis, et al., (2014), in London, only diversity has a positive effect on social cohesion for young people but it is the reverse for older age groups where there is ethnic segregation.

Several researchers claim that the diversity that migrants bring to host communities can improve local demands for goods and services in host countries. They can also provide economic benefits like; higher levels of worker productivity and innovation (Oucho, and Williams, 2019; Novy, Andreas, Daniela CoimbraSwiatek, and Frank Moulaert 2012; Dhéret, 2015-; Lefko-Everett, 2016; Jenson, 2019). On the other hand, other studies show that these benefits can be hindered by political factors and anxieties from local communities about increased labour participation in the labour markets, discriminatory practices ethnicity, xenophobia, religion, language differences, etc. (Spoonley, 2014; Andrew, 2015; Potgieter, 2018).

Struwig et al., (2012) and Gordon and Maharaj (2015) highlighted the importance of social cohesion in policies, stating that governments should institute programs that promote social cohesion because of its importance to society. This is similar to the recent White Paper on international migration in South Africa which highlights that social cohesion should be promoted among foreign nations (DHA, 2017).

There is a bulk of literature on the measurement of social cohesion. Some primary indicators for measurement include; neighbourhood, social capital, safety, organizational involvement, social participation belonging, generalized trust, and social connectedness; identity, the feeling of involvement, volunteering, fear of crime, and personal wellbeing amongst others (Struwig, et al., 2012; Sturgis, Brunton-Smith, Kuha and Jackson, 2014; Demireva and McNeil, 2016; Njozela et al., 2017; McKenna, Lee, Klik, Markus, Hewstone and Reynolds, 2018).

Differences

Although social cohesion is a concept that has been used for many centuries, there has not been an agreed definition and measurement for the concept. However, many scholars have derived different definitions based on the context of their work (Palmary, 2015; Lefko-Everett, Burns, Nontshokweni, and Njozela, 2018; Jenson, 2019).

Although many nations are now focusing on social cohesion because of its relevance to economic and social development including migrants in their programs and policies, South

Africa links social cohesion to nation building focusing mainly on citizens. Evidence from existing literature suggests that foreigners are excluded from most policies, programs, and evidence-based research on social cohesion. This is not the case with countries like Canada, New Zealand, Australia, and Finland among others where programs and policies implemented are mainly to promote social cohesion and integration among foreigners.

Even though some studies show that NGOs and governments have been very instrumental in setting up mechanisms to encourage social cohesion among migrants in host countries Standley, 2003; Magnúsdóttir and Calini, 2012; Drbohlav and Valenta, 2014; Takenoshita, 2015; Dubucs et al, 2017, this has not been the case in every country. According to Davidson (2016) and Gal (2016), government officials have used xenophobia to intimidate foreign nationals. This is evident in Hungary Mexico and South Africa where xenophobia and exclusion are high (Palmary, 2015).

Salient point

Evidence from the literature shows that foreigners barely participate in the formation and implementation of the migration policy, which goes against the principle of integration. Foreigners still feel excluded, although on paper it seems like they are well integrated into the host society. Hence, the National Development Plan and the White Paper emphasize that South Africa should integrate skilled migrants who are capable of contributing to South Africa's goal of nation-building. Taking advantage of skilled migrants is key to achieving nation-building and transformation.

Gap

Studies conducted in South Africa that directly relate to the integration of foreigners are limited. Previous studies on social cohesion and integration mostly focused on South Africans not foreigners. This ties in with the theoretical literature stating that social cohesion in South Africa is mainly for citizens. The researcher intends to fill this gap in the literature by focusing this research on the effects of xenophobia and documentation on foreigners' integration. Inspired by evidence from existing literature this study will show how social cohesion supports the integration of foreign nationals in South Africa.

4.2. Understanding xenophobia

For integration to be successful in any society, cooperation between migrants and the host population is of utmost importance. Xenophobia is one of the major global problems affecting

the integration of migrants in host societies. Although the subject of xenophobia has been widely explored, researchers have not majored in the effects of xenophobia on migrants' integration. Xenophobia happens both in action and practice and violates the rights of individuals. It could be physical and psychological with migrants receiving public threats and violence that often results in a massive loss of lives and livelihood (Crush, Tawodzera, Chikanda, Ramachandran, and Tevera, 2017). Such attacks on immigrants' residences, churches, shops, and community centres are targets of increasing criminality and exploitation (Misago, Freemantle, and Landau 2015).

There are diverse reasons why nationals tend to be xenophobic. Some of these include; seeing foreigners as a threat to socio-economic space, foreigners accused of promoting crimes, insecurity, stealing of jobs, etc. Turkish population was xenophobic towards refugees because they saw them as a serious threat to employment rates, wage levels, and competition in the informal market (İçduygu, 2015). According to a poll in Turkey, 70% of the host population in South East Turkey believed that refugees are a security threat while more than three-fifth of overall Turkey's think that foreigners are responsible for the crime in their country. Besides, several authors claim that migrants are involved in crimes and corruption that are detrimental to public order and peace wherever they settle; which has led to several xenophobic attacks (İçduygu, 2015; Misago, Freemantle and Landau 2015).

In other instances, some authors argue that states and government officials perpetrate xenophobia. In Australia, politicians who are against multiculturalism promote policies that continue to reserve white Australians in power and place asylum seekers in detention (Davidson 2016). During the recent political campaigns in Hungary, migrants received threatening messages, which instilled so much fear and tension in them (Gall 2016). This victimized them and affected their level of integration. Furthermore, xenophobic statements and policies by former United States (US) President Donald Trump about Mexican and Muslim immigrants are described as racist (Okado - Gough, 2019). These controversial statements encouraged anti-immigrant attitudes and hate crimes stirring tension between citizens and foreigners. Hate crimes towards Muslims in the US existed before the September 9/11 event, affecting the assimilation of Muslims into American society (Gould and Klor, 2016). Overall, this evidence suggests that foreign integration in these nations was controlled.

Africa also has a history of xenophobia which can be traced far back as to the 1960s. Xenophobia in Africa is influenced by factors similar to factors in other parts of the world. Xenophobia in Nigeria, Ghana, Angola, Uganda, and South Africa is mainly aggravated by

economic reasons (Oni and Okunade, 2018). Citizens often see foreigners who have migrated for greener pastures and are ready to accept lower wages for their labour and services as a threat to their jobs (ibid). Their perception of migrants sparked tensions between natives and foreigners leading to occurrences of xenophobia with dreading consequences. In Cote d'Ivoire, Gabon and Equatorial Guinea, politics and economic fears are the major causes of xenophobia (ibid). Whereas in Tanzania, Burundi and Congo Brazzaville/Kinshasa: xenophobia is influenced by nationals' perception that foreigners are perpetrators of crime (Adeola, 2015).

In Kenya and Chad, the perception that foreigners are perpetrators of war and insecurity influenced xenophobia. Kenyans associate Somalis in Kenya with terrorism and other related offenses and allegations that strained the image of the Somali indigenes living in Kenya leading to several xenophobic attacks (Oucho and William, 2019). Besides, Somali refugees in Nairobi, Kenya continue experiencing xenophobic attacks from police officials aside from the host population (ibid). According to Misago, Freemantle and Landau (2015) occurrences of xenophobia have created an atmosphere for police and immigration officials to harass and assault migrants. This has resulted in the closing up of most communities to foreigners for fear of losing scarce and valuable resources such as land (Oucho and William, 2019). Hence, the penetration of migrants into such communities is restrained. This has a direct effect on the integration of those already living in such communities.

4.3. Effects of xenophobia on foreigners integration in host countries

Xenophobia has not only led to the loss of lives of many but has affected the integration of foreigners in host countries in diverse ways. This section explains how xenophobia has affected foreigners' integration. Hatred and opposition from German nationals after the refugee crisis instilled a lot of fear in Iranian refugees. They were distressed and traumatized. Daily activities like going to work, taking public transport, and shopping became areas of discomfort. Iranian refugees in Germany felt stigmatized, having feelings of perpetual foreignness resulting and living in isolation (Sadeghi, 2019). Similarly, Somali refugees in Kenya who were tagged with terror-related offenses and allegations tarnished the image of the entire Somali population living in Kenya. This affected the way they socialized in society. The psychological impact of these experiences damages and reduces their self-esteem (Oucho and Williams, 2019).

Besides, xenophobic attitudes towards foreigners influence their choice of residence. Rzepnikowska's (2019) work showed that fear of racism and xenophobia deprived Polish migrants of staying in neighborhoods mostly populated by white British. According to Dickey, Drinkwater and Shubin (2018) lack of engagement between migrants and locals in the host

community, which may be a consequence of migrant close networks, has a detrimental effect on integration. Jenson (1998) explains that when there is an increase in social isolation, non-involvement, and exclusion in society especially among minority groups, social cohesion is hindered.

Xenophobia is a major challenge at the regional and international level in Africa. Reports from the African Union show that member states are still committed to pushing for the global struggle against all forms of racism and discrimination, xenophobia, and related intolerance (Adeola, 2015). This commitment started in 2013 and continued in 2015 with a policy document created by the AU to foster the solemn declaration (ibid). Even though this declaration and policy document iterate the need for states to combat xenophobia by ensuring that Africa takes in global governance, the roles of relevant institutions within the African Union to foster this goal are absent. Without specification on how to achieve these objectives, assumptions are inevitable and can lead to further complications.

In the context of South Africa, the recurrence of xenophobia over the years has increased the popularity of the country. Several studies have proven that strong negative sentiments and hostility from the public and some government officials can be traced as far back as the '90s (Adjai, 2010; Misago, et al., 2015). According to Madue (2015), South Africa's foreign and migration policies have not been committed to addressing xenophobia as they should. South Africans like many other nationals from the rest of the world claim that foreigners are a threat to their safety and have come to steal their women and jobs (Shea 2008; Adjai, 2010). The fear of seeing foreigners as a threat by nationals obstructs foreign integration. Adjai (2010) contends that in reality migrants are not stealing their jobs but making positive contributions to the economy of South Africa. According to Crush and Peberdy (2018), the claim that foreigners are a threat to nationals' jobs and the economy are mere assumptions echoed in the rhetoric of the state and the media. The authors among several other researchers argue that most migrants have been involved in informal cross-border trades (Tawodzera, et al., 2015). Although many of these traders might have broken the law by not following the legal mechanisms for legitimate trading, to label them as criminals is an overstatement to use on an extremely industrious and productive group of small entrepreneurs like migrants (Crush, and Peberdy, 2018).

Even though there are instances of South Africans defending the rights of migrants, intolerance and hospitality there is strong evidence that South Africans are generally unfriendly towards foreigners (Shea, 2008; Adjai, 2010 and Misago, et al, 2015; Schippers, 2015; Chingwete, 2015). This is because migrants continue to experience xenophobia from their everyday

dealings on the streets, discrimination, and harassment by government and private officials. These attacks have claimed the lives of many people and destroyed property in many communities leading to mass displacement. In January 2015-January 2017 in the province of Gauteng, statistics show that almost 70 people died; more than 100 people were assaulted, close to 600 shops have been looted and more than 10,000 have been displaced due to xenophobic attacks (Hiropoulos, 2017). The recent xenophobic attack that occurred in 2019 brought discontentment among other African countries leading to violent attacks on businesses and properties (News24, 2019). The effects of xenophobic attacks have long-term consequences.

Government authorities have been part of these ill-treatments towards foreigners. According to some researchers, the treatment immigrants receive from some officials mainly from the Department of Home Affairs (DHA) and South African Police (SAPS) in exercising their authority has been xenophobic and led to the exclusion of migrants (Shea 2008; Adjai, 2010 and Ladau, Schippers, 2015). The police and the Department of Home Affairs have been accused of unfriendly attitudes towards black foreign nationals (Field, 2017). Gareth Newham, Head of the Crime and Justice program, stated that political leaders influence xenophobic attacks when they openly blame foreigners for increasing the crime rate in South Africa through prostitution, and human and drug trafficking (Fabricius, 2017).

These authorities that are supposed to execute the law and provide protection, sometimes bypass these laws making foreigners even more vulnerable, and exposing them to different forms of discrimination hence violating their fundamental human rights. Ruhs (2010) argues that the violation of human rights negatively affects human development hence migrants' rights should not be infringed through xenophobic attacks or any other forms of violence and discrimination. Xenophobia affects the integration of migrants making it difficult for them to fully participate in any society.

Public attitudes have become more hostile towards foreigners during periods of campaigns. During the recent presidential elections, migrants received anti-migrant messages from some groups of nationals threatening them to leave the country or they will have themselves to blame for whatever happens to them. This seems to be a strategy by politicians to win the hearts of citizens to the detriment of the lives of others. More, recently, similar threatening messages were flooding social media asking immigrants to leave the country. This led to the destruction of businesses and the killing of several individuals claiming that foreigners have come to steal their jobs and take opportunities from locals (News24, 2019).

In recent years, collective anti-immigrant violence has ruined relationships between South Africa and neighbouring countries, destroying the country's participation in regional integration projects (Gordon, 2022).

The world is observing how South Africa ridicules the excellent concept of "Ubuntu". The local government purposely provokes the occurrence of xenophobia by providing favourable political opportunity structures (Misago, 2019). This is encouraged through social and political controls in facilitating violence rather than preventing it, creating an environment for xenophobic attacks. The author noticed that in areas where xenophobic attacks were recurring, the local governments were not able to exercise their authority and rule of law in affected areas. In the most recent xenophobic attack that occurred in the nation, South African community leaders gave the president 24 hours to address their grievances about undocumented foreigners (News24, 2019). These periods of hostility create tension and cause foreigners to live in fear. Some officials have made efforts to calm the situation but to no avail.

The angry crowd shunned Prince Mangosuthu Buthelezi at a meeting with nationals when he was trying to address issues around xenophobia with the nationals (News24, 2019). Occurrences of xenophobia in South Africa have sparked tensions in other African countries with most of them reacting negatively. For instance, Zambia withdrew from a highly anticipated friendly match with Bafana Bafana, condemning the violence from different African countries. South African business operations in other parts of Africa were attacked as a way to avenge the happenings in SA (Gallan, 2019). If the issue of xenophobia is not properly tackled from all angles it can escalate to other complications.

According to Fourchard and Segatti (2015), xenophobia is closely linked to the reshaping of postcolonial citizenship and the unresolved issues about economic resource redistribution in South Africa rather than hatred for foreigners. Similarly, News24 (2019) points out that xenophobia results from a toxic mixture of ignorance, jealousy, and a deep economic crisis, which nationals wrongly attribute to the influx of foreigners who have become victims and wrongly blamed for promoting crime in the country. Fourchard and Segatti (2015) explain that state institutions have been very instrumental in these attacks either by ignoring discrimination or by institutionalizing it. Musuva (2015) expounds that the practice of state officials towards African migrants, also referred to as state exception, creates space for xenophobia to flourish. This confirms previous literature that links state officials giving poor treatment to migrants as a major cause for xenophobia. State officials' attitudes towards migrants continue to encourage xenophobic actions giving the impression that migrants are a threat in South Africa.

Even though South Africa's immigration policy promotes self-sufficiency and integration into society, the poor perception and treatment of migrants have encouraged social exclusion (Musuva, 2015). Based on evidence from the literature, the statement that migration policy promotes self-sufficiency and integration as suggested by Musuva is contrary to several other scholars showing that the policy has created an environment for xenophobia to flourish. Literature has shown that xenophobic sentiments towards migrants have influenced anti-migrant policies that override the country's need for skilled labor.

Although South Africans are perceived to be unwelcoming towards foreigners, some are welcoming to certain groups of foreigners. These include exceptionally skilled migrants and investors who can contribute to the development of their economy. This group of South Africans demands that the migration policy should be designed to be favourable toward foreigners that can contribute to society (Krönke, 2015 and Chingwete, 2016).

Nonetheless, foreigners continue to experience xenophobia in South Africa. Children, women, and predominantly men are victims of xenophobia (Davis, 2017). This has led to exclusion and segregation among foreign nationals living in South Africa. According to Hewitt, Masikane and Toendepi (2020), foreigners are now victims of the government's failure to address problems as many South Africans are still living in poverty. To deal with this insecurity some South Africans transfer their frustrations to foreigners.

In a bid to protect the image of the country and limit xenophobia, the government has instituted several laws and policies to combat xenophobia. The National Action Plan to Combat Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance (NAP) and the Department of Justice Bill (2016) were passed, making hate and discrimination a criminal offense (Hewitt, Masikane, and Toendepi, 2020).

The South African government has also legislated several laws to give effect to its constitutional goals of attaining human dignity, equality, and the advancement of human rights and freedoms. The Equality Act, No 4 of 2000 also referred to as The Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act (PEPUDA) forbids unfair discrimination by the government, private organizations, and individuals (Muchuri, 2016). It prohibits hate speech and harassment. Section 10 of the Act clearly states that no person may publish, propagate, advocate, or communicate words against a person with the clear intention of hurting, being harmful, or inciting harm on any person. To ensure the enforcement of this Act, the PEPUDA instituted the Equality Courts and Equality Review Committee with the directive of advising the Minister of Justice and Constitutional Development on the enforcement of PEPUDA and

other parts of the legislation that impact equality (Muchuri, 2016).

In addition, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in the Republic of South Africa (ROSA) took several initiatives to deal with the issue of xenophobia. Working in collaboration with different stakeholders, they introduced several programs in different communities across the nation to protect people from xenophobia. These programs were implemented either directly or in collaboration with NGOs across the country. UNHCR also used community radio stations to push the agenda of “Ubuntu Has No Borders” to sensitize the population, promote social cohesion, and build healthy relationships among refugees, asylum seekers, and nationals (Misago, Freemantle, and Landau, 2015). The South African government and some organisation have struggled to develop meaningful strategies to deal with anti-immigrant hostility (Gordon, 2022).

According to Hamilton and Bax (2018), the absence of a clear holistic policy for the integration of foreign nationals in South Africa has made things more challenging for foreigners. It is evident that South Africa urgently needs help, but they are not going about it the right way. The 2019 Market Report asserts that this issue can be addressed by organizing an open dialogue with constructive debates and discussions with the help and advice from other nations that have gone through a similar crisis. Summarily, xenophobia has influenced and shaped the way nationals and foreigners see, treat, respond, and deal with each other. This influences their relationships and integration in society. When integration is hampered in society, the consequences are not only limited to a certain group of individuals but the whole society.

4.4. Empirical literature on xenophobia

Xenophobia is a hot topic that has attracted a lot of research with researchers addressing it from different perspectives. Craig’s (2015) study on migration and integration across European Union (EU) member states, using the Migration Integration Policy Index data reveals that racism continues to be a key barrier to effective integration amongst migrants. Evidence from the study proves that despite the integration policy’s efforts to support the integration of foreigners into EU member states, the policy was not able to effectively handle the issue of racism, which was a major barrier to the integration of foreigners. The idea of racism is a social construct in host countries that has developed over time affecting the integration of foreigners. Several other authors Craig, (2015) Rajendran, Farquharson, and Hewege, (2017) have identified racism as a major barrier to the integration of foreigners. According to Craig, the best way to integrate migrants into host communities is to foster cooperation at the local, social, community, structural, political, and environmental levels (Craig, 2015).

Many authors have pointed out that socio-economically vulnerable populations are more likely to express negative attitudes towards foreigners (Davidov and Semyonov, 2017; Schippers, 2015; Kavuro, 2015; Hercowitz-Amir, Rajjman, and Davidov, 2017). This is common among those with lower education, low earnings, the unemployed, and those who consider the immigrant population to be very big. Similar statistics from the European Monitor report on European Public attitudes towards migrants and minorities show that 58% of the sample population from Western and Eastern Europe perceived migrants as a collective ethnic threat to them (Coenders, Lubbers, and Scheepers, 2005). Immigration was considered a more important problem than the economy.

Several researchers in Europe over the years claim that all social problems of the state, be it job loss or insecurity, increased competition or criminal activity, were directly linked to immigration (İçduygu, 2015; Adeola, 2015; Amit and Kriger, 2014). These researchers remarked that migration is a direct threat to the welfare and has increased criminal activities in host societies. This has forced most governments to legislate stricter immigration laws to deal with the issue of migration. France, Austria, Denmark, Hungary, Switzerland, and many other nations have discouraged immigration.

Moreover, Hercowitz-Amir, Rajjman, and Davidov's (2017) study on attitudes towards asylum seekers in Israel and Denmark revealed that both countries see asylum seekers as a threat and are unwilling to share their national benefits with them. According to the study, threat perceptions are stronger in Denmark than in Israel, this has led to exclusionary attitudes towards asylum seekers. Their negative attitude towards the non-Jewish population was because of Israelis' history and the ongoing Palestinian conflict, not necessarily, because they are their competitors in the labour market as is the case in several other countries. Besides, in Israel, asylum seekers have a history of exclusion from many social benefits and enjoy minimal rights when compared to most of the Jewish population or any other ethnic minority in Israel. On the contrary countries like Australia, Canada, and New Zealand have positive attitudes towards foreigners. The governments and nationals promote social cohesion and integration among foreigners. Bedford and Spoonley's (2014) study showed that citizens were happy with the presence of foreigners in their communities and many respondents desired an increase in the level of migration. Beauregard, Tremblay, Pomerleau, Simard, Bourgeois-Guérin, Lyke and Rousseau (2020) used community arts programs to nurture relationships between foreigners and nationals living in two socio-economically deprived neighborhoods in Montreal, Canada. This project brought together people of different ages and socio-cultural backgrounds to promote a sense of individual and collective pride, and of community belonging.

Interactions and building a collective voice were some of the strategies used to support integration to build strong bonds between members of the community. Likewise, in Hebbani et al., (2018) study of residential integration and social bridging among refugee settlers in Greater Brisbane (Australia), most participants reported having good or at least non-problematic relationships with their neighbours. People feel integrated and secure when they have good relationships with members of the communities where they live.

After analyzing the relationship between perceived intergroup threat across 27 European countries, Davidov and Semyonov (2017) found that when integration policies in a country were less restrictive in terms of labour market access, and political participation, economic threat in a country is lower. However, they found no association between the restrictive nature of a country's integration policies and the level of symbolic threat (Davidov and Semyonov, 2017).

In Steinhardt's (2018) qualitative study - which is close to the focus of my research - on the impact of xenophobic violence on the integration of immigrants in Germany, statistical results show that macro exposure to xenophobic violence hinders the integration of those who belong to the target group in many ways. Apart from direct effects like loss of lives, physical harm, and threatening victims, there are also indirect costs. These include reducing individual well-being, and reinforcing the desire to return to their home countries; this intention reduces their motivation to invest in host country-specific human capital. Besides, the study found that xenophobic violence reduces German language accumulation among those exposed to this kind of violence. This finding has important policy implications, therefore, Steinhardt highly recommends that social and political initiatives should be taken to prevent the rise of anti-immigrant violence.

In a study by Hemker and Rink (2017), foreigners faced discrimination from German welfare offices. Applicants with foreign names were the last to be attended or did not receive any responses from welfare offices. Similarly, in a study by Adman and Jansson (2017), individuals with Arabic-sounding names in Sweden received disadvantageous treatment from Swedish public officials. For instance, officials replied to their emails or messages with an informal tone while replied to emails with Swedish-sounding names with a friendlier and more welcoming tone.

Among several other studies related to the effects of xenophobia on foreigners which were piloted in South Africa, Schipper's (2015) finding is different from most of these studies that were conducted. Despite citizens' intolerance and lack of foreign nationals, the study shows that most South Africans are now developing positive attitudes towards migration. Some of

them are now rejecting the idea of prioritizing South Africans in the labour market. Although most of them agree that foreigners can come to South Africa upon meeting certain criteria. Embracing foreigners as part of the community influences positive integration.

Krönke's (2015) study on trends towards foreigners in South Africa is contrary to Schipper's study. Findings show that from 1997-2011 more than 1 out of 10 South Africans were willing to take action against any foreigner who tries to relocate to their neighbourhood or operate a business in their area. Although things have changed over time when disaggregating the data according to education and poverty levels, there is still resistance against foreigners. In 2008 and 2011, 1/3 of South Africans thought that the government was handling immigration-related issues very inappropriately. One out of five South Africans would like the government to deport all foreigners irrespective of their legal status because most of them do not trust foreign nationals and are not happy with their presence in the country. According to his findings, socio-economic factors such as levels of education and poverty are only weakly associated with most xenophobic attacks. South Africa's attitudes towards foreigners are to a lesser extent linked to geographical features such as province, urban and rural residence (Krönke, 2015).

Similarly, the 2015 Afrobarometer survey shows that South Africans have unwelcoming attitudes towards foreign nationals. Of the 33 African countries surveyed in 2014/2015, South Africa was top on the list when it comes to intolerance towards foreigners. 4 in 10 (42%) South Africans say that foreigners should leave South Africa because they have come to take their jobs and other benefits away from them. Close to 7 in 10 citizens (68%) say that the government is doing badly or very badly when it comes to managing migration issues as against 63% as of 2011. Besides, 3 in 10 (32%) South Africans would not like to have a foreigner as a neighbour (Chingwete, 2016). Most nationals said that the government had failed to address issues around managing migration. According to them, this reluctance by the government might be the reason behind the reappearance of xenophobic attacks in 2015, leading to worldwide condemnation and call for the South African government to address attacks against foreigners in the nation (Chingwete, 2016). In another study by Ekanade and Molapo (2017), Ethiopian migrants in Durban show that foreigners, especially Zimbabweans were targeted, harassed, and discriminated against by nationals.

Abel's (2017) study shows that racial discrimination is one of the main reasons behind foreigner's employability in SA. In his desktop research on labour market discrimination in South Africa, findings show that racial discrimination played an important role in South

Africa's history before and during the apartheid era (Abel, 2017). Foreigners continue to face discrimination in getting employment and entering the labour market. This experience has triggered most job seekers to search for jobs away from their suburbs because they realize that discrimination varies considerably by suburb. For instance, in the Northern Suburbs, Malawian profiles receive 19.3% fewer clicks than Zimbabweans. In areas like Somerset West, Zimbabweans get 9% fewer clicks as against only 2% of Malawians (Abel, 2017). The study found that those who stated their country of origin or the fact that there were foreigners in their application were dropped before the next level as opposed to citizens. This shows that foreigners' access to employment is not only limited to restrictions in the policy but also other factors like racial discrimination from employers.

According to the International Federation for Human Rights, the misinterpretation and misrepresentation of policies have affected the integration of migrants. The International Federation for Human Rights piloted a study in 2008 to examine undocumented and other vulnerable migrants in South Africa. Their findings show that despite the 2002 immigration and 1998 Refugees Act in line with the UN Convention on the call to protect the rights of all migrant workers and members of their families, migrants continue to face problems. Foreigners were still exposed to the violation of their rights and did not have adequate legal support and assistance to protect and defend them. For instance, asylum seekers and refugees continue to face problems because of the rigidity and lengthy nature of the asylum application process. Leaders and elders from various regions in the most recent xenophobic attack said unemployment and crime perpetrated by foreigners were their top grievances (news 24, 2019). Moreover, foreigners are at risk of being exploited by smugglers and fellow migrants who have experienced a lot of physical torture and suffering. Undocumented migrants are the most vulnerable since they live in permanent insecurity because of the regular police control and harassment; some ask for bribes or sexual favours and detain for longer periods than authorized by the law (Deacon, Olivier, and Beremauro, 2014). All these hinder the integration of foreign nationals into South Africa. The restrictive nature of the migration policy might be the reason why some migrants have become undocumented and are now exposed to several risks. In the course of the study, the researcher will investigate to know if the policy has made former documented migrants undocumented.

In Madue's (2015) study, South Africa's foreign and migration policies partially contribute to the stimulation of xenophobia toward foreign nationals. Even though, some community leaders sometimes use their frustrations from the members of their communities to launch attacks on

foreigners. This author argues that the slow pace that the Department of Home Affairs (DHA) uses to process the applications of asylum seekers and the porous surrounding borders, seems to be fuelling myths and misconceptions about foreign nationals. Evidence from this study shows how South Africa's foreign policy and migration policy partially contribute to stimulating xenophobic attacks. Apart from encouraging xenophobia, these policies have other effects on foreigners living in South Africa. Hence, this study will further contribute to the literature on the dynamics of foreign integration and the effects of xenophobia on foreigners integration in South Africa.

Similarities

Most researchers claim that xenophobia is a threat to citizens all around the world. Several authors think that migrants are a threat to the host population for several reasons ranging from employment, culture, security, etc., which is the main reason why they express negative attitudes towards foreigners (Coenders, Lubbers and Scheepers, 2005; Davido and Semyonov, 2017, Schippers, 2015; Kavuro, 2015; Hercowitz-Amir et al., 2017). According to İçduygu, (2015) Adeola, (2015) and Amit and Kriger, (2014), migration is a direct threat to the welfare of the host community and has increased criminal activities in host societies (Shea 2008; Adjai, 2010).

Policies, laws, and politicians have helped to promote xenophobia in host countries through hate speeches, anti-immigrant policies, public threats, and tensions. This has been reported in Hungary, Australia, South Africa, etc., (Crush, Tawodzera, Chikanda, Ramachandran and Tevera, 2017; Misago, Freemantle and Landau, 2015; Madue, 2015; Gall 2016; Davidson 2016). America and Australia supporting the banning of Muslim migrants from coming to their countries are similar to South Africa supporting the withdrawal of migrants from their communities (Markus, 2016 and Council on American-Islamic Relations, 2018). The attitudes and perceptions of nationals influence the extent to which migrants are integrated into host countries.

Differences

Many reports in South Africa show that high-profile officials propagate xenophobia at different levels fueling xenophobic attacks (Adjai, 2010; Schippers, 2015; Misago, 2016 and News24, 2019). This is contrary to countries like Canada and Switzerland where nationals are friendly and support the integration of foreigners (Bedford and Spoonley, 2014; Riaño, et al., 2018; Jenson, 2019).

Authors like Craig, 2015; Adeola, 2015; and Rajendran, Farquharson, and Hewege, 2017 argue

that racism towards foreigners is very common in the Western world which is a major barrier to the integration of foreign nationals in Europe whereas, in Africa xenophobia continuous to hinder the integration of migrants (Adeola, 2015; Hiropoulos, 2017; Oni and Okunade, 2018; News24, 2021).

Authors like Craig, 2015; Adeola, 2015; and Rajendran, Farquharson, and Hewege, 2017 argue that racism towards foreigners is very common in the western world which is a major barrier to the integration of foreign nationals in Europe whereas, in Africa xenophobia continuous to hinder the integration of migrants (Adeola, 2015; Hiropoulos, 2017; Oni and Okunade, 2018; News24, 2021).

Reports from Schippers' (2015) study differ from most studies about xenophobia in South Africa. The author states that South Africans have positive attitudes towards foreigners asserting that South Africans are welcoming to particular groups of foreigners that contribute or can contribute to the economic development of the country. This contradicts most studies depicting that South Africans dislike foreigners regardless of their contributions to society (Krönke, 2015 and Chingwete, 2016).

Salient point

Although xenophobia takes different forms, they all have one goal that is hatred for foreigners. A number of scholars both in and across the world have identified access to employability, crime, and threats as some of the influencers of xenophobic attacks. This does not only infringe on the rights and dignity of foreigners but affects their wellbeing and livelihood in host countries. Apart from its effects on foreigners, it goes a long way to affect the socio-economic development of societies due to the spill over effects. The damages caused by xenophobia produce negative social cohesion. Xenophobia is a serious issue that needs immediate interventions therefore, it is important for the government to give serious attention to this issue and find definite solutions.

Gaps

Most empirical literature on xenophobia have focused on the host population's attitudes, perceptions, causes of xenophobia and the experiences of xenophobia, defining the overall problem of xenophobia and offered possible solutions (Adjai, 2010; Schippers, 2015; Kavuro, 2015; Misago, et al, 2015; Schippers, 2015; Chingwete, 2015; Hercowitz-Amir et al., 2017). However, there is a need for further research to understand how xenophobia has affected foreigners' integration – this concept is underexplored. Examining the socio-economic effects

of xenophobia on migrants' integration will help to better understand the extent to which the recurrence of xenophobia affects migrants' livelihood and wellbeing. This will create more awareness; understand issues from the standpoint of victims to help make recommendations to address issues around xenophobia in SA.

4.5. Theoretical literature on documentation

Documentation is very important in the lives of foreigners in host countries. Most governments use documentation to regulate the lives and experiences of foreigners in destination countries with diverse socio-economic impacts. The increased flow of migration across the globe has increased the requirements needed for visa application, making it more complicated than before in some countries (Hölscher, 2012). The influx of Turks into Europe in search of jobs led to the institution of very restrictive visa requirements to discourage people from migrating to Turkey (Hölscher, 2012). Migrants in Turkey were required to submit an extensive set of documents as well as the payment of a comparably large amount of money for visa applications. This was of great concern leading to the publication of several articles about visa liberation (ibid). In 2015, the Turkish government included new laws to respond to the influx of refugees from Syria. This new administrative-legal document included a new Temporary Protection Regulation instituted to provide temporary protection status to refugees to prevent them from permanently settling in Turkey (İçduygu, 2015). However, the Turkish government continued to use every means they could to discourage migration. This was a strategy to discourage their stay in Turkey and prevent others from migrating to Turkey.

Similarly, in the Czech Republic despite the policy's intention to facilitate the integration of migrants into the job market, only a certain group of migrants could easily find employment. These restrictions prevented most of them from filing for permits. Only certain groups of migrants like those from the EU, European Economic Area (EEA), refugees, asylum seekers, permanent residence holders, family-reunification migrants from third-world countries, and other third-world country nationals benefited from the migration policy because they did not need work permits to work. Other migrants from third-world countries who were not permanent residence holders, refugees, or asylum seekers could not enjoy unemployment benefits (Benton, Sumption, Alsvik, Fratzke, Kuptsch, Papademetriou, 2014). This complicated process made things difficult for migrants from other third world countries to acquire work permits for employment (ibid). Consequently, many of them came up with different approaches to social and economic integration. Many of them filled in for trade licenses, which allowed them to be self-employed. A large proportion of the economically active population of the economy operated either as independent contractors or as sole practitioners, which has negatively

influenced the economic growth and development of the economy. This created a mismatch between supply and demand in the labour market limiting the Czech economy from fully capitalizing on the skilled population that will benefit the country in the future (Benton, et al., 2014).

Evidence from literature has shown that most governments are now using delays in releasing documentation to foreigners as a strategy to manage and control migration (Hölscher, 2012). Several other countries like Turkey, Hungary, and the Czech Republic amongst others have instituted restrictive visa requirements, additional clauses, and new laws just to discourage the settling of foreign nationals in their countries (Hölscher, 2012; Benton, et al., 2014; İçduygu, 2015).

On the contrary, countries like Canada, Australia, and some countries in Europe, have put in place strategies to facilitate the integration of foreigners making it easy to acquire the required documentation (Bauböck, Honohan, Huddleston, Hucheson, Shaw, and Vink, 2013; Sidney, 2014; Kaushik and Drolet, 2018). European member states are interested in encouraging full integration for immigrants who have stayed in Europe for long periods. Through their citizenship policy, they provide naturalization for migrants and their descendants to support their integration, secure residence for settled immigrants, help to represent them in politics, and encourage a sense of shared membership between nationals and foreigners (Bauböck, et al.). Likewise, the Canadian migration policy acknowledges migrants as a plus to the country hence; putting in place measures to facilitate the integration of skilled migrants (Sidney, 2014; Kaushik and Drolet, 2018). The Canadian government sees foreign nationals as an asset for the social and economic development of their country.

According to Dhupelia-Mesthrie, (2014) having proper documentation gives a sense of belonging and relief to foreigners. Foreigners have some emotional attachment to it and the absence of it brings great mental and emotional stress. The author depicts that, people get very excited and comforted when they obtain the required documentation that guarantees their stay in host countries. The Zimbabwean refugee documentation project was introduced in 2010 and the Asylum Seeker Act under the 1998 Refugee Act designed to assist foreigners was seriously abused. Officials at the local level decide who gets the documents and how long it takes before documents are issued. It is rather unfortunate because the practices and decisions of border officers and officials working in the refugee offices have increased the number of undocumented migrants (Dhupelia-Mesthrie, 2014). As for Klaaren and Ramji (2001), South Africa's migration policing policy still expresses similar characteristics to the apartheid era. They have not changed significantly since the end of apartheid. Some police officials use

eccentric tactics to demonstrate their disregard for foreigners by destroying their permits and making documented foreigners undocumented (ibid).

At the end of apartheid in SA, the number of temporary work, study, business, and tourist permits granted yearly increased consistently. The total number of temporary permits and visas rose from 3.0 million to 9.9 million between 1992 and 1999 (Landau and Sagatti, 2009). During that period, the number of permanent residence permits increased from 14,000 annually in 1990 to 4,000 at the end of the 1990s. The number then increased to 10,000 yearly as of the end of 2004 (ibid). Different groups of migrants including African migrants had permits and visas easily. So much effort was made to increase the number of exceptionally skilled migrants coming to South Africa through general work permits, intra-company transfer work permits, treaty permits, and corporate permits (Landau and Sagatti, 2009).

As years passed by, things began to change. The number of permits issued to immigrants drastically reduced and went far below the annual allocation of 18,000 permits issued, to 2,898. Despite the difficulty in accessing annual reports on the department's activities, Barker (2015) gives some statistics concerning scarce skills that seem to be the only regular public source of information. In 2011, only 1,020 exceptional skills permits and 1,876 work quota permits were approved by the Department of Home Affairs (ibid). According to the author, the department focuses on issuing permits to foreigners recruited by businesses and institutions. This, however, contradicts the hopes foreigners have in the Immigration Act concerning the recruitment of foreigners. The absence of proper documentation can lead to more disadvantages than advantages hence, frustrating the integration of migrants.

Moreover, the recent developments in the policy have made things very difficult for foreigners. Concerns about documented and undocumented migration in the state and civil society are the reasons for these changes in the migration policy. According to Crush, and Peberdy (2018) despite the aims and objectives of the Immigration Act, it has not been able to handle issues around hostilities in the environment that invade the lives of immigrants, especially immigrants from other African countries (Crush, and Peberdy, 2018). Evidence from the literature shows that the introduction of the new immigration Act is unlikely to make a significant difference to most potential migrants unless they are planning to work for a large corporation or institution.

Although there has been a decline in the number of permanent residence and work permits issued to migrants, there has been an increase in the number of European and North American migrants holding cameras and touring the sight of South Africa. Moreover, people from Asia and the Indian sub-continent are working and opening big businesses in South Africa. Perhaps

most visibly are Africans from the rest of the continent, working in corporate South Africa, running businesses, and selling on the streets. Less visible but increasingly in numbers, are new female migrants and other immigrants coming as independent immigrants and working under some of the most exploitative conditions (Crush and Peberdy, 2018). As agricultural labour has become increasingly feminist, many female immigrants offer cheap services in some of the most exploited areas of employment. Yet they are still working and migrating, coming to South Africa as independent entrepreneurs and skilled workers (Crush, and Peberdy, 2018). This suggests that there is a disparity in the issuing of documentation between European migrants and African migrants. Despite the contributions, African migrants make they seem neglected.

The situation is even worse for refugees and asylum seekers in South Africa. Recently, there have been some hitches with the asylum protection system. This is associated with issues around corruption and, a lack of resources to support departmental officials in dealing with the increasing numbers of asylum applications that have hindered them from doing their work. This has led to the rejection of several asylum applications with some refugee reception offices having up to 95 to 100% rate of asylum rejection (Hiropoulos, 2017). The DHA highlighted a shortage of skilled labour to carry out responsibilities in the department as one of the main reasons for their ineffectiveness in service delivery. Among the foreign population, there might be skilled migrants who can qualify for such positions yet such opportunities appear to be far from them.

During the United Nations Human Rights Committee (UNHRC) assessment of the DHA in 2016, several reasons were identified for the delays in the acquisition of refugee status. The closure of many urban refugee reception offices was first on the list. They also realized that measures taken to process applications were insufficient. During interviews with some members of the Committee, they found that some immigration officers refused to grant asylum seekers transit permits at the port of entry. This puts asylum seekers at risk, exposing them to immediate arrest or deportation. These hindrances have resulted in widespread corruption, and further vulnerability among migrants hence, rendering them undocumented (Hiropoulos, 2017).

In dealing with the increasing influx of migrants into the country especially through the asylum system, the DHA decided to introduce measures to control the system. In her attempt to set up measures to have many migrants documented, the process was slowed down by perceptions that most low-skilled migrants are not in the country legitimately, especially those entering the asylum system. Hence, the DHA has taken actions to limit documentation, employing different

administrative measures to make it extremely difficult for migrants to get documentation or acquire refugee status (Amit and Kriger, 2014). It is now very difficult to access documentation for the first time and maintain documented status, which has made previously documented migrants undocumented. According to Amit and Kriger (2014) amongst several other researchers, the DHA plans to make things difficult for low-skilled migrants because they believe that these groups of migrants are taking advantage of the asylum regime. This has generally affected a majority of genuine refugees and asylum seekers. Refugees and asylum seekers face many barriers because there is no appropriate mechanism to differentiate high from low-skilled migrants since they are all grouped in the same category hence, affecting integration.

The Zimbabwe Documentation Project (ZPD) that helped to assist undocumented Zimbabweans with legal status is now constrained by so many barriers. Likely, the DHA is not taking into consideration the issue of skill shortage that the country is experiencing. Putting in place these restrictive measures means the government has not realized the need for skilled labour as the DHA continues to limit the number of work permits issued to skilled migrants (Segatti, 2011 Amit and Kriger, 2014). Foreigners are being victimized and blamed for the socio-economic ills in society.

Even though asylum seekers and refugees can work, study, open bank accounts, and stay in communities free from threats of arrests or detention as stated in the 1998 Refugee Act, some of these rights have been withdrawn in the 2019 Act and others violated. Although stated in the laws, these rights are an illusion in practice. Banks, schools, health care providers, and other institutions often refuse to acknowledge the authenticity of the asylum and refugee permits leading to frustrations among foreigners. There are several instances where asylum seekers have gone to court due to the closure of bank accounts, or to preserve their access to having bank accounts as well as resolve issues related to employment and education (Amit and Kriger, 2014; Kavuro, 2015; Ambe, 2016; Anjofui, 2018). Moreover, some potential employers deliberately refuse to hire individuals with asylum permits because they are unacquainted with the law (Amit and Kriger, 2014; Kavuro, 2015).

The consequences of their actions have rendered foreigners unemployed although some of them have skills and potential that can contribute to the skill development of South Africa, the barrier of documentation has hindered them. Some banks do not find the asylum permits enough to maintain or have access to bank services hence, exposing them. Many have become targets of crime because some of them carry large amounts of money (Amit and Kriger, 2014; Ambe,

2016). Those who try to overcome the obstacles around obtaining documentation are sometimes unable to realize the documentation's full benefits because of the efforts of both the government and private sectors.

Many asylum seekers, including other groups of foreigners' face difficulty enrolling children in school because some principals have refused to recognize the validity of their permits. Besides, some asylum seekers and refugees also report being turned away from public clinics and hospitals for the same reason (Amit and Kriger, 2014; Ambe, 2016; Anjofui, 2018). Others are treated disrespectfully and insulted by health officials because they are not South Africans (News24, 2021). This has prevented foreigners from accessing certain services. According to the Global Compact for Migration which is the first-ever intergovernmental negotiated agreement on international migration, governments were advised to foster financial inclusion of migrants, ensure that all migrants have proof of legal identity and adequate documentation, and provide migrants with basic services (Ighobor, 2019). Hence, a call for a progressive policy in South Africa is necessary because it will condition service providers to support the integration of migrants. If policies are not targeted to address specific issues, some service providers take advantage of this and act the way they want because there is no effective system in place to follow up and penalize them hence, they do whatever they want.

The Forum of Immigration Practitioners of South Africa (FIPSA) has protested against South Africa's plan to tighten the immigration policy stating that this could be detrimental to the economy (Eyewitness News, 2019). They further specified that the recent happenings in the country discourage and kill the confidence of investors. According to FIPSA, migration is one thing that can stimulate the economy. Instead of trying to make things difficult for undocumented migrants to come into the country, they suggested that there should be a call for all foreigners without documentation to come forward and assist them without punishment. They also called on the South African government to relax its immigration laws so that people should not resort to criminal activities because they cannot find jobs (ibid).

These restrictions in the migration policy have forced many migrants to fall back into the informal sector. Tawodzera, et al., (2015) and Ambe (2016), state that a good number of them have set up businesses creating employment for themselves as well as for many South Africans.

4.5.1. Empirical literature on Documentation

The empirical literature on documentation and its effects on the integration of foreigners is limited, although documentation plays a significant role in the lives and experiences of migrants.

The Dutch government uses documentation as a primary mechanism to facilitate integration among immigrants. Highly skilled non-EU/EER (European Entrepreneurial Region) citizens were given permanent residence, especially foreign students who had graduated from Dutch universities or international top universities. (Rilla, Deschryvere, Oksanen Raunio and Van der Have, 2018). Young entrepreneurs were also granted residency. These immigrants are given one year of residency to search for work and young entrepreneurs to work on their new products. This has encouraged foreign nationals and greatly supported their integration. Similarly, Poland's Act on foreign nationals facilitated the employment of foreigners by reducing the cost of issuing work permits, and some changes were made in the requirements for granting individual permanent residence (Heffner and Solga, 2019). These nations are taking advantage of skilled migrants by facilitating the process of acquiring documentation for them to ease integration in host countries.

In a qualitative study by Ambe (2016) on the immigration and struggles of West Africans in Cape Town from 1994-2016, findings showed that obtaining documentation for foreigners in Cape Town was a huge problem. It was difficult for most asylum seekers to convert to refugee permits and those using other visas to obtain work and business visas due to stricter conditions. This brought a lot of frustration among foreigners making life more miserable for them. The study also found that the consequences of delays in processing permits at the Department of Home Affairs resulted in many migrants becoming illegal. Those who managed to acquire the right permits were still not able to get formal employment. This forced most of them to get involved in informal trading. Getting accommodation, bank accounts, and accessing certain municipal services such as; acquiring a traffic registration certificate or obtaining a driver's license was difficult. Consequently, exposing them to corruption and other unconventional means to obtain documentation.

Similarities

Several governments use documentation as a strategy to control migration. Countries like Turkey, the Czech Republic, and South Africa have implemented strict laws to discourage immigration (Hölscher, 2012; Benton, Sumption, Alsvik, Fratzke, Kuptsch, Papademetriou, 2014; Budlender, 2013; Amit and Kriger, 2014; Crush, and Peberdy, 2018; Hiropoulos, 2017).

Differences

Countries in the European Union, Canada, and Australia give citizenship to skilled migrants to facilitate integration (Bauböck, et al, 2013; Sidney, 2014; Kaushik and Drolet, 2018). However, South Africa increased the number of temporary work, study, business, and tourist permits granted yearly at one point (Landau and Sagatti, 2009). As time progressed, things changed with the number of permits drastically reducing making it difficult for migrants to secure proper documentation (Barker, 2015; Amit and Kriger, 2014; Crush, and Peberdy, 2018; Hiropoulos, 2017). Countries like Turkey, the Czech Republic, and South Africa are different from Canada with regulations that discourage migration.

Gap

The body of literature on documentation is very limited. Although several authors have written on documentation, there is still so much to explore in the area of documentation and its effects on migrant integration. Since documentation is essential in the lives of migrants and plays a key role in defining the extent to which migrants are integrated into host countries, it is important to conduct research in this area to understand how it affects and influences the lives of migrants. The only known research conducted in South Africa that focused on documentation was done in 2016. Results from this study cannot make generalizations about the effects of documentation on the integration of foreigners, as it was limited only to West African migrants with a sample of only nine participants. This is not an equal representation of African migrants. Therefore, it is necessary to conduct a study using a bigger sample, representing foreigners from all the five regions in Africa, to engage and make a clearer and precise generalization on the effects of documentation on the socio-economic integration of foreign nationals in South Africa.

4.6. Methodology

4.6.1. Research Design

Research design is a plan that displays the way research is conducted. Kumer (2005) and MacMillan and Schumacher (2001) describe research design as an action framework intended to guide the researcher in responding to the research questions and presenting the process and tools that would be used in data collection and analysis. It helps to test if a particular theory or model applies to phenomena in today's world (Baskarada, 2014).

The researcher used the case study design for this study. This is because of its relevance in scientific research and for the fact that it gives direction to the researcher for intensive investigation of a given unit for understanding a larger class of similar units (Babbie and

Mouton, 2001 and Baskarada, 2014). The researcher chose Cape Town as the case study for the study. I chose Cape Town because of its history of immigrant settlement, and the cosmopolitan nature of the city, which has attracted foreigners from other African countries (LefkoEverett, 2008). This makes Cape Town a favourable environment to research the effects of xenophobia and documentation on foreigners. The case study helped the researcher to narrow down and better understand the larger class of foreigners living in South Africa. This helped in making generalizations and conclusions about the conditions of foreigners in South Africa. Furthermore, this design creates an opportunity for the researcher to have a deeper understanding of the research problem that helps to facilitate the description of the research problem (Yin, 1984).

Furthermore, case studies help researchers address complex issues (Yin, 1984). Understanding the effects of xenophobia and documentation on foreigners is a complex issue. Studying such a complex issue requires an in-depth understanding of the concept, providing detailed descriptions of migrants' socioeconomic conditions, and providing contextual analysis of the subject matter.

This design allows the researcher to gain a complete picture of the effects of xenophobia and documentation on foreigners' integration.

4.7. Research methodology

Research methodology is a technique for collecting and analyzing data. For the second objective, which is the effects of documentation and xenophobia on migrants' integration in SA, a purely qualitative approach was used. This approach uses non-numerical tools such as interviews, focus groups, content analysis of visual and textual materials, etc., to collect data that seeks to understand social life through the study of a particular group of people (Chai, Gao, Chen, Duangthip, D., Lo, and Chu, 2021). Within social sciences, qualitative research primarily focuses on the micro-level of social interaction that constitutes everyday life to explain the meaning that informs actions (ibid). It is the most appropriate to apply when it comes to understanding people's perceptions and behaviours (Hammarberg, Kirkman, and de Lacey, 2016). Hence, the qualitative method was fit to expound on the effects of xenophobia and documentation on foreigners in South Africa.

4.7.1. Sampling type and population size

Since it is not usually possible to study the whole population during research, it is important to choose a sample that represents the population under study. According to Hussay and Hussay (1997) identifying the population is the most critical stage in research. Babbie and Mouton (2001) define sampling as using a subset or sample of the population to equally represent the total population where the elements were selected. There are two types of sampling methods in research, the probability and non-probability sampling method. The probability sample is used when all members of the population are similar in all aspects for instance, where they share the same demographic characteristics, attitudes, and behaviour. Non-probability method, on the other hand, is used when the researcher finds it difficult to identify the kinds of probability samples used in a large-scale survey (Babbie and Mouton, 2001).

The researcher used a combination of snowball and purposive sampling to choose the study population, which are both non-probability sampling methods. Purposive sampling was used as an entry point to select the sample of migrants in line with the objective of the research. Purposive sampling allows the researcher to pick individuals who have an understanding of the research problem and an overview of the phenomenon under study (Creswell, 2013). To follow up, the sample was stretched to referral using snowballing to reach more participants for the interviews and FGDs. The researcher selected participants from various institutions such as universities and NGOs. Other participants were later chosen from neighbouring communities, marketplaces, workplaces, and residences. Selection was based on availability and the researcher's judgement making sure that participants had some understanding of the subject matter and could express themselves.

The snowball sampling, also known as a referral sampling technique, allowed participants who had been previously contacted to use their social networks to refer the researcher to other people who could participate and contribute to the study. According to Neuman (2006, p. 44), "It begins with one or a few people or cases and spreads out based on links to the initial cases." The purposive sample was further used to complement the snowball sampling and makeup in situations where samples may not be an appropriate representation of the relevant population either because they may be friends or acquaintances of similar backgrounds (Sharma, 2017). The researcher combined both techniques to address this weakness. Besides, the researcher made efforts to make sure that the sample varied in terms of gender, age, nationality, and legal status. Scholars like Babbie and Mouton (2001), and Henning, Van Rensburg, and Smith (2007) support this view by stating that a combination of both purposive and snowball sampling

will help you identify those relevant for the study. It will increase the subject's variability hence, minimizing the difficulty of finding a representative sample. In addition, to increase reliability and avoid the risk of not having similar people from the same background or with similar experiences, the researcher limited the number of referrals for respondents.

Taking into consideration all the sampling factors mentioned above, African migrants from different countries living in Cape Town were carefully chosen to participate in the study. The categories include asylum seekers, refugees, and migrants with permanent residence, work permits, and other related permits. Some others with previously related permits that had not been renewed for one reason or the other were also part of the study population. One common characteristic of the different groups is that they were skilled and came from Africa.

Different groups of migrants were equally represented; 31 people were selected from all the main five regions in Africa, and different locations in Cape Town (Bellville, Parrow, Goodwood, Kraaifontein, Belhar, and around the City Centre). Participants were selected using the non-probability technique to participate in the semi-structured one-on-one interview and focus group discussions. This was done to expand the horizon of the research, creating an opportunity to get different opinions from different migrants. Both tools helped the researcher bring rich data to support arguments. 15 people from different professional backgrounds participated in the one - on - one interview and 16 others participated in the FGDs. 8 people participated in the focus group made up of refugees and asylum seekers and 8 in the other group composed of migrants with permanent residence permits, scarce skills permits, and work permits. This was done to understand the perspectives of different groups of migrants. Participants were made up of men and women and their ages ranged from 20 to 60 plus. The rationale for choosing this type of sampling is that it was convenient and it allowed the researcher to identify participants. Besides, it was less costly and above all very appropriate for the study.

4.7.2. Data collection techniques

Data collection techniques are instruments used in collecting information. Kumar (2005) classifies them under primary and secondary data. The researcher gathered primary data from research participants for almost years (from June 2019 – April 2021). Secondary data came from already existing literature, articles, books, newspapers, magazines, and policy documents among others. Secondary data was organized in the form of a literature review while primary data was collected through the following instruments; face-to-face interviews using semi- semi-

structured interview schedule, focus group discussion, and observations.

4.7.2.1. Literature review

Literature review formed a fundamental part of the study, as it helped the researcher place the study in a wider context. The existing body of knowledge builds on a literature review while avoiding duplication (Babbie and Mouton, 2001). Literature was classified into empirical and theoretical literature. These comprised primary and secondary data from previous studies and sources that other researchers conducted around the study area. This provided relevant information, to help the researcher identify existing gaps in the literature. Headings used in the literature review include social cohesion, xenophobia, documentation, etc. Besides, the relevant theoretical and conceptual frameworks that were relevant to the study also formed part of the literature. Selection of the literature focused only on information that was relevant to the study and drawn from academic sources like; articles, books, journals, internet sources, as well as relevant reports from governments and international organizations.

4.7.2.2. Interviews

Interviews are quite useful in collecting data for qualitative research. This allows the interviewees to express their views spontaneously during the interview (Abiche, 2004). A semi-structured interview schedule was one of the methods to collect data. The researcher asked broad questions and new questions developed in the course of the discussion. This allowed the researcher to gather new information that was relevant to the study.

Through the semi-structured interview guide, the researcher was opportune to gather more data on the different ways xenophobia and documentation influenced the integration of migrants in South Africa. Participants had the opportunity to make suggestions to address some of the challenges they faced. This interview technique allows the researcher to probe and ask follow-up questions (Valenzuela and Shrivastava, 2002). Through this technique, the researcher gathered new and missing information that was not in the interview schedule guide. The duration of the interview was between 30-45 minutes and a tape recorder was used to obtain a detailed account of the data from the respondents. Plans were made between the researcher and interviewers to meet physically and have one-on-one sessions. However, the COVID-19 pandemic, lockdowns, and the challenge of having one-on-one sessions with participants resulted in some interviews done telephonically. More than 80% of the interviews were done physically and about 20% telephonically.

4.7.2.3. Focus group discussions

According to Freitas, Oliveira, Jenkins, and Popjoy (1998), focus group discussions are in-depth interviews organized in a group aimed at discussing and interacting with members in the group to retrieve necessary information relevant to a topic. Here participants influence each other through their responses to the ideas and contributions during the discussion. This technique usually complements the semi-structured interviews to boost and improve the reliability of the study as it fortifies the accuracy of the themes and concepts that pertain to the study (Freitas, et al., 1998). Besides, FGDs produce extensive and broad information regarding thoughts, perceptions, understandings, impressions, and feelings of people in their own words (Conradson, 2005). Moreover, FGD is a flexible data collection tool used to gather information from any topic and used as an avenue for the marginalized to air their opinions (Liamputtong, 2011). This tool gave migrants who were often considered victims of marginalization in host countries the opportunity to air out their grievances and improve their chances of being heard by policymakers (ibid).

The researcher guided the discussion using a semi-structured interview schedule and a tape recorder to record participant's contributions. Two focus group discussions were organized and participants were selected from different African countries to represent the target population. The initial recruitment process progressed slowly, resulting in insufficient numbers for the FGD. This was due to the lockdowns and the COVID-19 pandemic. To make progress, I used online communication software (zoom) to replicate the experience of the FGD. The Higher Research Ethics Committee reapproved my recruitment strategy. I had several test sessions to check the network and feedback to ensure the process went smoothly. The session was recorded and participants were comfortable with the method. Sufficient data was collected to complement the one-on-one sessions.

The FGD with asylum seekers and refugees was held onsite in Parrow, Cape Town. Eight people participated in the FGD. Participants were selected from different African countries representing the five African regions in the case study using the purposive sampling method. The researcher guided the discussions. Issues discussed included the migration policy, integration, documentation, social cohesion, and xenophobia. During the focus group, discussion participants had the opportunity to shed more light on the effects of xenophobia and documentation on them and made recommendations. The discussions provided qualitative data on the variety of migrant's opinions. According to Krueger (2014), FGD is an economic tool to tap different views from respondents. In addition, it provides an opportunity to emphasize

the message; hence, it supports the data obtained through other tools (Mason, 2007). This technique complemented the personal interviews to gather extra data to make the research more informative.

4.7.2.4. Observation

Observation is the act of identifying the activities and inter-relationships of the people under study while maintaining professional distance (Sangasubana, 2011). Throughout the study, observations were key, especially during the data collection process. In the context of this research, observation helped the researcher to notice the behavioral patterns of respondents. The researcher noticed that when participants were talking about the issue of documentation most of them were emotional expressing anger and frustration. Neuman (2000) states that observation helps to provide meaning and depth in understanding the subject. This was evident in this study as observation helped the researcher to get a deeper meaning and understanding of issues about the dynamics around foreigners' integration. As participants made their contributions, new information arose that was omitted during individual discussions as the researcher stimulated discussions with comments.

Through observation, the researcher noticed that many foreigners now engage in gambling. Gambling which is typically associated with men now has a lot of women. Some mentioned that gambling is a survival strategy. They engage in this activity to make extra cash to meet immediate needs. According to them, things are very difficult nowadays. In the context of this study, observations supported other instruments and served the purpose of noticing non-verbal information that was difficult to reveal through interviews and focus group discussions. The data collected from observations were compared with data collected through other instruments to match the information obtained from other instruments and connect for better understanding.

4.7.3. Data Validity and Reliability

The researcher employed various strategies to test the validity and reliability of the research. This exercise helped the researcher to establish content and validity in the study. Using different sources to explain different themes and viewpoints improved the validity of the research known as triangulation in research. It is the use of a combination of different sources to give insight into themes or perspectives on a research subject (Creswell, 2013). The semi-structured interviews and FGDs allowed the researcher to gather similar information that enriched the validity and reliability of the study. According to Leedy and Ormrod (2015), triangulation is a vital characteristic of MMR designs, which helps to strengthen the validity

and reliability of the research findings.

Finally, yet importantly, to be able to maintain credibility and validation of the qualitative data from the FGDs and interviews, the researcher repeated the main issues discussed to draw the attention of respondents back to our focused areas. Besides, all participants were encouraged to contribute during the FGDs. Discussions from both FGDs and the interviews were recorded on tape; this measure helped to make sure that the information obtained from participants was accurately stored, transcribed, and analyzed.

4.7.4. Data Analysis and Presentation

Data analysis and presentation provide a platform to interpret data collected from the field and reinforce solutions (Judd and McClelland, 1989). This study used thematic analysis. Thematic analysis was used to analyze the qualitative data. According to Braun and Clarke (2006, p.7), “thematic analysis identifies themes within the data”. This was the most suitable method to analyze the data generated from the interviews and focus group discussions. Data was presented under different themes like housing, language, xenophobia, discrimination, xenophobia, documentation, liberty, etc.

To begin data analysis, the first step was to transfer all information from the tape recorder and save it on a computer. Data was then transcribed and typed into a Word document. After the researcher read the whole data to get the whole picture of the studied phenomenon. During this initial reading, insights and understanding began to emerge and were documented which influenced future steps of the analysis. The next step was the editing part of the data where repetition, unimportant and digressive information were deleted and the important ones were grouped under the various themes (Braun and Clarke, 2006).

The data was transcribed and triangulated then combined under common themes in different sections before comparing with the information from the literature review and concluding. This chapter provided empirical and theoretical literature on the socioeconomic integration of migrants mainly focusing on social cohesion, xenophobia, and documentation which are three critical areas that can either hinder or promote migrant integration. Literature shows that several countries are using the integration policy and other strategies to support the integration of foreigners; however, integration is still a challenge for migrants in some countries. The chapter concludes by discussing the suitable methodology fit to examine the effects of xenophobia and documentation on migrants’ integration.

5. CHAPTER FIVE: PRESENTATION OF RESULTS AND DISCUSSION ON THE EFFECTS OF XENOPHOBIA ON FOREIGNERS (OBJECTIVE 2)

5.1. FOREIGNERS INTEGRATION

The expression "home will always be home" is commonly used by foreigners to express regrets when they travel to other countries. Living in one's home country is always ideal for most people. However, unfavourable conditions in home countries have pushed many into voluntary and involuntary migration to seek opportunities in other countries. Life away from one's home country is never the same for many because they have to adjust to the new lifestyle in host countries. This has been the experience of some African Migrants in South Africa.

Integration is a vital part of foreigners' lives in host countries because it gives them a sense of connectivity and supports their flow in the communities where they live. According to Burns, et al., (2018), social cohesion and social integration project social order in society. Individuals' access to services and participation in regularized social practices determines the extent to which mutual understanding, and actions are achieved (ibid). Hence, integration in host communities builds vertical and horizontal relationships among individuals which is a strategic tool for social development. One might think that integration is much easier for African migrants in South Africa because of the "ubuntu" lifestyle of Africans, but that has not been the case. This chapter presents the results and discussion on the effects of xenophobia and documentation on migrants' integration. Sub-headings in this chapter include; foreigners' perception of xenophobia, types of xenophobia, and the effects of xenophobia on the integration of foreigners.

5.2. XENOPHOBIA

5.2.1. Foreigners' perceptions of xenophobia

The recurrence of xenophobia in South Africa over the years has had both physical and psychological effects on migrants, especially African migrants. This has stirred several debates as to why xenophobia continues to occur with a quest to provide long-term solutions. To contribute to this discourse, I think it is important to understand foreigners' perceptions of xenophobia, which is vital in providing lasting solutions to the issue of xenophobia. This section reports respondents' perceptions about xenophobia.

5.2.1.1. Poverty and economic status

Most respondents identified poverty as the root cause of xenophobia. According to them, South Africa is a society with a huge gap between the rich and the poor which brings a lot of striving

when dealing with their differences as a people. Consequently, most respondents indicated that nationals have negative attitudes towards people outside their circle. This has resulted in the dislike of foreigners especially among some South Africans who think that foreigners have come to steal from them. Some respondents reiterated that some South Africans have the ideology that foreigners from African countries come to take from them while foreigners from Europe come with wealth to invest. This is one of the main reasons why xenophobia is mostly targeted towards African nationals. They revealed that most South Africans have the mentality that African migrants have come to steal their jobs and offer cheap labour, preventing nationals from having their desired employment because African nationals have low standards. Besides, a few respondents reported that the effects of apartheid on black South Africans greatly influenced their attitudes towards foreign nationals. These reasons shape the way nationals treat and relate with most African foreign nationals creating tensions, hatred, and sometimes leading to physical attacks on foreigners. One respondent stated that:

The economic situation of the country is based on the historical era. So there are really poor people in SA; people that can barely survive so, I think there is a bigger influence on xenophobia which is poverty. This is linked to poverty grounded by economic views, I don't see anything more than that because it permeates and gives birth to other attitudes around xenophobia. Xenophobia occurs in particular areas and come to think of it it's mostly in Township areas. Black South Africans in terms of their socio-economic status are really at the lowest so that alone is the first aspect. Then accepting cheap labour which they can't because they want more wages hurts them. They have a genuine feeling which is well understood but the way they go about it is not fair by killing people or burning their shops and stealing from them. I don't think it is the right way to go about it. These xenophobic attacks are mostly black on blacks because I have never seen any European foreigner here experiencing this. It's mostly experienced by black African foreigners. (Cameroonian Interview, January 2021).

Poverty and foreigners' economic status were highlighted as major influencers of xenophobia. Foreigners claim that xenophobic attacks are typical in areas with high poverty levels where nationals feel threatened and not in areas where wealthy South Africans live. According to them, middle and upper - class South Africans are not threatened by foreigners because of their socio-economic status.

The above finding is supported by Agyeno (2019) who states that intolerance and strong dislike for foreigners are influenced by excruciating poverty across the country. Besides, studies by Pillay (2017) and Mashau, (2019) on South Africa label these attacks "Afrophobia" because it is mainly directed toward black African migrants and seeks to promote black-on-black violence. Black people are the primary perpetrators of xenophobia.

Furthermore, several researchers in Europe support the results from the study that foreigners are a threat to nationals' economic opportunities. Over the years, nationals claimed that foreigners

are promoters of social problems, high unemployment, increased competition, and put a strain on public and welfare services in host countries resulting in their dislike for foreigners (Amit and Kriger, 2014; Adeola, 2015; İçduygu, 2015; Liang, 2016; Hercowitz-Amir et al., 2017; Rzepnikowska, 2019). According to them, migration is a direct threat to their welfare and has increased criminal activities in host societies. Similarly, several researchers in South Africa depict that most South Africans see foreigners as threats to employment opportunities and safety. This has spearheaded several xenophobic attacks in the country, especially in townships and areas dominated by black South Africans (Shea 2008; Adjai, 2010; Chingwete, 2015; Krönke, 2015 and Pillay, 2017).

A recent study by Mashau (2019) showed that issues of serious economic contestation have been raised in Tshwana where locals often feel that foreigners are taking their jobs. This is because local businesses, especially those in the entertainment and catering industry, prefer employing foreigners with some claiming that nationals are too lazy and demanding when it comes to payments. This is further confirmed in Tshabalala and Roelofse (2018) study stating that residents of Mukomi village in Limpopo requested that tribal authorities should enforce legislation and stricter rules to keep foreigners out of their community because foreigners are competing with them over resources and are involved in crime. Consequently, nationals are provoked and tend to launch xenophobic attacks on foreigners (Pillay, 2017). According to Crush and Peberdy (2018), foreigners are not a threat to nationals' jobs and the economy asserting that these are mere assumptions echoed in the rhetoric of the state and the media.

5.2.1.2. Jealousy

Apart from the frustrations from economic deprivations and poverty, most respondents mentioned that some attacks on foreigners are stirred by pure jealousy. They claim that since foreigners are known for their hard work and industrious nature, some South Africans are envious because they find it difficult to compete with foreigners. Other respondents feel some nationals are just angry at the fact that foreigners are prospering in South Africa and in response they either demonstrate xenophobic tendencies or become chauvinistic. One respondent stated that:

...because of the need to survive because you don't have a father no uncle no one to turn to you break yourself into pieces because you are all alone to survive and because of that you become resilient and there is a tendency to succeed more than citizens then jealousy might grow among your neighbours (Rwandan Interview, March 2020).

The survival instincts of most foreigners influenced by their background or a strong desire to succeed have placed them in a disadvantageous position making them a threat to nationals.

Their ambition of succeeding has influenced seclusion between foreigners and nationals.

A few respondents mentioned some frequently asked questions from South Africa which clearly show their quest to see them leave the country. Some include; “when are you going back to your country?” “Where are you from?” According to respondents, they are not asking these questions because they care but mainly because they want you out of their country. One respondent reported that:

You can't be happy to hear someone asking you where you come from. Just from the beginning, you haven't even introduced yourself but someone is asking you where you come from, and already you know this is a stereotype (Congolese Interview. March 2020).

Evidence from fieldwork (foreigners' perspective) shows that nationals are threatened by the presence of foreigners in South Africa. This view is supported by several other researchers stating that nationals express negative sentiments which build to jealousy when foreign businesses succeed (Ngota, Mang'unyi, and Rajkaran, 2018). In Indonesia, citizens' jealousy towards refugees stems from so much attention refugees receive through solidarity and support from the Indonesian government (Sadjad, 2022). Differences between foreigners and citizens in host countries will always be there but this can be minimized through dialogues.

5.2.1.3. Immigration laws

The nature of immigration laws encourages xenophobia. Most respondents claim that immigration laws are still embedded in the apartheid laws, which disfavoured the African migrants. They argue that unofficially, the South African immigration laws are still pro-white despite the new dispensation. Some clearly stated that the immigration policy is xenophobic and a few mentioned that the post-apartheid immigration laws are mainly influenced by the Alien Control Act of the past, which instilled a mentality in people, that others only came into their country to take what is theirs or to invade. This mentality still runs in the minds of most nationals making them resentful towards foreign nationals creating an atmosphere for xenophobia to flourish. One respondent reported that;

During apartheid, the Alien Act was xenophobic because people were taught that others come into the country just to rub you or to take what is yours or to invade, etc. You don't also want to blame them because of apartheid, their experience and everything they went through, and foreigners who came to occupy their lands so they pick on us now because they don't want this to happen again so you become alienated you don't feel encouraged to make friends (Congolese Interview, March, 2020).

The findings above confirm that the current immigration laws are influenced by the Alien Control Act of the past. Siddique, 2004; Boynton, 2015; and Möser 2016 see immigration laws as the continuation of the Alien Control Act of 1991, which is a reflection of the apartheid

migration policy in disguise. These laws are influencing anti-immigrant feelings towards foreigners leading to several xenophobic attacks. Mashau (2019) further confirms that the recurrence of attacks against foreigners is rooted in the colonial and apartheid past. Similarly, Madue's (2015) study reports that South Africa's, foreign and migration policies partially contribute towards stimulating xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals. This is evident in the study as most participants stated that this background laid the foundation for most regulations in the immigration and refugee policy, which they consider xenophobic.

5.2.1.4. Government and government officials

Most respondents feel that the South African government is approaching the issue of xenophobia with so much bias. They claim that xenophobia continues to occur because the laws and regulations implemented to curb xenophobia have not been properly executed due to governments' lack of interest. According to them, these laws are just on paper but do not effect the desired changes. Scholars like Crush (2021) mentioned that the South African government's attitude of being indifferent and constant denial of xenophobia, has intensified xenophobia leading to its recurrence.

Furthermore, most participants mentioned insufficient information and misrepresentation of information as influencers of xenophobia. Some associate xenophobia with ignorance blaming the government for not providing relevant information to bring awareness and create opportunities for engagements within communities. They claim that most nationals have insufficient information about the background of foreigners for instance; why they people migrate, who they are, and what they represent. This has led to so many assumptions resulting in exclusion creating an enabling environment for xenophobia to continue. Stories of looting, killing, and burning of properties are common in South Africa. Reports from respondents show that social cohesion is not promoted between nationals and foreigners. According to many respondents, there is very little mutual solidarity between individuals and communities. One respondent stated that:

...I'm talking about sentiments towards fellow Africans because some locals think that people from the African continent are very desperate, they are here to steal or take something from them, they don't understand the political unrest, and they don't understand other factors that could lead to people migrating. So they have this generic understanding that people are here just to steal from us, take our money, exhaust our government, and so forth. They don't know what goes on underground. This has built tension between nationals and foreigners leading to several xenophobic attacks on foreigners (Rwandan Interview, November 2020).

Respondents believe that inadequate information or misrepresentation of foreigners in society has influenced the way most foreigners are treated in society. This finding is similar to a

previous study by Chenzi (2020) stating that fake news and social media have partially contributed as vehicles in promoting tensions between nationals and foreigners in South Africa. Similarly, Pederson and Hartley (2017) affirm that inaccurate information from Australian politicians through the media influenced community sentiment toward asylum seekers.

A few respondents mentioned that those responsible for designing and implementing the migration policy always speak about South Africans first labeling migrants as criminals and bad people who have no value. These respondents claim that government officials' attitudes encourage xenophobic tendencies. According to Mpofu and Mpofu, (2018) the government's preference towards South Africans especially the black race, is because they want to shift the balance of fortunes and create opportunities for the previously disadvantaged black population. This has encouraged exclusion and discouraged diversity.

Interestingly, a respondent working in one of the organizations dealing with foreigners said that the government has engaged in some programs to build relationships between foreigners and nationals which is laudable. However, he stated that the services provided are not sufficient hence, the government needs to include more organizations and set up structures to sensitize the population about foreigners. He stated that:

... Whenever the government has a project they can contact us if they need our support. The government must work through these NGOs. The government should have structures but structures sometimes are not enough they should think of getting more organizations on board. (Somalian Interview, November, 2020).

Despite the argument that the government and government officials instill xenophobia, the government is making efforts to support the integration of migrants.

Evidence from the above narrative shows that poverty, jealousy, the immigration law, the government, and government officials influence xenophobia. Findings reveal that South Africa's historical background has made nationals very resentful and overprotective. Although it is good to protect one's heritage and environment when it has damaging effects like xenophobia it should be interrupted. This has influenced the structuring of the migration policy which was identified as one of the key drivers of xenophobia. The restrictions in policy have directly and indirectly influenced the way government officials and nationals treat foreigners resulting in the recurrence of xenophobia making integration very difficult for foreigners. The danger of this is the spillover effect it has on society. Building South Africa into a cohesive society is a good strategy for dealing with xenophobia and xenophobic tendencies. This should be done by putting in place measures to build relationships between individuals in society. Social cohesion builds solidarity and it is a unique tool to solve xenophobia.

Apart from physical xenophobia, xenophobia was further classified under three categories; public xenophobia, administrative xenophobia, and political xenophobia.

5.3. Public xenophobia

Public xenophobia is the absence of recognizing foreigners' achievements in public. Most respondents stated that some of the major ways South Africans demonstrate xenophobic tendencies are by ignoring foreigners' achievements and hardly acknowledging or publicizing whenever they do something that significantly contributes to the development and growth of the society. However, when foreigners are involved in crime or do something negative, it goes viral. African foreigners are often blamed for the negative happenings in society. One respondent stated that;

...they are good at capturing the negative things and flashing and it teaches the population that these people are bad. They will hardly extract some good work that these migrants are doing in the community, they will hardly do (FGD with refugees and asylum seekers, March 2021).

This is similar to the experience of Iranians in Germany experiencing more marginality because of their identity. Negative information about men committing sexual violence against German women became the central storyline of the news and social media outlets (Sadeghi, 2019).

5.4. Administrative xenophobia

Administrative xenophobia is the ill-treatment of foreigners in public offices. Almost all respondents, especially refugees and asylum seekers, reported that they have been mistreated, refused to be attended, to or rejected because of their status in different government departments. Besides, others including non-refugees and asylum seekers mentioned that they have been turned down for employment opportunities, accessing certain services like opening bank accounts, and attended to in hospitals among others because of their identity. Reactions from government officials have greatly contributed to xenophobia and by extension influenced the way many nationals treat and respond to foreigners. Most respondents claim that being branded a foreigner already puts you in a disadvantaged position and affects the way you are treated in society. Refugees, asylum seekers, and other groups of migrants mentioned that buying properties and opening businesses is a challenge for them because they are Africans. Their identity as Africans has made them victims. One participant reported that:

...for example, I went to receive my parcel at the post office. I was told by the officials there that we could not receive this paper because this is not the paper that I used but this is my identity in SA. The post office doesn't allow you to collect your parcel with an asylum permit; they believe it has to be an ID which not every immigrant can have. The only document that most departments know is the ID so if you don't have a green ID you become like a stranger of even though these permits are issued by Home Affairs and it was supposed to be known by everyone but it is not recognized so it's a big challenge and I consider that to be administrative

xenophobia aside from the physical and verbal xenophobia that exists (Congolese Interview, February 2020).

Another participant stated that:

That's why we find issues of xenophobic attacks, the police instead of protecting foreign nationals turn to side with those that are fighting the foreign nationals in a way they become like perpetrators. You will see that many foreign nationals have been arrested without having followed due processes, and some of them have been taken to jail without having followed due process... (Cameroonian Interview, March 2020).

Respondents capitalized that this type of xenophobia opens doors to other forms of xenophobia. This finding is supported by previous literature stating that some government officials promote some of these atrocities. The way some officials from the Department of Home Affairs (DHA) and South African Police (SAPS) treat foreigners is of great concern (Shee 2008; Adjai, 2010; Musuva, 2015; Schippers, 2015). News24 (2019) and Misago (2016) explain that in some areas where xenophobia is recurring, the local governments do not exercise their authority. According to Misago (2016), local governments purposely provoke the occurrence of xenophobia by providing favourable political opportunity structures. This is encouraged through social and political controls in facilitating violence rather than preventing it, creating an environment for xenophobic attacks. Authorities are supposed to support and protect people but in this case, they are ones bypassing these laws. If the lawmakers are perpetrators of such acts, then it is not practical to expect anything better from the host population.

5.5. Political xenophobia

Political xenophobia is using political power to victimize foreigners. Politicians use foreigners as victims and camouflage nationals especially during their electoral campaigns to win their hearts for votes. Hence, migrants become scapegoats for their interests and they use their positions of authority to fuel and instill hatred between nationals and foreigners. One respondent stated that:

So we also need to see the dynamics between this sore called xenophobia. Then politicians come in and use this as a nice card when it comes to elections and use it for their campaigns promising to create employment for nationals. The foreigner is always an easy target or scapegoat for all the ills and all other negative things. They blame foreigners for these and they feel relieved and with this information, citizens are tricked in to voting for them. They blame foreigners for all the misfortune that befell them so it's a game. Xenophobia for me is a kind of game ... that is why I feel that the government does it intentionally they know what they are doing (Rwandan Interview, January 2021)

This finding is similar to countries like Hungary and Australia. In Hungary during political campaigns, migrants received threatening messages that instilled so much fear and tension in them (Gall 2016). Similarly, politicians in Australia that are against multiculturalism, promote policies that continue to reserve white Australians in power and place asylum seekers in

detention (Davidson 2016). Politicians from different parts of the world use this as a strategy to achieve their objectives.

These three key areas where foreigners experience xenophobia are strategic channels that can promote integration. If people feel welcomed by the government, government officials, and politicians, and are recognized for their contributions to society, they will do more. Hence, there is a need for restructuring and invasion in these key areas for positive change to occur.

However, a few respondents feel that foreigners are approaching the issue of xenophobia with a lot of bias. They argue that the concept of xenophobia has highly been misunderstood among foreigners which is a call for concern. Although they agree with the fact that xenophobia is a real issue in South Africa, they claim that most foreigners have lots of unrealistic assumptions about xenophobia. Below are some scenarios they highlighted.

... there will be people telling you that here I have this degree from Congo. I was a lawyer but now I am a hairdresser or selling at the free market. So, I ask how will you practice in SA when you also have problem of language how will you practice law in SA without being fluent in English? You have just made barely a year and you are already talking of xenophobia and a lack of employment where you didn't do your part of integrating. Some Doctors that came from Congo submitted their papers in Pretoria for evaluation and also they had to take some English courses. Others don't go through this process and when they do not get a job for their education they attribute it to xenophobia which I don't think is right. If someone tells you, we are losing our men because of South Africans because they are easy to get they don't ask anything and now we are losing our men. That is a problem that doesn't have to do with xenophobia but some people consider it as xenophobia. I think sometimes foreigners abuse the concept of xenophobia. (Congolese Interview, March 2020).

I don't buy this xenophobia thing; I know xenophobia is a reality but we need to also see the reason behind that xenophobia. It would be very unfair to take SA people and label them as xenophobic because they are not. Our children go to the same school with them, we travel in the same train as them same Golden Arrow buses, same taxis, same, malls, shops, same ATMs we are there together, we are here on campus with them you can't say that they are xenophobic. So, integration there is a role to be played first by South Africans and the refugees. SA is a welcoming country, it gives you documentation to stay which is a good step in welcoming you, you choose your place of stay depending on your abilities so at least the society is welcoming. (Rwandan Interview, February 2020).

...Most refugees think they are hated by South Africans. Most refugees do not know that they are in another person's land, they are the ones to be easily vulnerable and easily discriminated against so we need understand these very important things. You can't go to a police station and start telling them how to do their job which is what some foreigners do. When they are not attended to the way they want they say they are xenophobic. That is not right. Some foreigners go to the clinic and when the nurse tells them to go and sit down and will call them later, they are supposed to go and sit as instructed but some of them will start shouting saying you are treating me like this because I am a foreigner (Somalian Interview, November 2020).

The above assumptions show that foreigners sometimes exaggerate the issue of xenophobia. As discussed above, xenophobia is primarily fueled by economic factors and poverty. Nationals see foreigners as hijackers of economic opportunities and foreigners do not understand the

plight of nationals. Migrants' ambition to make ends meet has been interpreted differently by some nationals. This has made the relationship difficult between both parties. On several occasions, nationals use xenophobia as a defensive mechanism to demonstrate their frustrations towards the unequal distribution of resources and insufficient economic opportunities. These attacks on foreigners are not hatred for foreigners as per se, but mostly used as a defense by nationals to stop foreigners from invading and taking what belongs to them. In conclusion, perceptions, lack of understanding, and cooperation of these two stakeholders have hindered the successful integration of migrants into the South African society.

5.6. Effects of xenophobia on the integration of foreigners

The researcher used some domains in Ager and Strang's integration model to analyse the effects of xenophobia on migrants' integration at different levels; community and individual levels.

5.7. Level of community

5.7.1. Community engagement

Engagement among members of a community exposes them to diversity, which is very critical for integration. Results from the study show that fear of xenophobia negatively influenced foreigners' relationships with nationals. Many respondents had very little interaction with members of their communities. According to some respondents, everyone is a suspect so the best you can do is to avoid engaging with nationals because you never know what can transpire. Some foreigners deliberately avoid engaging with nationals, while others try to understand the mindset of South Africans. This has helped them to deal wisely with nationals and avoid unnecessary conflicts to a certain extent. These foreigners do everything possible to avoid long engagements and interactions with nationals. This strategy has prevented conflicts on several occasions because nationals know very little about their affairs. Most foreigners use this to be on the safe side. One respondent reported that:

To be honest I mostly engage with other foreigners than locals. I do that because they are the people around my community and I feel much safer you never know. When you stay with foreigners they understand something about culture, about helping each other and respecting each other... you have to reschedule everything: the time you go out, come, where you go, and the type of people you go out with because you do not want people to single you out and harm you. It comes with a lot of harm not only psychological harm but physical harm. If you meet people on the streets and they notice you are a foreigner they'll single you out and call you names, scare you, they make you not really feel safe and now you don't know what they might do they may want to profile you. Sometimes you do not want to talk when they talk to you, you just keep quiet and move because you don't want to be identified. When you react you never know what might transpire so you avoid it by keeping quiet (Ugandan Interview, November 2020).

Another respondent from Ethiopia reported that:

As Ethiopians we are very collective and cooperate among ourselves. Since we understand the nature of South Africans and how they have looted and destroyed the shops and properties of foreigners, Ethiopians in most Townships have come up with a collective strategy to facilitate our integration and avoid such attacks in the future. As a community, we contribute and give to some community leaders once every month. We pay monthly dues to some leaders to avoid attacks from the locals. This has helped us to develop some kind of relationship as well as prevented them from attacking our shops and properties (Ethiopian Interview, February 2020).

Fear of xenophobia forced most foreigners to live in isolation. This is not only peculiar to foreigners in SA. Iranian refugees in Germany lived in exclusion after the refugee crisis because they feared opposition from the Germans (Sadeghi, 2019).

Fear is one of the major factors that force foreigners to live in isolation because they have very little trust in their nationals. Evidence from previous research in South Africa shows that one of the main reasons for social isolation is a lack of social trust. Gordon and Maharaj's (2015) study analyzing the attitudes towards foreigners in South Africa shows that both South Africans and other African nationals have a low level of trust for each other. There was a huge gap in the social bonds between neighbours and a sense of belonging in the community. Several other authors like Lefko-Everett et al. (2018), Roberts and Gordon (2016), and Potgieter (2018), found that there is still so much division among South Africans in terms of race, class, culture, economic status, and level of trust. This explains why community engagement is difficult for foreigners because there is already a problem of engagement among South Africans. Statistics from Potgieter's (2018) study showed that 42% of South Africans do not want foreigners to operate any kind of business in their communities and 40% don't want foreigners to move into their neighbourhood. Proof of very little engagement between foreigners and locals is further proven in a study by Monson et al., (2012) which showed that there are very limited foreigners in South African local structures. Trust is often considered the foundation for relationships required to restrain tensions and a tool to build sustainable ties within a society (Potgieter, 2018). Little trust makes integration difficult.

According to Hamilton and Bax (2018), the absence of a clear holistic policy for the integration of foreign nationals in South Africa has made things even more challenging for foreigners. Most countries in the Western world and some African countries through their governments, institutions, and several organizations use the integration policy as a tool to build social cohesion and facilitate the integration of foreigners in host communities at different levels. These platforms have been created to strengthen relationships and build trust.

The absence of an integration Policy to directly address and support the integration of foreigners is required in South Africa. This is because evidence from previous and current research shows that there are still gaps when it comes to engagements among community members with lack of trust being top on the list; this directly affects integration.

The above finding does not align with the social bridges concept in Ager and Strang's integration model. This concept states that migrants' engagements with other members of the community characterised by trust is proof of successful integration. Trust allows people to interact and exchange resources but this is contrary to the above finding. Respondents live in isolation and do not trust other members of the community, especially South Africans. Results show that the level of segregation is high, contrary to the indicators of social bridges (trust and participating in community activities). In this regard, it is evident that most migrants have not integrated into South African communities.

Furthermore, the way migrants' are addressed by some nationals, displays xenophobic tendencies. Some participants mentioned that the attitudes and reactions of some South Africans make them feel stereotyped and unwanted - giving them the impression that they are not part of their society. Others recounted scenarios of inappropriate ways they have been treated and addressed on several occasions as individuals and in public spaces. Overall, respondents see this as part of something they have to live with and feel they are unaccepted in South Africa. According to one respondent:

... I think it does affect to some extent let's say for example, you are amongst them and they do not know where you are coming from they will be discussing about foreigners saying they do not like these foreign nationals in our country and all those stuff and they are not aware that you are part of the foreign nationals they are talking about and you will turn to conclude that these people do not like you, they are not comfortable around you so you also try to distance yourself from them as far as you can and you also try not to engage more with them. You just focus on engaging with them on work - related matters as an employee then you have to avoid other gatherings maybe after work activities so that you can just stay and not have to experience some anger issues that they might have because sometimes they will say these people come here to take our jobs and all those stuff, they are taking our resources why don't they stay in their countries. They are discussing all these things when you are there which becomes an issue because you already know in your consciousness that they don't like us. (Focus Group Discussion with migrants, March 2020).

Nationals' negative attitudes towards foreigners have affected engagements between individuals in communities, work spaces, and schools, etc. This gap has strained relationships, leading to social exclusion. Previous studies support this result. Iranian refugees in Germany felt stigmatized, having feelings of perpetual foreignness because of the way they were treated by the Germans. Life was traumatic for a lot of them and their daily activities like going to work, taking public transport, and grocery shopping became times of discomfort (Sadeghi, 2019).

This is similar to the case of Somali refugees in Kenya who were tagged with terror - related offenses and allegations that tarnished the image of the entire Somali population living in Kenya (Oucho and Williams, 2019). Apart from hampering migrants' integration, the psychological impact of these experiences damages and reduces self-esteem. This stigmatization greatly threatens integration.

Other research work done in South Africa, Hungary, Turkey, Australia, and Spain further confirms that common ways nationals display negative attitudes towards foreigners are through threats, jargon, and the way they are treated and related to in society (Schippers, 2015; Potgieter, 2018; Iglesias-Pascual, 2019). Spanish nationals associated foreign nationals with social problems (ibid). The appellation "makwerekwere" commonly used in SA to describe foreigners as invaders continues to construct the SA citizen as exceptional putting, foreigners at the bottom (Misago, et al, 2015). On the contrary, countries like Australia, Canada, and New Zealand have positive attitudes towards foreigners. The governments and nationals promote social cohesion and integration among foreigners. In Spoonley's (2014) study, citizens were happy with the presence of foreigners in their communities and many respondents desired an increase in the level of migration.

Further findings from the study show that due to the difficulty of engaging with members of the community, some foreigners have come up with strategies to build better relationships with nationals. In a discussion with some members of the Western Cape Migrant and Refugee Forum, some mentioned that on many occasions they have had discussions of developing better ways to build relationships between foreigners and migrants in communities. One strategy they initiated was to delegate some Somalians to go into the communities and teach South Africans how to start small businesses. This is because of the strength Somalians have in setting up businesses and most importantly, as a way of building bonds in communities. However, to their surprise, the South Africans did not show up for these trainings. This is contrary to the experience of refugees and asylum seekers from East and Central Africa in Uganda who were welcomed and encouraged to produce crops, train, and trade in their local markets for the development of their communities. Uganda promoted cultural and socio-economic integration between migrants and host communities through migrants' initiatives. This resulted to an increase in the Gross Domestic Product of the host country and migrants became agents of cross border trading in the whole region (Oucho, and Williams, 2019). Although the increase of xenophobia in Kenya has affected social integration of Somalians in Kenya, trade relationships are on the increase (ibid).

The sentiments of xenophobia should not go beyond clouding judgments and not taking advantage of opportunities like learning skills that can be beneficial to individuals and society. Skills can help to reduce the problem of unemployment and create self-employment for many. Building relationships and learning from each other is key to socio-economic development. It is important to create platforms where migrants and the host population can meet, exchange ideas, and learn from each other. That will not only promote integration but also build healthy relationships, which is a strategy to overcome xenophobia and xenophobic tendencies.

A few respondents had good relationships in their communities. They engaged with members of the community and had no fear of xenophobia. One respondent lived in the location (the area where nationals are mostly concentrated) for more than five years and had a great relationship with the nationals. He had several South African friends and they engaged in many activities together.

...The area was mostly dominated by South Africans. There we used to interact, jug around, share, and help each other. Sometimes it is only the issue of crime where robbers come to rob businesses apart from that the community was quite good in terms of interaction and engaging with each other. Mostly I was playing soccer with South Africans (Somalian Interview, November 2020).

Another respondent reported that she was very safe in the community where she lived and the people treated her differently contrary to the usual way most foreigners are treated.

When they cook, they'll ask you to come and taste their food. The way they make it you will feel at home and you want to be part of that but since I came to Cape Town, I have not found that kind of environment where I can engage with people. In the Eastern Cape, they are more African. I will say I feel less at home in Cape Town than when I lived in Eastern Cape. I felt more at home. I did not even miss home at all. I just felt like I was in my family but here you turn to be lonelier, having a strong desire to go home and meet your siblings, family, and friends that you are very comfortable with (Nigerian, Interview, January 2021).

Although most respondents lived in isolation as seen above, a few respondents had good relationships in their communities. This is similar to legal refugees with families in Kenya. These families found it much easier to socialize with host communities and adapt to Kenya culture faster than refugees who had no relatives in the country (Oucho and Williams, 2019). Also, Beauregard et al. (2020) used community arts programs to nurture relationships between foreigners and nationals living in two socio-economically deprived neighbourhoods in Montreal, Canada. These projects brought together people of different ages and socio-cultural backgrounds to promote a sense of individual and collective pride, and of community belonging. Interactions and building a collective voice were some of the strategies used to support integration to build strong bonds between members of the community. Adopting such strategies in South Africa will build a sense of belonging, minimize disparities, and avoid

marginalization among foreigners. Likewise, in Hebbani et al. (2018); study of residential Integration, and social bridging among refugee settlers in Greater Brisbane (Australia), most participants reported having good or at least non-problematic relationships with their neighbours. People feel integrated and secure when they have good relationships with members of the communities where they live.

Furthermore, several respondents noted that even though the constitution talks about South Africa being a country belonging to all who live in it, when it comes to the implementation of identities it works in the opposite direction because it seems like they are speaking to the indigenous society not migrants. Others claim that this destabilizes the “Ubuntu” concept, which says we are here because of others but that is contrary to the experiences of foreigners. Most foreigners feel their presence is a threat to many South Africans. Many foreigners still live in fear and cannot freely engage with members of their communities either because of their experiences, ideologies, or perceptions about nationals. They revealed that South Africans are not as hospitable as the constitution claims. One of the respondents stated that:

Ubuntu is a political statement/ score that is made to satisfy the international community. Technically it does not help, they don't answer the Ubuntu maybe they need to understand it from the African perspective. How people relate with one another even if you area visitor from mass they welcome you, they feed you, they give you land, they give you a wife ifthey want until you get tired then you want to leave but if you still want to stay. That mentalityof hospitality is not here. Ubuntu is the concept of hospitality, how to live with visitors (Ugandan Interview, February 2020).

One can think that life would be much better for Africans living in Africa because of general perceptions about their race but historical events, laws and experiences have influenced relationships and the way people behave and interact with each other.

Previous studies by Boynton, 2015; Möser, 2016; Roberts and Gordon, 2016 have shown that xenophobic violence and behaviour from many South Africans show a clear contradiction between the African Ubuntu philosophy and practical demonstration of such philosophy. Xenophobic tendencies have created a class - oriented society where foreigners particularlyof African descent are considered the least in society. This made the integration of refugees, asylum seekers, and migrants in SA very difficult. (Agyeno, 2019). The author claims that the gap in the idea of xenophobia and the practice of ubuntu could be a result of ineffective leadership. People should be taught about Ubuntu through various educational programs for reintegration.

5.7.2. Housing

Fear of xenophobia influenced migrants' choice of residence. Although Ager and Strang used the size and area of migrants housing to determine their level of integration, this study applied it differently because one's place of residence can either support or hinder integration. Most respondents including refugees and asylum seekers chose to live in urban cities where accommodation is more expensive than in townships where housing is less expensive because safety was their priority.

This finding is opposite to refugees in Australia who mainly settled in areas characterised by relative socio-economic deprivations because it was more affordable for them (Hebbani, Colic-Peisker and Mackinnon, 2018). Although it is typical for most foreigners to choose cheap accommodation so they can save enough money to support their families back home, this is not the case for most foreigners in SA. One respondent stated that:

...Socially you need to live in a community which is very instrumental to support your integration. I would like to rent a house in Khalytsha or Philippi because rents there would be cheaper, but because of my identity, I cannot live there. I can't say I am integrated (Ugandan Interview, March 2020).

Some of the reasons respondents gave for deciding to stay in particular neighbourhoods over others include; stories they heard about frequent xenophobic attacks in certain areas especially the townships, the ideology foreigners have that some South Africans see foreigners as threats, fear of being beaten by nationals in the townships and their identity as foreigners. One or more of these reasons influenced most respondents' place of residence. One respondent reported that:

So with this knowledge, I have been careful how I walk around. I am careful in choosing where I stay and how I go around even if I go to the townships I am alert. I know how to interact with them so these have helped to limit my interactions with them and the way their attitudes might have impacted me (Cameroonian Interview, March 2020).

This is similar to foreigners in Spain who avoided living in certain neighbourhoods because of the stigma associated with foreigners by the host population. They believed that living with nationals would make integration difficult for them (Iglesias-Pascual, 2019). Self-segregation was used as an escape strategy from the rejection foreigners received from the host population. Likewise, Rzepnikowska (2019) study showed that fear of racism and xenophobia deprived Polish migrants of staying in neighborhoods mostly populated by white British. They preferred staying in areas that are more ethnically diverse and more influential. In agreement with other studies, fear of xenophobia and security characterised the main reasons why respondents chose a neighbourhood. Consequently, most respondents preferred to live in areas where other foreigners resided. They believe that living with people who share similar challenges and

experiences is beneficial for them, especially in a community where insecurity is high. One respondent reported that:

To be honest I mostly engage with other foreigners than locals. I do that because they are the people around my community and also I feel much safer you never know. When you stay with foreigners they understand something about culture, about helping each other and respecting each other. You know they'll advise you. There are not a lot of disadvantages, maybe sticking only to the community is not a good thing. Maybe we should also integrate with the locals but again the sentiments come in. (Congolese Interview, May 2021).

This connection has built strong social bonds among the foreign community and helped them to maintain relationships with the foreign population. This aligns with other findings in Spain and Australia where refugees showed more interest in living among countrymen and benefiting from each other's help through the social networks provided (Cheshire and Zappia, 2016; Iglesias-Pascual, 2019).

Furthermore, the study found that the second best option for most foreigners apart from living among other foreigners is living in white and coloured communities. Foreigners feared living in black - dominant neighbourhoods because they considered those areas hostile and highly xenophobic. However, regardless of where foreigners live, most of them prefer creating strong bonds with other foreigners than with South Africans whether white, coloured, or black.

According to Ager and Strang's integration model, physical and emotional support build social bonds that provide individuals and groups with the security required for integration. Migrants' relationships with fellow migrants facilitated their integration into the community but not in South Africa. This is supported by Dickey and Shubin's (2018) study of migrants from Eastern Europe in Scotland stating that migrants living and relating with others of the same social circles and contacts mainly from within their nationality have lower probabilities of integrating into host societies. According to the authors, stronger ethnic connections to home nationality impede integration into host societies (Dickey and Shubin, 2018).

This is true because most foreigners live in isolation and have very little association with South Africans. Only a few respondents lived in areas where there are high risk of xenophobia and crime. Integration between foreigners is very strong while integration between foreigners and nationals is very weak. Foreigners feel it's more convenient to stay away from South Africans because it is a play - safe strategy. According to them, living in neighbourhoods mostly dominated by other foreigners and urban cities reduces the fear of being exposed to certain risks. Most of them affirmed that this has affected their engagement and building relationships with South Africans and most of them do not know much about South Africans which is a major barrier to their integration.

Most respondents mentioned that living in some areas where nationals are dominant can lead to tension between nationals and foreigners. This is in agreement with previous studies like Balkan, Tok, Torun and Tumen (2018) stating that the congestion of Syrian refugees in Turkish neighbourhoods amongst other reasons is one of the main drivers of negative attitudes towards refugees. Nationals felt refugees were congesting public goods and services which contributed to residential segregation and promoting socio-economic inequality which is a serious barrier to integration.

The huge gap between foreigners and South Africans has continued to increase social isolation and seclusion which is not only a barrier to foreigners' integration but also detrimental to growth and development. Agreeing with this, Dickey and Shubin (2018) state that a lack of engagement between migrants and locals in the host community which may be a consequence of migrant networks or clusters has a detrimental effect on integration. Jenson (1998) further explains that when there is an increase in social isolation, non-involvement, and exclusion in society especially among minority groups, social cohesion is hindered. Hence, Lefko-Everett (2018) calls on societies to promote social integration and social cohesion because cohesive societies work together for the welfare of every member of the society; this reduces differences and prevents marginalisation. According to OECD (2011) there are three main ways in which societies can be transformed into cohesive societies: 1) Building networks of relationships, trust and identities between different groups. 2) Combat discrimination, extreme inequality and exclusion and 3) Support upward, and forward mobilization. Similarly, Hebbani et al. (2018), stated that discrimination and prejudice can be reduced by increasing meaningful social interactions between members from different communities. Creating an environment where people can live together without any stigma and creating platforms where they can work together will encourage foreigners to live and engage with the host population. Besides, understanding differences and learning to accept and live with each other will help to promote inclusion and build a cohesive society. Ager and Strang's (2008) integration model alludes that the friendliness of local people plays a significant role in making refugees and migrants feel at home in new social environments.

Key findings in this section show that the fear of xenophobia, crime, and insecurity compels most migrants to reside in particular areas. Insecurity is high in South Africa and even some nationals are very careful in choosing where to stay. This is a serious threat to integration as Strang's integration model states that a sense of personal safety and stability is one of the keys to effective integration. According to the model, safety, security, and protection from racial harassment and crime helps to establish relationships of trust that have a wider effect on future

integration (Ager and Strang, 2004). Results from this study show that fear, xenophobia, crime and insecurity affect the integration of migrants in South Africa. According to Ager and Strang's model, migrants are negatively integrated.

5.7.3. Liberty

Apart from the negative sentiments associated with choosing where to reside, most asylum seekers and refugees mentioned that the privilege of having freedom to choose where to stay was a great motivation. This was to their advantage because it allowed them the opportunity to make better choices. Most of them chose to stay in areas that were safe for their families. Although freedom is available to all, a few respondents reported that due to financial constraints they were forced to live in risky neighbourhoods. One respondent stated that:

You have the right to choose where to stay whether you stay in an urban area or in a rural area depending on your financial ability or whether you enjoy your rights of movement (Rwandan Interview, February 2020).

The freedom to choose where to stay helped refugees and asylum seekers build social bonds that supported their integration, especially among other foreigners. This promotes social cohesion because they have the freedom to explore opportunities and resources.

Although most refugees and asylum seekers acknowledged that they enjoyed some degree of freedom, for example, settling wherever they wanted which has supported their integration to some extent. Most of them claim that there are other major areas where the government has left them to integrate by themselves without any support. In their opinion, the government has not put up the necessary structures to support integration. Some of the main reasons most respondents highlighted were; inadequate subsidies from the government to support migrants' integration and insufficient sensitization of citizens about refugees in host communities. This gap has led to negative perceptions among locals about foreigners. Consequently, some citizens are envious of foreigners leading to tensions and strife in the community. One respondent stated that:

...refugees are left on their own to integrate in the community hence, they embark on these informal socio - economic activities by themselves into the community depending on what they choose to do, you will find that in some areas or most areas refugees or non-citizens will be competing with locals over scarce resources in that community and that is where conflict will start from which is one of the drivers of xenophobia in the community. Why this competition comes over scarce resources because of the need to survive since foreigners don't have anyone to rely on but themselves you turn to break yourself into pieces because you want to survive and hence, you become resilient and there is a tendency to succeed more than citizens then jealousy might grow among your neighbours (Rwandan Interview, March 2020).

Many governments have identified the integration of migrants in host communities to be very important because of the contributions migrants make towards the socio-economic

development of societies. The above finding is similar to Syrian refugees in Turkey who stated that the policies implemented are far from solving their main problems. According to Çam's (2019) study, the policies implemented helped to promote global and regional inequality. This is contrary to some countries in Europe and America where governments continue to put in place strategies to foster integration between migrants and nationals. In several of these countries, governments, NGOs, and business institutions in communities have set up programs to facilitate integration (Obeng, 2012; Magnusdottir and Calini, 2012; Takenoshita, 2015; Drbohlav and Valenta, 2014 and OECD, 2018). These programs have boosted the attitudes of community members towards each other to accept diversity which has gone a long way to increase social relationships between community members. There is positive social cohesion between migrants and nationals in these countries.

Literature shows that highly cohesive societies work towards the well-being of all its members, minimizing disparities, and avoiding marginalization (Cuellar, 2009; Dhéret, 2015; Lefko-Everett, 2016; Jenson, 2019). Highly cohesive societies work together to fight discrimination, exclusion and excessive inequalities; which is highly recommended in South Africa. This will bring minds together to fight racial inequalities and other issues that have been embedded for many years in the country. The lack of total freedom for migrants has led to partial integration limiting them from getting the necessary support required to establish them in the South African society. This partial integration has affected them negatively in several ways.

5.7.4. Language

Ager and Strang's model identified language and cultural knowledge as one of the necessary tools for successful integration within any community. Additionally, literature consistently shows that one's ability to speak the main language of the host community is central to the integration process (Takenoshita, 2015; Dinbabo, Zemba, Pederis, Carciotto, Gastrow, Belebema, Nzabamwita, Chiwarawara, Ahmen, Alem and Mwamba, 2018; UNESA, 2019). Shallow relationships amongst other factors prevented most respondents from learning or even developing an interest in learning any of the local languages. Although some respondents were open to learning and knowing more about the culture and language of the people, the areas where they lived were a barrier to learning any of the local languages because most of them had very limited opportunities to interact with nationals. Hence, many of them are unable to speak any of the local languages with some having very little idea about the culture of the host population. One respondent stated that:

... Where I stay prevents me from learning the local languages because of my fewer interactions with nationals (Rwandan Interview, March 2020).

Another respondent stated that:

To be honest, when I first came, I used to be very much interested to learn because I had South African friends only that we didn't sit down to learning the language proficiently but now the interest has changed a bit because of the sentiments that South Africans have towards foreigners (Ugandan Interview, November, 2020).

Fear of xenophobic attacks or xenophobic tendencies influenced where foreigners lived and the direct effect of this is that it prevented most of them from speaking any of the local languages and knowing much about the South African culture. Fewer engagements with nationals prohibited most foreigners from interacting and learning a lot from nationals. This finding is similar to Ethiopian refugees in Australia. Even though they had stayed in Ethiopia longer than other groups of refugees, many of them could not speak English. So, it was difficult for them to effectively communicate with their neighbours and build good relationships (Hebbani et al., 2018). Lack of English language proficiency was a major barrier between refugees and nationals in their study and the main obstacle in building bridging social capital not only in their neighbourhood but with the wider Australian community.

Additionally, most respondents, especially refugees and asylum seekers reported that the availability of sufficient structures to facilitate the learning of local languages was a major barrier for them. Many of them could not speak any of the local languages and knew very little about the rich South African culture. A few of them who could speak learned informally either on the streets or from friends. One respondent reported that:

I do not speak any of the local languages, but I can understand some of the languages here, for example Afrikaans, Xhosa I can hear but can't communicate proficiently. I learned it when I was in the university; I used to have friends who were Xhosa, and Afrikaan speaking. Also, when I go to the taxi rank and the bank most people from here assume that I am from here and so will speak their local language to me. I do not speak because I do not interact with them most often (Ugandan Interview, November 2020).

Unfortunately, in SA the government does not take a lead role in facilitating the learning of the local languages (Congolese Interview, March 2020).

Foreigners acknowledge that speaking the local language can be an effective tool in facilitating integration and building relationships between foreigners and South Africans but this is not the case. They blame the government for not taking measures to promote integration. This finding is contrary to countries like Japan, Sweden, Denmark, and France, through their integration policies these governments have established free language and vocational courses to support the integration of foreigners in their countries (Drbohlav and Valenta, 2014; Takenoshita, 2015; Aiyer et al, 2016). Japan provided free language training for disadvantaged immigrants to enable them to integrate easily (Takenoshita, 2015). Similarly, the Swedish government

provided language training, employment preparation, and basic education to support the integration of migrants (Drbohlav and Valenta, 2014). Several countries through their integration policy have set up programs to support the integration of foreigners through the acquisition of the host country's main languages.

It is worth noting that the type of atmosphere people live in influences their relationships. One respondent who lived in Eastern Cape before moving to Cape Town reported that she learned to speak Xhosa because the atmosphere was very conducive. National's accommodative and welcoming nature made her feel very comfortable being around them, unlike the atmosphere in Cape Town. She stated that:

I speak a bit of Xhosa. People there are willing to engage with you in Xhosa even though you don't understand it when they speak to you with fun they'll immediately tell you what it means. In that way, I learned faster (Nigerian Interview, January 2021).

Respondents identified several advantages of speaking the local languages and having some knowledge about South African culture. Most respondents noted that speaking any of the local languages can help to bridge several gaps between foreigners and nationals. Others stated that it helped them interact and have conversations that build social relationships. Some said most South Africans are better with foreigners who speak their local language. These respondents believe that if they had more opportunities to learn any of the local languages, this would be a unique tool in facilitating their integration. Others noted that speaking any of the local languages will open up opportunities for you. However, a few others mentioned that speaking the local language does not matter because South Africans will still identify you as a foreigner and treat you like one. Hence, there is no advantage in learning any of the local languages anyway.

"Language is a very big influence on integration. You see when some foreigners arrive in SA they live in communities where they speak Xhosa and after a few years, they can speak Xhosa fluently like any South African. Their ability to speak the local language makes them eligible for big opportunities. They can get employment easily because some companies prioritize speaking Xhosa in their adverts. When South Africans see that you speak the local language they treat you with respect so language is very important in integration" (Congolese, Interview, February 2020).

"I have a friend who is a businessman that speaks their local language, and they relate with him very well. The people admire that aspect of him and engage better with him. If someone should speak your local language: I think there could be some acceptance in the community but it doesn't mean that that won't be always" (Cameroonian Interview, January 2021).

"I learned the language by interacting with them. When I go to soccer. There are advantages of speaking the local language you'll be able to interact with them and they'll see you as part of them. The way they'll respond and relate with you will be different from others" (Somalian Interview, November 2020).

The advantages of speaking at least one local language outweighed the disadvantages. A few respondents advised foreigners to make efforts to learn the local language and always avail themselves to offer services in their communities. They highlighted this as a major strategy for integration. Besides, this will demonstrate to South Africans that they are part of them and concerned about the development of their society which will influence the way they treat and deal with foreigners. Besides, one respondent stated that community members will take note of you and protect you when necessary. He narrated a story of a Somali shop that was protected in Khayelitsha from robbery because community members stood up for that person and chased the gang member because he was loyal to the community.

Right now I heard that two weeks ago, gangsters wanted to rob a Somali shop in Khayelitsha but the community members stood up for that person and chased the gang members from attacking. So, those are things that can happen to anyone who has proven to be part of their communities. I then asked the lady that was telling me the story what did the man do to gain that kind of support from the community, she said all the Somalians in that community were supporting the community, those are the things you do and you don't even think will come back to you when you didn't even expect (Somalian Interview, November 2020).

After the respondent shared this story with his friend from Burundi, he was surprised and his remark was “*I never even thought South Africans could do that for a foreigner*”. The story gave him another perspective on South Africans. Many foreigners live in isolation and distance themselves from the community which has influenced the way some South Africans see and relate with them. He emphasized that foreigners should try to engage with nationals and encouraged those with striking relationships with nationals to share their success stories with other foreigners. This will change their mindset and kick off the process of change between foreigners and South Africans.

Besides, during the focus group discussion with refugees and asylum seekers, respondents highlighted that most refugees and asylum seekers have this attitude of “*I am a foreigner living in South Africa so issues of the community are not my business*”. This was discouraged as some respondents stated that refugees and asylum seekers should engage in activities in their communities and build relationships with community leaders and ward councilors which is vital for their integration. One respondent stated that:

We live in communities, we need to be part of our communities, and many people don't know their ward councilors. If you know about the community forums, have meetings and sit in those communities. You can contribute to strategies that can better the community. Talk about your issues to bring awareness, and base your points on laws that protect everyone, when you do that they are aware and compelled to make a difference for the better of all but that will not happen if we are never in those meetings (Focus Group Discussion with Refugees and Asylum seekers, March, 2021).

Furthermore, some refugees and Asylum seekers from countries where English is not their

main language further complained that due to the language barrier, they have been turned down from several opportunities, especially employment opportunities. Some stated that they lost employment offers from their potential employers because they could not speak English fluently. Others who were employed revealed that their inability to properly communicate in the local language hindered interactions and conversations with some colleagues forcing them to work in isolation. One respondent stated that:

Getting a job doesn't matter which kind of job, I remember once, I had an interview for a French call centre. They were looking for someone who could speak French but for some reason, because my English wasn't good I could not get a job. I feel like people should be a bit inclusive. You are trying to make an effort to learn and if they give you a chance to help you to build your self - confidence, learn English and your communication will also improve but they do not want that. When they see your writing they are convinced but once they hear your English the accent is too different you become stereotyped and things like that (Congolese Interview March 2020).

The above finding is similar to Dickey and Shubin's (2013) and Dickey, Drinkwater and Shubin (2018) study of Eastern European migrants in Scotland and Portugal. English proficiency played a key role in obtaining a highly - paid job and social integration. Similarly, Jamil et al. (2012) confirmed that poor language skills were more of a barrier to refugees securing jobs than immigrants in the US. Hence, Dickey and Shubin 2013; Dickey, et al., 2018 concluded that the host country's language proficiency improves migrants abilities to integrate into host countries' social relations and cultural, meanings' values, and practices.

In conclusion, most refugees and asylum seekers blame this on the government for not providing enough structures to learn the culture and at least one language of the host population. Although some attested to the fact that few NGOs offer some services to support the integration process they objected that there are not enough to address their challenges.

Language barrier hindered migrants' integration. Apart from the availability of sufficient structures to help refugees and asylum seekers learn some of the local languages which are strategic for integration, where migrants chose to reside was another barrier. These two factors greatly prevented migrants from learning any of the local languages and knowing much about South African culture. This further helped to strain the relationship between nationals and migrants. According to Ager and Strang's integration model, language and cultural knowledge are key indicators for successful integration, knowing the local language and culture are strategic tools to facilitate integration and build relationships. According to the model, knowing the local language and culture builds a sense of belonging. In line with Ager and Strang's integration model, it is evident that migrants are not successfully integrated.

Understanding that South Africa has a burning issue like xenophobia, setting up structures to create bonds between migrants and nationals will reduce xenophobic tendencies and xenophobic attacks. Blaming the government will not always be the solution to solving issues around integration because the government has other responsibilities. Hence, migrants to be proactive and design ways of building better relationships with nationals.

5.8. Integration at an individual level

5.8.1. Discrimination

Discrimination has affected migrants' integration in several domains; work environment, communities, and schools amongst others. Most respondents believe that the increased level of discrimination is mostly influenced by the high xenophobic tendencies of nationals and the highly restrictive nature of the migration policy. This will be discussed under several sub - headings.

5.8.2. Laws

Foreigners see most regulations in the migration policy as highly discriminatory, especially when it comes to work and accessing important services. From the study, most respondents highlighted that to foreigners even if they have the right qualifications and documentation because of restrictions in the migration policy. According to them, employment is mainly reserved for South Africans which has led to many unqualified South Africans taking up positions they are not qualified for. Some foreigners mentioned that they have witnessed South Africans taking up positions they did not apply for and in some cases less qualified. One respondent who had pioneered a project, done some supervision and served the university, was turned down for a job she applied for even though she was qualified. Surprisingly, a student whom she had supervised without the relevant qualification and experience was appointed for the job. When she approached her potential employers to inquire why she was not selected, the employer explained that employers are expected to give several justifications as to why they have selected a foreigner over a South African which is a long and complicated process. So, most of them prefer to settle for less qualified South Africans sometimes to avoid these complications and implicating themselves. This has discouraged many foreigners and slowed integration. One respondent noted that:

“So, there are some positions that you qualify for but cannot have it because it is reserved for South Africans. When I was doing my masters the student I supervised at the honours level was appointed a lecturer while I was there available with all the qualifications but was not chosen. The student was not even qualified for that post they gave it to her because she is a South African. That is pure discrimination and that made me not do my PhD there so you can see that sometimes it makes you move on and they lose the benefits. I can imagine how many people I would have also coached to graduate” (Nigerian Interview, January 2021).

Some foreigners left abandoning programs and platforms they had pioneered and set up for the Development of companies, institutions, and organizations. One respondent stated that:

“... these xenophobic tendencies or xenophobic policies if so to speak exist even in institutions. That is what I discovered when I was working at CPUT. You will find that they will only give you a contract, they will never give you a permanent job as a foreigner. Say for instance, if someone has worked for 3 years then he becomes a permanent employee according to the law, they will make sure your contract runs out before the three years so they are not forced by law to employ you so they will give you that contract and once it comes to an end they will let it lapse for a short period then they will renew the contract so you are perpetually a contracted employee who will never be permanent because you are so - called foreigner. Even with the fact that you may have the papers that qualify you to work and be a permanent residence so now for me there was a time I applied for a job at CPUT and I was qualified for it I was doing it on a contractile basis so for me I thought it will be very easy for someone like me to transition from that contract to a permanent job here I am waiting for an interview until the time lapsed then I met my colleague a friend of mine who works in that department I wanted to be employed in and she said I am sorry we didn't meet earlier I would have told you they do not employ people who want money permanently...” (Focus Group Discussion with immigrants, March, 2021).

Some of these decisions have resulted in the loss of skills affecting the output and productivity of organizations and institutions contrary to other countries. In Germany, foreigners with high qualifications were rewarded with better employment opportunities to facilitate their integration (Grimalda, Detlefsen and Schütt, 2019). Similarly, Tatarko, Jurcik and Hadjar, (2021) study on several European countries found that friendly immigration policies do not only benefit migrants in terms of providing equal opportunities and mutual aid but also benefit the subjective well-being of the host population. Despite the challenges that come with integration, skilled migrants create jobs, drive innovation and fill critical labour gaps. Therefore, policymakers should consider this when designing policies for migrants.

Further findings show that others have missed opportunities to gain exposure and experience because of some clauses in organizational policies. These complicated and exclusive clauses or laws have made it difficult for some to get into certain industries and access services to build their capacity and do internships needed for the completion of their degree programs. As a result, some of them have diverted to other things delaying their integration. Most respondents

see some of these regulations as a way to discourage the integration of foreigners.

A respondent stated that:

... for my profession which is the construction industry because when they tell you, you have to be registered to practice, and one of the requirements for registration is for you to be employed and no employer wants to take you in if you are not registered and you are not registered, you are not employable. It's like a dilemma right now, you need the professional seal to practice and for you to get that seal you need to be employed because they want to see you build a portfolio of the work you have done over time, that's is one of the requirements for registration and you have to have been trained under someone. It is very difficult for us foreigners who are in professional courses to practice in SA because they are not giving you the avenue to even practice and to be registered as a professional. In my case the employer wants you to be registered before you are employed but you cannot get employment without registration, so you are caught up there not knowing what to do. (Nigerian Interview, March 2020).

Respondents see these rules and regulations as structured barriers to hinder the integration of foreign nationals.

5.8.3. Funding

Moreover, some respondents, mainly refugees and asylum seekers faced discrimination in schools when applying for scholarships and other funding opportunities. According to them, they are not certain if it is a policy thing or the decision of funders. In the FGDs with refugees and asylum seekers, some respondents cited instances of their children being excluded from funding opportunities because options were not available for them on the application forms every time they wanted to apply for bursaries. According to them, most scholarship opportunities do not provide spaces for identification numbers, which refugees and asylum seekers have on their permits. They only provide spaces for those with international passports and ID numbers; they consider this discriminatory because on paper the law states that they are eligible to apply for such opportunities. One respondent stated that:

There are opportunities like scholarship opportunities in schools where they only provide spaces for international passports or ID numbers; there is no space for a CTR number for refugees. So, that already affects you and the opportunity even when you have good grades and your research topic is in line with the funding opportunity, despite all the qualifications you are exempted because of the kind of documentation you use. So, I think that the policy should at least have some rules about the different documents, about the rights of immigrants for South Africans themselves to know and not discriminate against them for instance telling them that this person has this right you do not discriminate. Here at school, you work in an academic environment we can get those small contracts as SA students like, but it is limiting for example sometimes we have a maximum of 80 to work we are told to work for 40 like people with passports but we are refugees and as refugees you qualify to work as a South African (Congolese Interview, February 2020).

“When our kids apply in schools or colleges sometimes there are bursaries that are being offered and the condition for those bursaries is that someone must have South African citizenship so now our kids are excluded” (Focus Group Discussion with refugees and asylum seekers, March 2021).

This has excluded many asylum and refugees from applying for scholarships and several other opportunities.

Apart from applying for funding and scholarships in schools, respondents from the FGD with immigrants unanimously agreed that the system is built on ID, Passport, and South African citizenship, making it difficult for anyone outside this category to take advantage of available opportunities even if they are qualified. They believe the system is biased in this regard.

“The system is actually built on ID. If they do not ask you for your passport, sometimes it doesn't even go through it still tells you the error. You can see the space that says passport number. So the system is actually built on that so technically you are not wanted if you do not have that” (Respondent, Focus Group Discussion with immigrants, March 2021).

Accessing funding opportunities, especially for refugees and asylum seekers is very difficult in South Africa. The experiences of refugees in South Africa are quite different from other European countries where funding opportunities are made available for students to support and prepare them for the job market. Gola, Boutros, Pimentel and Esteves' (2021) study on accessing higher education in Italy - highlighted that refugees in Italy easily accessed tertiary education through scholarships funded by private institutions or by universities' reserves. Some of these scholarships offer only services while others provide cash directly to students.

According to the human capital theory, skilled refugees and asylum seekers are potential human capital, and if given the necessary support they can add so much value to society. Refugees and asylum seekers have free access to education depending on their financial capacity which according to Ager and Strang's model is an indicator of successful integration. Although they have access to education, the process of acquiring or furthering their education is a problem considering the background of their migration experience. This has slowed the integration of many and some cannot even continue schooling even though they are interested. Financial constraints have greatly affected the process of integration. Findings from the study show that inadequate financial support towards academic attainments slowed the integration of most refugees and asylum seekers.

5.8.4. Public offices and officials

Discrimination in public institutions and from public officials is one common area where foreigners face discrimination. Most respondents mentioned that they have faced discrimination in the way they are treated by some officials who sometimes do not abide by the laws of the organizations they work for. Some of these officials attend to foreigners differently

than they would for South Africans. One main area respondents identified especially refugees and asylum seekers is in government hospitals. Most respondents stated that refugees and asylum seekers are sometimes treated differently from South Africans and other foreigners especially those with the South African ID and permanent residence status. According to them, even when you are early in the queues, sometimes you are the last to be attended to. Some foreigners who work as nurses in hospitals confirmed this to be true stating that, some groups of foreigners especially refugees and asylum sometimes face discrimination in hospitals. One respondent stated that:

... Once I was in an accident in the hospital, I was not injured but we had to be checked and we were asked to give our IDs and to sit and wait. We were called one after the other. They attended to everyone else then I sat and waited but nobody was coming to attend to me. I was there with another guy then I went and asked the lady at the receptionist it had been an hour now what was going on, only to realize that they had taken our IDs and kept them aside. Then I had this A4 paper which was a refugee status that was in 2012 so they were calling only those with green IDs and then she told us what's your name where your ID is then I looked and said that's it next to you she said but we don't know this, and I replied that is my ID. Then she told me the Doctor was gone and that I would have to wait for the night Doctor I asked her to give my paper then I went home. I never got examined or anything. So, I thought maybe she did not know what that was but then do you need someone's ID to treat them if it's an emergency we were brought there by the ambulance so you were just supposed to quickly attend to us to check like everyone else if we are not having internal bleeding or something so I was like this is not good... (Congolese respondent, February 2020).

Apart from discriminatory regulations in some organizations and the restrictions in the migration policy, discrimination from some officials has prevented some foreigners from acquiring certain skills and knowledge required for the completion of their studies or qualifying for certain opportunities. The attitudes of some officials in certain institutions have prevented some foreigners from getting exposure to learn and acquire certain skills necessary for their professions. This has delayed and discouraged several individuals affecting their integration into the system or society. One respondent reported that when he was busy with practical work which was part of his final year assessment to be qualified as a social worker, he was placed under a black South African mentor who was unwilling to provide the necessary support but he supported other South Africans and related with them in a friendlier way. He noted that:

I was supposed to engage with students in the hospital on a full scale knowing that I have his mentorship in the process but unfortunately for me, after having being in this placement for close to two months, I could not effectively engage with a patient. The only instance that I had to engage with a patient is when my supervisor was sick, and the entire ward had been under my care. I had to be mentored by some other colleagues while the whole work in the entire ward I oversaw it and there was not any complaint from the work that I did. When I interacted with his other colleagues, they praised me and said they could see excellence through me but with this person who was an African person he resisted all endeavours to mentor me and give me the necessary skills that I was supposed to acquire (Cameroonian Interview, February 2020).

How public officials treat some foreigners continues to affect their integration straining relationships. This finding is consistent with literature - Hemker, and Rink (2017) found that foreigners face discrimination from German welfare offices. They realized that applicants with foreign names were the last to be attended or did not receive any responses from welfare offices. Similarly, in a study by Adman and Janson (2017), individuals with Arabic-sounding names in Sweden received disadvantageous treatment from Swedish public officials for instance; officials replied to their emails or messages with an informal tone while replies to emails from Swedish-sounding names were friendlier and more welcoming.

According to some respondents, the audacity at which some nationals treat foreigners makes them conclude that their actions are influenced by some superior authority. Some foreigners mentioned that they have tried to report issues of discrimination at different levels, but some authorities treat the cases lightly and at the end of the day the case goes nowhere. This has left them with lots of frustrations discouraging most of them from taking action against issues of discrimination. Others mentioned that some of these actions are influenced by individuals' xenophobic attitudes and a few respondents claim that some nationals are taking advantage of this and treat foreigners with disrespect. This is consistent with a study of female Polish migrants in the UK who experienced racism and xenophobia from the white population (Rzepnikowska, 2019). Their physical presence in various social spaces across neighbourhoods, towns, and cities across the UK stirred anti-immigrant attitudes.

A few respondents noted that some officials do not necessarily treat foreigners because of xenophobic tendencies but because they are just mean people. This is because these same officials treat South Africans in the same way. However, most foreigners concluded that these treatments are mainly because of their xenophobic tendencies.

Even though so many foreigners have experienced discrimination one way or the other, a few respondents reported that they have never experienced any form of discrimination since they came to South Africa. Some have lived for more than ten years with this same testimony meaning all South Africans do not have negative attitudes towards foreigners. A migrant from Somalia stated that:

I have always had a great relationship with South Africans even at work (Somalian Interview November 2020).

Nevertheless, almost all respondents admitted that irrespective of the discriminatory nature of certain individuals, some South Africans are nice and always willing to help others irrespective of your nationality, colour, or race. Some migrants said that such responses and treatment from such individuals has really helped them to integrate to a certain extent because it is not fun living in a society where discrimination and hatred comes at every opportunity with people always willing and ready to express their emotions and anger towards you. From your neighbourhood, to the shops, at work and migration laws and regulations just to name a few. So, whenever they encounter a friendly and supportive person it brings so much joy, hope and fulfilment to them. Some respondents highlighted that good relationships between foreigners and South Africans are mostly common among educated and widely travelled South Africans. According to them, these group of South Africans seem to understand the plight of foreigners and will always sympathize and empathize with them. One respondent stated that:

On the other hand, you might find another person who is sympathetic and cares about human beings irrespective of your skin, so stories will differ. Life doesn't have a format... (Rwandan Interview February 2020).

... Nevertheless, I have come to realize that some of them are accommodative. Some of them are not like others. Some of them are full of humility and some of them have the feelings of foreigners and they go all out to assist. They have the plight of foreign nationals in their hearts. Sometimes you will be amazed to see how some South Africans can go all out to assist you knowing that you are a foreigner. Some of them even have to remark that oh we know your parents are not here. Let us also assist you because you also deserve to have something you see (Cameroonian Interview, February 2020).

Moreover, respondents blame government institutions for promoting discrimination. A majority of respondents claim that these ill treatments are very common mostly in state-owned institutions where one's identity as a foreigner is a barrier. They also highlighted that the person you meet greatly determines the type of treatment you receive. Most asylum seekers and refugees cited instances of discrimination in the way they have been treated in some public offices. They complained about the way they have been treated at home affairs and several other government institutions.

Furthermore, in the FGD with immigrants, one respondent cited a case of unfair treatment at his place of work. According to him he felt discriminated against because out of nine people that made an application to receive UIF due to salary cuts in his company, he is the only one that has not received the funds as yet. After several investigations, he realized that SARS and Home Affairs could not verify him, which he finds questionable because every month SARS deducts money from his account for taxes but when it comes to receiving benefits, there are difficulties. He believes this is happening because he is a foreigner. He stated that:

“the company made an application for me would you believe that amongst probably nine people, I haven’t received a single payment as of yet and after investigations and investigations, SARS cannot verify me, home affairs cannot verify me, so my question comes but I pay the tax you can take money from my salary every month now you cannot verify me so again to go back to your question is because the system is still recognizing my passport number and not recognizing my current status but at the same time that is still unfair because I contribute towards that trust fund, so if I do have a unique trust fund number so what I am trying to say is that the system is designed and I think the system causes a whole lot of for me I believe is a top - down approach” (FGD with immigrants, March 2021).

This is consistent with other studies pointing to discrimination in public spaces. Migrants from Venezuela faced discrimination and xenophobia in Peruvian in public and private spaces. In a quantitative survey by Freier and Pérez (2021), the researchers found that discrimination was more pronounced for those working in the public sector with more than 80% of Venezuelans facing discrimination because of their nationality (Freier and Pérez, 2021). Identifying foreigners as a separate entity in any society creates an environment for continuous discrimination. Societies need to remove the stereotypical ways they see foreigners and relate with them like every other person.

Findings from this study show that most foreigners have experienced different types of discrimination, which has shaped negative attitudes towards South African nationals. Hence, affecting the way they relate and interact with South Africans. Discrimination from government institutions and some officials has hindered the integration of many foreigners in South Africa in several ways. Horizontal relationships between migrants and state officials are key in promoting integration because government officials are pacesetters. How they relate and deal with migrants influences the way nationals relate with and treat migrants.

5.8.5. Rights/ Responsibilities

Protecting and respecting the rights of foreigners is fundamental for integration. In Ager and Strang’s integration model rights entails respecting human dignity, equality, security, and independence. According to this model, governments and citizens have a responsibility to respect the rights of migrants. Likewise, migrants have a responsibility to respect the rights of the government and citizens.

5.8.5.1. Negligence from the government

Most respondents highlighted the government’s negligence as a key factor in fuelling the violation of migrants’ rights. They claim that the government has not

sensitized citizens enough about the rights of foreigners. Consequently, many nationals have taken advantage of this resulting in gross violation of foreigners' rights. Several respondents and participants of both focus group discussions revealed that they are not fully enjoying their rights in South Africa which stems primarily from government laws, negligence to educate citizens, and several institutions about foreign nationals. This has led to different forms of ill-treatment from individuals and institutions to the extent of violating their basic rights as human beings. A respondent noted that:

The government of tends towards not educating the SA population about the rights of refugees and about the benefits that go with that document. You see what is missing, the government is not doing that and there may be some political reasons behind that you never know because they are not ignorant but they are not doing it (Rwandan Interview, January 2021).

Most foreigners think that there might be some political reasons why the government is not effective in sensitizing nationals about the rights of foreigners. The above finding is contrary to a country like Croatia where the government continuously implements measures to promote equity between nationals and foreigners as well as prevent discriminatory practices and attitudes towards migrants in the economic, social, and cultural life (Giljević, Lalić Novak, 2018). The government works in collaboration with civil societies and private sectors to ensure that measures for successful integration are instituted creating public awareness through media, public campaigns, and human rights education at different levels (ibid).

Also, most respondents highlighted that institutions like banks, hospitals, and other public service operators are ignorant of the rights of migrants leading to poor service delivery and unfair treatment. Almost all respondents and participants in both focus group discussions highlighted that the systems are not synchronized with each other. They claim that this is because the communication between government institutions is inadequate and there is no link between the different departments. Consequently, the flow of information is very slow affecting foreigners' integration in diverse ways. In the FGD with refugees and asylum seekers, one respondent stated that:

... Secondly, the system is so broken in such a way that the system is not synchronized to each other. What is this story of I take my papers to the bank and the bank will tell me home affairs has to do that, I go to home affairs, home

affairs will tell you go there, you know I'm like what is wrong you know I get very confused sometimes to be honest with you I do not have a voice in this place ... the system has been designed to in such a way that it is going to discourage you, take away your voice and make you feel like you don't belong here that is my feeling (FGD with refugees and asylum seekers, March 2021).

This finding is contrary to countries like the UK and Germany where the government has provided an inclusion strategy to support the integration of foreigners by emphasizing an all-society approach through cooperation from all local governments and local actors (Scholten, Collett and Petrovic, 2017). Such initiatives build a sense of strong mutual commitment and obligations from the necessary stakeholders to support the integration of migrants.

5.8.5.2. Verbal abuse

According to some respondents, some South Africans see foreigners as outcasts because of the perceptions and ideologies they have about foreigners. Many respondents cited instances of being called demeaning names for no reason. Regardless of their age, or educational status most respondents complained of being treated with so much disregard. Several of the respondents have been embarrassed at the airport by officials and other public spaces because of their foreign identity. One respondent stated that:

One other day my cousin was traveling to SA and I went to fetch him at the airport. Then when my cousin dropped his ID at the checkpoint one of the officials came from behind saying rude things. Such as, you people just buy IDs, my cousin just looked at him and was like what! Do you know who you are talking to? I am a medical doctor for crying out loud. I studied and I am credited to have this ID and it's not fake so why are you coming with this attitude to me? Then his response was no we don't want foreigners here you must go to your country and he was likewhat but you gave me this and if you have a problem go to your minister and tell your minister it's not me you can see I am coming from Nigeria even so it's not a problem to go back to my country I am even helping you here. He said it loud and clear that we do not want foreigners here. I told him you cannot say that not everyone buys ID, some people work and are qualified for the ID. I just told my cousin not to speak she is not okay. We just left and he was bitter which made him change his status and he has left SA for Canada. He is no longer in SA he says he cannot cope in SA and he says that is not even the first time he has experienced such. As for me when I'm done with what I am doing I don't think I'll stay in SA because of the way they treat you sometimes you can see you don't even need to be told (Nigerian Interview, January 2021).

Different forms of demeaning treatment have brought a lot of embarrassment and disrespect, destroying migrants' self-worth. This has influenced foreigners' negative attitude toward South Africans widening the gap between foreigners and nationals. Hence, making integration difficult for migrants. This finding is similar

to the attitude of Germans toward Iranian refugees noted for making offensive statements about foreigners leading to feelings of racial stigma and discomfort (Sedeghi, 2019). Verbal abuse and interrogating statements promote hate crime, which promotes segregation between migrants and nationals.

There is still a huge gap when it comes to the integration of refugees and asylum seekers. The government - both local and provisional - is not visible to educate nationals about refugee issues and help prepare their minds for having new people in their communities. This mediation process is missing and has helped to build negative perceptions about different groups.

5.8.5.3. Negligence from foreigners

Another important point captured was the negligence from foreigners. After gathering information from the one-on-one interviews, FGDs, and some meetings the researcher attended with Migrant community leaders - who deal with migrants directly - from different organizations around Cape Town, it was clear that many foreigners do not know much about their rights. Some of them have very little knowledge about their rights, which has pushed most of them to live with lots of assumptions and have become victims in society. Community leaders highlighted that ignorance has made many foreigners have their rights trampled upon without knowing.

One respondent noted that some foreigners are unstable because they still see South Africa as a transit country even though they have been here for years. These foreigners are still looking for opportunities to migrate to other countries hence; they are not interested in knowing anything about the country or respecting the place because they feel their stay here is temporary. The consequence of this is that some of them get involved in illegal activities and copy the wrong things from South Africans instead of contributing to building society by instilling the good habits they brought from their home countries. According to one respondent:

I am not settling here completely. I am looking for an opportunity to go. Here and there. I wish they could make rules so people are asked if they are staying here or moving to somewhere else because some of us want to make this place and we feel like other people want to spoil things for us. If you want to go to make this home or do you want to go to Europe, go fine then do your things but do not behave in a way that will affect others negatively. We are not grateful and all of a sudden, we want things to be good. That is a paradox so it's either we

want to imitate South Africans in expressing our rights, our duty to the country, and acting like them. Now foreigners protest and break stuff, collide with police with a lot of breaking, etc. That is not what we are supposed to be doing to a country, that is so fragile people still take things so personally. There is always a better way of protesting than trying to imitate the service delivery method that South Africans use. We need to respect people and take our place as foreigners in SA. It does not mean that we are not exercising our human rights but we need to do that with a little bit of respect (Congolese Interview, February 2020).

Besides, some respondents are engaged in illegal activities, which is against the norms of society. Although some respondents mentioned that this could be because of their frustrations, or anger due to the circumstances they find themselves in, this is detrimental for integration and paints a negative picture of foreigners. One respondent stated that:

... most of them have not only been involved in illegal activities but most of them have also been irresponsible and have not lived up to the expectations of the legislation of this country says because if you live in a place you should be able to respect the laws of SA and this could even be some of the reasons why the indigenes get upset with the activities they see in their neighbourhoods, the police have been able to intercept some of their illegal activities and this has caused a negative consciousness in the minds of South Africans and they turn to look at foreigners and say these people from other countries are causing this they are causing that. That in a way has also alienated the SA society to be anti-foreigner (Cameroonian Interview March, 2020).

These illegal activities have only helped to promote anti-immigrant attitudes towards foreigners. Although most respondents reported that only a small group of foreigners are involved in such illegalities, the response to this by the South African population has affected many leading to social isolation and different forms of negative treatments and assumptions towards foreigners.

Evidence from this study shows that when it comes to rights and responsibilities, both the governments and migrants have not demonstrated qualities of successful integration according to Ager and Strang's model of integration. Migrants have cited instances of lack of protection from discrimination, social injustice, human rights violations, and exclusion (factors of negative integration). For successful integration to be achieved, it is important to put in place strict mechanisms to protect migrants' rights. Besides, migrants should conduct themselves as expected by the government. This will help facilitate integration and provide an opportunity to develop social capital between migrants and nationals.

Since foreigners are the minority in society and already have some friction in their relationship with most South Africans, it is important to engage in positive

activities that will help to build people's lives and prove their relevance in the South African community. Law enforcement officers must ensure that once someone is caught in illegal activities, the person should face the law and should avoid taking bribes. This is because the issue of bribery is a chain reaction that can continue forever. Bribery must be dealt with accordingly because it has the potential to hamper integration; causing tensions and chaos in society. So, authorities must be resolute and hold their ground.

5.9. Policy implications

- The effects of xenophobia through regulations, treatment from government officials/ institutions, and citizens amongst others, have forced most foreigners to live in isolation. This has led to poor relationships between foreigners and nationals. Foreigners feel relegated and shy away, locking up their best potential. Building a sense of belonging among foreigners will instill patriotism and encourage them to work towards the progress of the country. This will inspire them and build a conscious responsibility to put in their best in whatever they do to benefit all. Positive integration outcomes for foreigners in host countries have added advantages.

Government

- Xenophobic tendencies from government officials and institutions still show that migrants are not fully protected. This makes migrants more vulnerable and exposed to all forms of discrimination and xenophobia as nationals take advantage of this and further marginalize foreigners. Insufficient protection from key officials in the government promotes division and prejudice in society.
- Inadequate integration programs and other mechanisms to facilitate integration for migrants to help build vibrant relationships between migrants and citizens will only strengthen their differences and create an enabling environment for xenophobia to increase.
- This chapter has analyzed the effects of xenophobia on foreigners.

Evidence from the study shows that xenophobia forces migrants to make certain decisions and live beyond their standards. Fear of xenophobia influenced their lifestyle, and the way they related to South Africans and society hence, negatively affecting their level of integration. The chapter concludes with policy implications.



6. CHAPTER SIX: RESEARCH FINDINGS ON THE EFFECTS OF DOCUMENTATION ON FOREIGNERS AND DISCUSSIONS (OBJECTIVE 2)

Documentation plays a significant role in determining the extent to which migrants are integrated into host countries. In South Africa, the type of permit foreigners have has influenced their level of integration into society. This chapter is a continuation of the previous chapter that seeks to analyze the effects of xenophobia and documentation on foreigners' integration. The chapter presents results and analyzes the effects of documentation on foreigners' integration. The chapter is structured into sub-headings which include documentation, frequent changes, ineffectiveness and duration of permits, materiality of the document, and freedom amongst others.

6.1. Frequent changes/clarity

The importance of documentation in the lives of foreigners can never be over-emphasized. The results from this study show that most foreigners using refugee and asylum permits have difficulty integrating into society than those using work permits, critical skills permits, permanent residence permits, and ID's. This was mainly influenced by the conditions around their permits and the way the permit is regarded in society.

Most refugees and asylum seekers highlighted that constant changes in the refugee policy played a major role in slowing down foreigners' integration. Refugees and asylum seekers including other categories of migrants reported that constant changes in the policy with stricter regulations continue to worsen things, making integration very difficult for most of them. One respondent stated that:

"...In my case, not only my case I have seen many cases like that of their experience at Home Affairs and the Clinic of Law at UCT. Most of the cases at UCT are regarding family and children. HA used to change the requirements and they do not communicate to people who have applied while the requirements were A are still waiting for the answer, home affairs already moved to B, and those people who applied once the requirement was A to be informed and changed to point C. That person is still waiting for HA to respond to the requirements of A and has never received a call from home affairs or an SMS from them and has been waiting for maybe 3-4 years and HA moved to other requirements they never contacted the person and they are expecting the person to respond to the new requirements" (FGD with refugees and asylum seekers, March 2021).

The frequent changes in the policies without informing migrants on time make life difficult and more complicated for migrants. Others claim that most of the laws are one-sided and sometimes lack clarity. Migrants especially refugee and asylum seekers mentioned that updates and changes in the policy are not frequently communicated to them. One respondent stated that:

“The problem with the policy is that it is constantly changing. More often, changes in the policies occur without informing the migrants, the people concerned and what I may say is that the policies are not considerate. There are one sided not taking into consideration the interest of the people and most of the people are not aware of what should happen within their own environment so that becomes a bit complex... Usually policy should be communicated to people and the people should participate especially as stakeholders. They should participate which I think was not done appropriately what I remember was that there was an email which circulated where the parliament I think submitted a draft but it was sent to the wrong people so a majority of these migrants did not have a say of course it was not a sitting debate to put their input even if their input was accepted, you won't know because the paper later came out there was nothing, no changes so it's the same old story” (Uganda interview, march 2020).

Also, most respondents stated that the policy is coded with a lot of hidden clauses. Several individuals along with participants of the FGD with refugees and asylum seekers, revealed that they only realized that certain laws had changed without prior notification when they went to renew their permits, get some services, or apply for certain opportunities. One respondent stated that:

“When I got an SA driver's license, I got it with my four years' refugee paper, so after 5 years I had to renew. I got to the traffic department for renewal and to my surprise I was told we do not accept this paper for renewal you must bring your passport. I told them I didn't use my passport to apply I was just renewing is not like I am applying then they told me we do not accept this paper and I must bring a passport. I told them I was a refugee how come I would have a passport I only have a refugee permit which is what I am using then they told me since I do not have anything I have to go to Home Affairs to ask for confirmation that your paper is coming from Home Affairs and it's not fake then you come we can help you now I go to home affairs to say I am having this problem I am told that we do not print the confirmation letter and give it to individuals it's not legal, and we are not allowed to print and say that this paper is coming from us no but I thought to myself you can check this paper and see that I got my paper legally they said no we cannot do that what you have to do is go back to the traffic department, they are just making it a long process you go to the traffic and tell them they must give an email address, now the email address must have your details and everything they send like a formal letter to say we want to do this and that etc. You go there again and ask for the details so I can present to the HA so that they can just forward the letter so that it can be solved they will tell you we cannot do that let me call this and this person making it long and difficult and you get tired because you do not have your whole life just to renew one paper” (FGD with refugees and asylum seekers, March 2021).

Some refugees and asylum seekers were concerned about the loopholes in the Refugee Act. They mentioned that the act is written in abstract and things are not conclusive making it very problematic. There are no details; for example, refugees and asylum seekers have a right to go to school and hospitals but the conditions are not clearly stated. These rights come with a lot of conditions for example; to go to the hospital you need to have the right documents come with an interpreter if you cannot speak English fluently and you must be a refugee under section 22 or 24 or any other migrant. The state in which some of the laws are drafted sometimes leads to a lot of confusion.

Several other respondents shared similar experiences claiming that within the parameters of their permits, they are allowed to access certain services and opportunities but in reality, that is not the case. This has influenced the way some refugees and migrants are treated in various institutions. One respondent reported that when he went to the post office to collect his parcel, he was denied because of his permit. Even though he used that same permit to open a post box collecting a parcel becomes a problem because some officials are ignorant of the laws. The same thing goes for banking institutions. This is based on the policy narratives which have not been consistent. Most refugees and asylum seekers reported that they have been turned down either because their permits are not recognized by certain officials or additional clauses in regulation that most of them are not aware of. One respondent stated that;

“I went to the bank and when I presented my Document they asked me what it was. This is not a visa but when you open your account they welcome you. Some of the institutions/employers are only following what the government says so there is always this game of innocence so you do not know who to blame, not knowing where the problem is coming from. So you might think there is a coalition between the government and other institutions or they do it deliberately. Someone might think like that” (Congolese Interview March 2020).

The issue of additional clauses is not only peculiar to refugee and asylum permit holders. Some respondents using the permanent residence permit revealed that they have been exempted for applying or using certain services because of additional clauses by institutions even though the migration policy states otherwise. According to the MP, foreigners with the permanent residence permit can enjoy and access all services like South Africans except for the right to vote. This for them was disturbing and prevented many from taking advantage of so many opportunities that could make their lives better and facilitated their integration.

“The PR allows you to use several services like opening an account, but the bank has its clause. When they are dealing with you, they need your ID. I could not open a particular account that I wanted when I had a permanent residence permit because the bank needed an ID. The guy I spoke about had to miss the exam because he did not have the proper documentation. He has a PR but does not have an ID and he could not write the exam and he had everything to write the exam. So, he missed it, and exams are written only once a year so that year is completely gone for him. So, he had to wait for the next year but in the application, they say PR not ID but when you go to clause they bring the clause of an ID that is not exposed” (Nigerian Interview, January 2021).

Almost all respondents (refugees, asylum seekers, permanent residence ID holders, etc.) mentioned that many officials are not acquainted with information about foreigners. Several of them mentioned instances of misrepresentation of information from officials. According to them, some officials are not acquainted with the regulations while others are being difficult. They claim that many institutions, especially government institutions do not know much about the document, sometimes when the document is presented some officials ask questions like: what is this? Where is your ID? These questions make them feel rejected and affect their

confidence. This makes integration very difficult because they cannot engage freely and ask relevant questions about certain opportunities or services. One respondent stated that;

“...It is a shame that most government institutions do not recognize that paper and they don't even know that paper, you go somewhere and present that paper they will ask you what is this and you have to explain it. These are government organizations that we believe are supposed to know better if other organizations are behaving like thi. That is fine. This makes things difficult when you have an asylum permit...” (FGD with asylum seekers and refugees, March 2021).

Results show that government officials who are supposed to be more knowledgeable about documentation are the ones expressing so much ignorance. Most foreigners think the policy is not helping them to integrate. Respondents from both FGD stated that the system is designed to frustrate foreigners.

The frequent policy changes, the unpredictability of some government officials, and regulations have caused many migrants to live in panic, having many uncertainties not knowing what the future holds for them. This has slowed the process of exploring and getting relevant information that can facilitate integration. Besides, policy changes interfere with the follow-up process of monitoring the policy to examine the extent to which migrants are integrated and provide the government with relevant information on better ways of handling migrant issues.

6.1.1. Ineffectiveness and duration of permits

Ineffectiveness in the accountability of the Department of Home Affairs was highlighted as a major barrier to the integration of foreigners. Most respondents, especially refugees and asylum seekers mentioned that the DHA's long and indecisive nature in determining the status of migrants has affected migrants in several ways. Some of them have been stuck in one place not knowing what to do with their lives and others have given up on their pursuit for status because of the complications around it. This has pushed several foreigners to become undocumented because of decisions made by the DHA after living in the country for so many years. Many foreigners have lived in South Africa for more than a decade and are still using the asylum permit having no hope of transitioning to a refugee permit. A lot of migrants using the refugee permit have not acquired the refugee ID after staying in the country for many years. Some have lived for more than 20 years and have not been able to successfully integrate mainly because of the indecisive nature of the Department of Home Affairs. One respondent reported that:

One of the areas that I found disturbing is that the DHA has been ineffective in the accountability of the process of their documentation. The process is not clear they are not accountable for how refugees are being documented. You find out that someone has lived in this country for ten to fifteen years and is still using asylum paper. Ten years is enough for the government to realize that this person has taken SA as his home and they should be able to freely give him a document that will enable him to go about his affairs because living in the country for ten years my roots are established (Cameroonian Interview, March 2020).

People go to Europe and America, and after two or three years they have their documents sorted but somebody with an asylum seeker's permit stays here for 15 years and the document is not even given (FGD with refugees and asylum seekers, March 2021).

This has slowed the integration of many. Some cannot travel out of South Africa to other nations and others are not able to pursue their careers or attend to business opportunities and adventures. Besides, families have been tremendously affected. Many families live in separation because children cannot travel to meet their parents and for others, one spouse cannot travel to join the other. This has a lot of emotional and psychological effects on foreigners.

Moreover, some respondents noted that the DHA's reluctance to reopen Cape Town's refugee reception centre after receiving orders from the court has frustrated the integration of newcomers. Even though the case was won in court, they delayed reopening Cape Town's refugee reception centres to facilitate the integration of newcomers. One respondent reported that:

... and the home affairs on its part is also still reluctant to acknowledge the fact that this case has been won by the UNHRC and so you see that in such a scenario, it becomes difficult to seek employment or even to move from existing status to another status. That will warrant those companies to happily give you the job so personally I have faced these challenges and it is something that needs to be addressed (Cameroonian Interview, March 2020).

Besides, the DHA also ignored the court's instruction to allow qualified asylum seekers and refugees to apply and change from their existing permits to permits that can facilitate integration. Some claim that this is a clear indication that they want to frustrate the integration of refugees and asylum seekers. One respondent revealed that many skilled asylum seekers have graduated from South African universities with critical skills but it is difficult to acquire a critical skills visa as an asylum seeker.

You find that a foreign national has graduated with the critical skills for instance a nurse, but to acquire the critical skills visa becomes a challenge. The DHA has other processes that does not allow this person to get the critical skills visa and this person is in SA haven studied in SA with a certificate from a South African university yet she is unable to acquire the critical skills permit whereas the law allows that person to have that permit so it becomes difficult for this person with the skills to practice in the nursing profession and that qualification should have enhanced and developed the economy, enhanced the health of individuals so it does not make sense (FGD with refugees and asylum seekers, March 2021).

A system that asylum seekers and refugees cannot change and apply for a work permit or critical skills permit makes life more complicated for them. Even though the asylum and refugee permit allows refugees and asylum seekers to work and study in the country, the theories and assumptions around this document have influenced the way people using this

document are treated in society. Hence, most people wish they could be identified differently but the system is closed.

Nevertheless, the DHA now allows refugees and asylum seekers to renew their permits in the cities where they currently reside, saving them from the stress of traveling long distances and much more. Although this has helped them to save some money and avoid the stress of traveling, some respondents still complained that every time they go for renewal, their permits are only extended for a month, which has been going on for two years now. Many asylum seekers expressed dissatisfaction with the response given by the DHA stating that the department is still waiting for their files to come from wherever their permits were first issued. It has been over two years now and they are still saying the same thing. This is attributed to a lack of accountability. Foreigners consider this change as flipping the side of the coin because it is a different strategy with similar effects since they are still having lots of preventing them from fully integrating into the society.

Moreover, some refugees and asylum seekers reported that due to the limited extension periods, their bank accounts are often closed. In case of an emergency when their permit expires, they can't withdraw money and sometimes they might be in a dire situation. Besides, others reported that because of the nature of their permits, some of them have missed many opportunities like traveling outside SA to attend conferences, conduct research, and explore different opportunities. This has prevented them from exploring their potential and realising their dreams.

However, some groups of foreigners like those with IDs, critical skills permits, permanent residence permits, and some refugees who renew their permits after four years easily access banking services and more advantages in this regard. Most refugees with IDs mentioned that with their IDs, they are at liberty to travel outside SA to visit and pursue other engagements at will. A few of them under this category reported that this documentation has supported their integration. One respondent stated that:

I have never been out of documentation and I have never experienced any challenges. My document allows me to travel to other African countries for work (Somalian Interview, November 2020).

Having proper documentation facilitates the integration process and give people the opportunity to pursue their dreams and aspirations. Some refugees and foreigners with ID and permanent residence permits have successfully integrated and can start businesses and provide employment for many. Others can take loans, qualify for financial grants, secure stable employments, and other services because of the nature and duration of their permit. However,

despite these privileges, most of them say they are not satisfied with the services and treatments they receive as refugees generally.

Regarding the criteria for grants you must have the status and ID without the ID they cannot process it, if you have a receipt of the ID application they will attend to you (FGD with refugees and asylum seekers, March 2021).

Although you have a residence and a status, you are still a subject because the paper is not recognized in all departments. Only a few departments have leniency to accept you (Congolese Interview, March 2020).

One respondent who is a migration specialist that has shared spaces and participated in discussions with government officials about migrant issues, said that there are many misconceptions about refugees. He mentioned that the parliament portfolio committees are very negative about refugees labeling them as criminals. So the wing that the government plows as the voices of the local people makes policy difficult to implement which is why the changes happening are negative.

Evidence from literature has shown that most governments are now using delays in releasing documentation to foreigners as a strategy to manage and control migration (Hölscher, 2012). Several other countries like Turkey, Hungary, and Czech Republic amongst others have instituted restrictive visa requirements, additional clauses, and new laws just to discourage the settling of foreign nationals in their countries (Hölscher, 2012; Benton, Sumption, Alsvik, Fratzke, Kuptsch, Papademetriou, 2014; İçduygu, 2015). On the contrary countries like Canada, Australia, and some countries in Europe, have put in place strategies to facilitate the integration of foreigners; making it easy to acquire the required documentation (Bauböck, Honohan, Huddleston, Hucheson, Shaw, and Vink, 2013; Sidney, 2014; Rilla, Deschryvere, Oksanen, Raunio, and van der Have, 2018; Kaushik and Drolet, 2018). Having the right documentation opens doors for many opportunities.

Results from this study show that the nature and duration of migrants' permits, especially for refugees and asylum seekers have negatively affected the integration of most migrants as hypothesized in this study. Asylum seekers and some refugees are unable to access certain services, secure jobs, open bank accounts in certain institutions, take loans, get admission into certain institutions, and travel outside SA amongst others; this is because of the limited extension periods and nature of their documentation. It is important to note that documentation is core for foreigners' integration in SA. Providing relevant documentation that is accepted by key institutions in society will promote the successful integration of foreigners in SA. Integration gives foreigners a sense of belonging that allows them to open up, share their aspirations, and exchange values. This builds in them a strong sense of mutual commitment

towards the society.

6.1.2. Materiality of the document

The materiality of the refugee and asylum permit has significantly hindered the integration of many migrants under this category. Most refugees and asylum seekers stressed that the nature of the document is a major barrier to their integration. The document which is in the form of an A4 sheet is different from the ID South Africans use. According to respondents, the appearance of the document already creates an opening for discrimination even before they think of applying for a job or accessing certain resources. Some reported that some employers and officials do not even know what the document is when presented to them. One respondent stated:

An employer might not be comfortable with the paper because it's an A4 sheet. South Africa is a country with their documentation they have their green ID smart and card and then you go therewith your A4 sheet it looks bizarre. This is already a barrier because your paper looks abnormal outside the normal which is a smart card and a green ID which employers are used to. Then you come with an A4 paper, you are already abnormal out of the norms that alone is an element of discrimination that the potential employer will not feel comfortable. Sometimes they say I am not sure about this, I need time to find out about this document and stuff like that (Rwanda, Interview, February 2020).

The materiality of the document further frustrates their integration. Asylum seekers and refugees are not taken seriously, especially when it comes to employment. This is confirmed by Ambe's (2016) study stating that most potential employers view the A4 identification paper with a lot of skepticism and reservations because they doubt the authenticity of the document, hence, disqualifying potential candidates. This has helped to increase the rate of unemployment among refugees and asylum seekers.

A few respondents highlighted that the ID given to refugees, which is in the form of an A3 pamphlet, has not helped matters. They see the nature of the ID as a major object of discrimination because the document is of very low quality and is different from the South African green ID. One respondent explained that sometimes when your permit is presented you are not taken seriously and treated with discontent. He stated that:

The colour makes it discriminatory and makes you look abnormal; most employers don't know about this and they ask what this again. I see this as a very subtle strategy which the potential employers will always have suspicion about foreigners asking a lot of whys (Rwandan Interview, March 2020).

The attitude of society towards these documents has affected foreigners' self-esteem in no small way, especially asylum seekers. People's ignorance about the refugee document and their reactions sometimes make foreigners feel ashamed, very uncomfortable, and excluded. A few respondents explained that sometimes foreigners with refugee and asylum permits are attended

to last, have separate queues, and sometimes become objects of ridicule by some officials and nationals. This has destroyed the confidence of many. Some cannot even go for certain opportunities and present their opinions and ideas not necessarily because they do not have the platforms but because they lack the confidence. One respondent stated that:

... When I was applying for residence, they asked me for my ID number and I gave them that long number on the refugee paper and they were like what kind of passport are you using? And I said I was a refugee, and they were laughing. The refugee paper is like 14 digits and the refugee .D is like 10 digits. Sometimes you feel ashamed like you gave them the wrong number (Congolese Interview, March 2020).

Furthermore, a few others stated that the A4 paper affects your personality irrespective of your qualifications. According to them, once a person is holding the document it plays on his/her psych and even the psyche of the person on the other side because of the way the document is considered in society. Most people are ashamed of it and cannot even walk around with it freely. One respondent stated that:

Just the materiality of the document is demeaning because imagine you carrying an A4 Paper as your identification paper. That is how it affects your personality and psyche and that is how the person on the other end treats you without regard like trash. The fact that you cannot have an ID already speaks that this person is worthless. So that is what we have been carrying around for our stay in SA. So to transcend that you have to fight it psychologically to be able to overcome it. Just imagine you are well dressed wearing a suit and when they ask for your ID you take a big A4 paper what happens to the smart card, that is why it is called your identity card it identifies you from the definition of it that is your worth that big piece of paper (Cameroonian Interview, February, 2021).

Also, it reduces your personality when you go to a place and they ask you what permit you are using you'll be so shy to say asylum. When you say asylum some of them will not even want to talk to you but when you say South African ID oh ok they give you special treatment. Even in the airport to date special queues for those that have IDs and asylum permits. Asylum seekers cannot access some opportunities. So, it is very challenging (Nigerian Interview, January 2021).

The perceptions around documentation have influenced the way foreigners are treated in society. As earlier mentioned, the type of documentation foreigners use determines their level of integration in society.

In a previous study by Ambe (2016), the A4 format permits are not accepted into most government and corporate institutions especially those using computerized systems for their operations. The file number on the asylum and refugee permits which is more than the normal 13-digit identification number in the South African identity document makes life complicated for these migrants. As such cannot easily access banking services, enter into lease agreements with property owners, or buy or license a car in their name amongst others.

However, the nature and value attached to permanent residence, ID, and passports make integration much better for them. Their identification documents are easily accepted in society, which is a plus for them. Most respondents using the permanent residence permit, especially those with Green IDs, highlighted that just the acquisition of this document makes them feel more confident and accepted in society. They gained respect from South Africans and were highly admired by other foreigners. This makes them bold to go for opportunities knowing no one will ridicule them but treat them with a lot of respect. Some stated that that sense of importance and relevance in society with receiving special treatment from officials has helped them to integrate very well into the society. Some respondents stated that:

...because it has another aspect in you there is that self-esteem which is very important, you know that you are not afraid you can easily assess many things, I'm confident, there is no fear in me when I see the police I won't run away apart from other things there are also other intangible aspects around it which are very important. People don't have that much confidence even if they are skilled but with a certain type of documentation their confidence reduces from engaging properly no matter how skilled or productive they are because when you go for an interview one of the first things they ask is your documentation which can be a barrier without been allowed to showcase your skills (Cameroonian Interview, January 2021)

From a social point of view, I also do realize that a lot of South Africans don't even know what that means once they see that you have an ID or PR they automatically think you are a citizen because they are like oh he has an ID I have an ID so even to the educated ones they relate to you better because they feel now that you are part of them and they feel that because you have an ID you are a reputable person, you are more admitted in society, unlike someone who doesn't have it. So, I have seen a lot of friends who say O you are a South African like me but they don't know the difference (FGD with immigrants, March 2021).

Many of the respondents highlighted that their documentation has contributed tremendously to their integration, unlike other groups of foreigners like refugees and asylum seekers. Almost all respondents using the permanent residence permit mentioned that the permit gives them more advantages. Some of these advantages include the privilege of mortgaging a house, mortgaging a car, traveling for work, or doing research outside the country. Besides, with the ID, take loans, set up businesses, buy properties, and invest more in the country, unlike someone with a refugee or asylum permit. One respondent stated that:

PR gives you so many privileges. You can mortgage a house, you can mortgage a car, you can travel, you can go and do your research outside the country unlike someone with a refugee or asylum permit, and those are the benefits I can say are available (Ugandan Interview, March 2020).

Moreover, some respondents admitted that having an ID or the PR is beneficial when it comes to applying for scholarships or fellowships. The South African system is structured to give preference to those with PR and IDs over other groups of migrants. Several respondents mentioned that the South African authorities always have little space for those with PR to the

extent that sometimes they group PR along with citizens. For instance, many opportunities are labeled for either citizens or PR. With this, there is some form of liberalism and an opening for better integration. In such instances, if you are fortunate, you may benefit. One respondent stated that:

Also, this SA staff development program for example the new generation of academics has something to do with PR so it is for South Africans or PR if you are lucky, then you happen to apply to an institution that is less xenophobic an institution that is more cosmopolitan then you may run into luck and benefit from this. It is not easy but at least you must agree that there is a possibility by being a PR and having that green book. The system itself will ask you for your ID number when you are registering in the system so if you have that at least you are already in the system and can submit your application (FGD with immigrants, March 2021).

Another respondent stated that:

The system is actually built on ID, if they do not ask you for your passport, sometimes it doesn't even go through it still tells you error. You can actually see the space that says passport number. So the system is actually built on that so technically you are not wanted if you do not have that (FDG with immigrants, March 2021).

The above findings show that foreigners with PR and ID's are better integrated in South Africa. The nature and level of acceptance of foreigners' documentation is fundamental for integration in society. Most foreigners strive to possess PRs and IDs because of the advantages associated with them.

However, most foreign nationals using the PR permit mentioned that even though they have some advantages, there are many assumptions theoretically attached to foreigners using the ID and PR. Especially among other foreigners not understanding that they still have challenges like other foreigners. Having the PR or ID comes with a lot of expectation from individuals who possess these documents but after a while, they realize that they overrated their expectations because in many instances they are still treated as other foreigners. One respondent stated that:

So, there is a lot of attachment that is theoretically attached to the ID, to the permanent residence, but we remain foreigners. Just that I do not have a refugee paper, it is still the same, I remain a foreigner, even if you have the ID, you remain a foreigner. So, it makes it hard to break through. When you have the ID you are supposed to get a job easily, but they say as much as you have the ID, for us that is not what we call transformation. So, theoretically, it's good but practically it's a give and take, we give you but (Congolese, Interview, February 2020).

Furthermore, most respondents under this category reported that there is still the element of exclusion in many ways, which is so clear. According to them, you may be accepted but somehow you feel excluded within the environment. Most of them mentioned the working environment for instance. The way some nationals see you and relate to you clearly shows that you are not part of them and this makes you feel excluded. There is still that rhetoric that they are still foreigners even though they have the permanent residence permits because of the way

they are treated. Some mentioned that if you have a permanent residence without an ID, you are still in a state of disadvantage although the policy states that those with permanent residence have all benefits apart from voting this is not the case.

Most of them revealed that it is sometimes difficult to get a job without an ID even when you have a PR. A few others with ID and citizenship still complained of potential employers asking you if you are from South Africa, so the whole process is a bit complicated. One respondent stated that:

I'm no longer a refugee to begin with but my experience is not different with refugees that's why we make a joke that we are Permanent Refugees. It does not make much difference if you are still a foreigner, your country of origin is still written there, they claim that you have the same rights as South Africans but that is not the case (Congolese Interview, February 2020).

Some respondents under this category mentioned that integration is not quite easy for them as most people assume, especially in the area of housing. They have to go through long procedures and screenings even when they present their ID and permanent residence permit. Most of them thought life would be much easier for them with the acquisition of these permits but that has not been the case. Coupled with the fact that securing a permanent job is very difficult when huge sums of money are asked by landlords for a deposit, it makes things even more complicated. One respondent stated that:

I have an issue with housing. Even though I have an ID and a permanent residence permit, these documents do not make my life easier but it opens my eyes to the challenges that you have. Seeking housing for instance where I live, I had to give my South African ID, and I had to pay three months three-month deposit and three months' rent in advance which wouldn't have been the case if I had a citizen if I had been born here and then on top of that the deposit that I paid is just oh my goodness way up the ruff is just too much so I end up paying so much before you get a lease and the lease has got too many conditions if you want I could send you a lease to see how challenging it is for a foreigner to get a house here. Having an ID does not put you in an advantageous position. If you were not born here, then you go through many challenges to get housing. The documentation states you can enjoy all the rights as South Africans except voting but then they do not tell you the final condition. There are laws that are hidden you only get to know them when you are looking for a house... (FGD with immigrants, March 2021).

Many respondents complained that most permits issued to foreigners have restrictions, which makes it difficult to acquire certain services. Among several other permits, foreigners with IDs and PRs often qualify to buy properties and open certain accounts. Others have the money to invest in the country but are restrained by the conditions on their permits. This has made integration difficult for some skilled migrants. One respondent cited the case of his friends who were professors but since they were on work permits, they could not buy houses because of the duration of their permits. Despite their steady flow of income, they could not buy a house because the house owners wanted them to make an upfront payment of the whole amount before their permit expired. He stated that:

I know friends who had work permits, they went to buy houses, these were professors, they were told that we can give you the house but you have to pay for it in 2 years because of your work permit, the time that you are here, that's why despite that it's clear that this person will be able to pay the house even if he will not be able to pay the bank will repossess it, so they are other barriers that affect your socio – economic status. You go to get a loan, they will give it to you but they say pay it in 2 years. I personally applied for a loan, they said you qualify but your temporary status expires at the end of 2020 because the policy at the bank was that they don't take the permanent residence certificate, they take the ID, so, although I had a permanent residence certificate they will not take it until I got the I.D, so I continued using my study visa until I got the I .D, so they are so interconnected” (Ugandan Interview, February, 2020).

Besides, a few respondents with children reported that integrating children into the system is still very difficult for them. They are still expected to apply for permits for their children, which has made some children to stay undocumented for several years. This has prevented some children from schooling; partake in some benefits from their parents as well as other social services. One respondent stated that:

Some schools if you go to look for a place, they say you must have permanent residence, so if you have asylum or temporary residence, they will not give the child a place. So, it is so interlinked (Ugandan Interview, February 2020).

The worst of experiences that foreigners get are in SA is in the area of documentation. For example in my case with a PR I have a child with no papers. My child that was born here has no papers and I do not know how that can be explained in the law of SA but some guys because they hate foreigners they say we cannot give papers to your child. I don't think it the law so I need to get a lawyer to follow up so he can get papers (Congolese Interview, March 2020).

From the above findings, we cannot conclude that foreigners with PR, IDs, and other related documents are entirely integrated because of the peculiar challenges some of them still experience. Although integration is much better for them, most of them feel that they have not been successfully integrated into the South African society.

The acceptance or rejection of documentation by systems, key officials, and institutions is a major problem among foreigners leading to a lack of proper integration. Findings from the study show that documentation strongly affects integration. Although refugees and asylum seekers have the right documentation, the difficulty of recognizing and accepting this document by most officials, governments, private organizations etc. either because of lack of knowledge or for other reasons has affected migrants' integration. Even though refugees and asylum seekers provided evidence to show that the materiality of the document has affected their integration, in my opinion, it is not mainly about the materiality of the document but the level of ignorance in society. The stigma and ignorance about this document are alarming, several sectors and officials have not made provisions for those using asylum and refugee permits consequently, restraining them in diverse ways. Regardless of the kind of permit one has, the value placed on it is insignificant. What is important is giving value to these documents. Once the value is added, the materiality of the document will not affect integration because what is most important is

acceptance. This is lacking and there is a need for serious intervention to support the integration of foreigners. Access to documentation should be included as one of the key determinants for successful integration because, without the right documentation, integration is difficult.

6.1.3. Freedom

Despite the several challenges, documentation poses to migrants, especially asylum seekers and refugees, the document gives them a level of freedom, which supports their integration to a certain extent. Most refugees and asylum seekers reported that their permits allow them to move freely and do so many things for themselves unlike in other countries where refugees stay in camps with lots of restrictions. Some refugees and asylum seekers who have lived in South Africa for more than ten years revealed that they had a lot of freedom especially when they came to SA. For instance; they could freely report to the nearest home affairs office to tell their stories to authenticate their claims for coming to SA without any hindrances. Others noted that even before they received the outcome from Home Affairs, they were given papers, a temporary permit that allowed them to stay in the republic while waiting for their interview. This made them feel welcomed at first instance, which helped them integrate into the society. To them, this was an indication that society was willing to support them, which had a positive psychological impact on them. The moment they received their permits, they had the choice to move freely and settle wherever they wanted. Most of them choose to stay with relatives, friends, and people from their home countries who had stayed in the country for a while and understood the dynamics of the country. This played a significant role in orientating them on what to do and how to live in SA. Most migrants and asylum seekers that relocated to SA around the 90s and early 2000s revealed that integration was much easier for them compared to now; because of many restrictions in policy.

Also, if refugees and asylum seekers are fortunate to find a potential employer who can employ them, they get employed because the permit states that they may take up studies or employment. Besides, if foreigners have enough funds they can register for a tertiary institution and nobody will stop them from that. This made integration easy for them in SA. The paper alone is a work permit, study permit, and residence in the republic. According to Section 22 of the previous Refugee Act, refugees and asylum seekers had legal permission to stay in the republic, study, run businesses, and be self-employed if they had the resources to start a business.

Others revealed that the permit gives your children access to schooling and gives you and your dependents access to health services. Most respondents acknowledged that some regulations in

the policy allowed them to have access to education and most of them enrolled and obtained degrees or certificates. This helped to build their intellectual capacity and other privileged to secure jobs to support their families. One respondent reported that:

...when it comes to integration in terms of being in school, in terms of being able to get a post-doctorate or part-time employment. We can maybe look at it based on that perspective. Intellectually I can say somehow I have been integrated but socially I am not integrated. Academically yes, here in the University it's a good family I have integrated here. I can do my research; I can do what I want to do so academically I can say I am integrated (Ugandan Interview, March 2020).

Many respondents noted that refugees and asylum seekers enjoy this degree of freedom mainly because of the non-encampment system that does not confine asylum seekers and refugees to stay in camps. They highlighted that this is one of the best aspects of the SA refugee policy. According to one respondent:

"In other countries for example in Zambia, Malawi, Zimbabwe, and elsewhere, you are given a document, but you stay in the refugee camp. You are not an urban refugee and if you want to become an urban refugee, you must apply and say I am no longer living in the camp; I want to live in the Urban area and do my activities. SA does not have refugee camps, which is a very good thing. If they could just improve the stay of refugees in the urban area, it could have been better but accepting you to live in the city without providing you with the opportunities is like asking you to live in the camp in another way. So, this was a positive thing, but it became negative because the policy does not help you to expand so that is the only thing" (Congolese Interview, March 2020).

The above findings are contrary to Somali refugees in Kenya. They do not have a variety of options to choose where to live and work due to restrictions. In a study by Dryden-Peterson, Dahya, Adelman (2017), some Somali refugee students in the Dadaab refugee camp of Kenya did not have the opportunity to go schools because of limited classrooms, and others managed to study under unfavorable conditions because of crowded classrooms. However, the situation is different for refugees in Canada and some European countries who also live in camps. In response to UNHCR's call to prioritize education among refugees, scholarship programs have increased to provide opportunities for more students in Turkey and Canada (Avery, and Said, 2017; Nakhaie, 2018). Access to education and economic opportunities is key to successful integration.

Moreover, one respondent stated that the fact that refugees and asylum seekers are free to use public transport and travel to any part of the country without any restrictions gives them the privilege to explore opportunities. Many have come up with different ideas to set up businesses on small, medium, and large scales. He stated that:

“...If you’ve got your means from day one you can start your own business, you can start a tuck shop, whatever business as long as it is a legal business that abides by the laws of the land nobody will come and stop you from doing that so you can start generating income and running your own business which is a positive thing. Also, you can buy a House in SA which is also another positive thing. So the goodness of the refugee policy by far out ways the negative aspects” (Rwandan Interview February 2020).

Besides, the fact that foreigners have some freedom to choose to do what is within the premise of the law gives the feeling that South Africa is kind of a liberal society. In the FGD with refugees and asylum seekers, most respondents reported that foreigners are free to be part of the community forum that is in charge of safety and contributes towards the development of that community in areas where they reside. This is not only peculiar to refugees and asylum seekers but all foreigners. Foreigners are allowed to be part of meetings with ward counselors and partake in decision-makings that will benefit the whole community. Some respondents testified of their suggestions in such meetings, which brought about a transformation in the whole community. This has not only helped to bring awareness but it helped foreign integration because this brought awareness to the leaders about their problems and took necessary actions. Besides, engagements in these meetings built their relationships with South Africans because they see you as part of them and treat you differently. One respondent reported that:

When I sit in those ward meetings I talk about issues affecting foreigners and everyone else in the community to bring awareness and I base my points on laws that protect everyone. This compels the officials responsible to take action and make a difference for the benefit of all (FGD, refugees and asylum seekers, March, 2021).

Participating in community meetings and raising awareness is a unique way of supporting foreigners’ integration. This creates an opportunity for members of the community to bond, share ideas, challenges, and experiences, and come up with possible ways of supporting each other. Lewis (2021) supports this argument stating that relationship networks through available resources have been theoretically and empirically proven as links to successful integration. According to the author, “successful integration refers to refugees’ ability to participate in their local community, access resources, and become citizens” (Lewis, 2021p. 333). However, many foreigners are ignorant of the services and opportunities available to them because they live in isolation. Living in isolation will only widen the gap between foreigners and nationals and integration will be impossible. For successful integration to occur, it is important foreigners avail themselves, take interest, and participate in affairs in the communities they live in. This will build strong bonds and result in successful integration.

6.1.4. Access to services

Access to services influenced foreigners' integration. Most respondents revealed that even though the document states that you can have access to some services, many asylum seekers and refugees still face challenges accessing the services stated in the document. Several other respondents using the critical, work and permanent resident permits also raised the problem of ineffective implementation of policy. They claim that most of the regulations in the policy are good on paper but implementation is a nightmare. Most respondents think that what is on paper in the policy is quite different from what is happening underground. According to them most of the regulations are good on paper but the implementation is very poor. This makes the policy problematic. They claim that the policy treats foreigners on a peripheral basis whether you have a permit or not. According to them the policy only helps them to access certain services but in its definition, it does not support integration on a wider scale. One respondent stated that:

Even though the document allows you to have access to several services in reality that is not the case, when you read about the Bill of Rights and stuff like that when it comes to implementation that is another ball game. It becomes very difficult because this is what you see on paper but coming to implementation it is another issue (FGD with asylum seekers and refugees, March 2021).

The above finding relates to several other findings confirming that what is on paper is quite different from their experience (Czaika and De Haas, 2013; Anjofui, 2018; Crush, 2021). This finding is similar to previous studies stating that despite the emphasis on Finland's migration policy document to integrate migrants into the Finn society, appropriate measures were not taken to facilitate their integration (Kärkkäinen, 2017). Similarly, Mbiyozo (2018) states that the DHA has designed several policy proposals to address the realities of economic migration to South Africa from its surrounding countries, but implementation has always been a barrier to attaining desired goals. The lack of proper execution of policy has negatively affected foreigners' integration in SA.

However, despite the several barriers previously mentioned, refugees and asylum seekers acknowledged that documentation gives them some degree of freedom. However, with the recent policy changes that withdraw the rights of refugees and asylum seekers to study and work in any institution and place of their choice, integration will be quite difficult for future migrants.

Proper documentation which allows freedom of movement, studying, employment and access to health services is strategic in promoting integration and social cohesion in society. This gives foreigners the notion of being accepted in society which helps to boost their identity and cause them to make positive contributions to society. When there is positive cohesion, development is inevitable.

6.2. LIMITATIONS OF INTEGRATION

The diverse effects of xenophobia and documentation on foreigners' integration have both short and long-term consequences on them. Some of these consequences affect not only foreigners but also nationals and society. This section will outline some of these consequences.

6.2.1. Slow progress

Most foreigners indicated that the challenges around documentation and fear of xenophobia have slowed things for them in many ways. According to them, integration has been going at a very slow pace. For several of them, what they expected to have achieved in a few years has taken them a longer time and most of them are not even close to meeting these expectations either because of obstacles around their identity as foreigners, their type of document, or restrictions in policy among others. One respondent reported that:

“Documentation has retarded me a lot when compared to the time I have spent in this country. If I had my ID a long time ago I would have owned my property at the moment but now I am bound to work hard to pay for people’s bonds the rent, I am paying for someone’s bond or I am making somebody rich but the amount of money that I have paid rent for the past 19 years I would have at least paid half of my house. So just that aspect alone is a scare” (Cameroonian Interview, March 2021).

Limitations of integration have made many foreigners to be stagnant for many years. This has a spillover effect on the host society because if foreigners are not making progress they become a burden to the society. One respondent reported that:

“You know you are living in a country where you are a refugee already, so you left home kind of looking for a way to settle down to be financially and economically stable it’s kind of taking long requiring a lot of patience, so it affects you because you waste time. If you are not patient enough can make wrong choice trying to force your way through because the system is tight. Somehow it affected me in a way that my integration was slow. It took about four to three years to raise money to begin studies but if I were given a chance in SA, I could have gone very fast. When you wake up and try every day you might be tempted to take the shortcut which has led some people into doing terrible things” (Congolese Interview, March 2020).

Many foreign nationals leave their home countries with high prospects but their experiences after migration are opposite to their expectations. This is similar to several other studies stating that policies, and adjustments to the labour market determined by complex factors slow migrants' pace of integration (Wessel, Andersson, Kauppinen, and Andersen, 2017). Similar studies in SA show that social integration has been difficult for migrants in SA (Kavuro, 2015; Möser, 2016; Dlamini, 2018). Xenophobia and lack of proper documentation pose a huge problem for migrants' social integration.

6.2.2. Migrants lose skills.

Skilled migrants are the potential human capital that can make significant contributions to the development of any society if given the opportunity. Most respondents highlighted that the challenges that come with integrating especially in the labour market have led to some of them losing skills. Respondents highlighted that they have studied in South Africa and obtained a lot of skills but because of unemployment or underemployment rate, most of them have lost skills even though they have lots of potential. One respondent reported that:

“When I came to SA I was already a trained nurse, I had my qualification that should have allowed me to start working immediately if I was given the opportunity but I was asked to go through so many tests and so many trainings for me to integrate yet my skills as a nurse were higher than the ones that have been produced as graduates at UWC, which is my second level in my country so I could have work but I was allowed to work. Staying without working in a career as a nurse has made me forget some things in my profession” (Congolese Interview, March 2020).

Others stated that a lot of qualified people are leaving the country because there are no opportunities. Many who have studied in universities in SA are now leaving to other countries and these countries are taking advantage of them something they believed SA should have explored. Some think SA is at a loss because they are leaving finished products after investing a lot in them and others are just benefiting from what they could have benefited from if they had provided them with the relevant opportunities. Some respondents gave examples of some friends, colleagues, and others they know trained nurses, engineers, Ph.D. holders, and other professional qualifications that have left for other countries or are making plans to leave. When expertise leaves it becomes difficult to replace them because it takes many years to train and build people of such caliber. One respondent stated that:

A lot of my Nigerian friends have run away and I was also planning to leave, I have spent lots of money writing exams here and there and if everything had gone accordingly I could have gone as well. You know people are leaving with good skills, I mean when you have acquired all these skills then you leave to offer it so... (Nigerian Interview, June 2020).

I can say vividly from my experience of over ten years in SA they are losing more skills because I know of many Ph.D. students who have finished and left the country because the environment is not conducive for international students. So, they are losing skills they are losing platforms to train their people because I know then we set up a mentor program and I was the pioneer for that program when I left that program crashed because there was no one to take over and my leaving was sudden, and they did not have someone to fill the space. I think it is an indirect way of losing skills what they are doing they are sabotaging the academic system, and the industrial system they are sabotaging a lot of things (Nigerian, Interview January 2021)

This finding is supported by Rasool, Botha, and Bisschoff (2012) and Bernstein, Altbeker and Johnston, (2016) stating that SA's migration policy has not addressed the issue of skill shortage

in the country. Contrary to countries like Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and some countries in Europe whose governments are rather instituting policies to retain skilled migrants (Herbst, 2013; Bauböck, Honohan, Huddleston, Hucheson, Shaw, and Vink, 2013; Sidney, 2014; Kaushik and Drolet, 2018). The 2017 data booklet on migration states that many governments are legislating policies to increase the number of highly skilled workers. The numbers have doubled progressively since 2015 (UNDESA, 2017). Restrictions in the migration policy, xenophobia, and lack of proper documentation continue to push skilled migrants from SA to other countries.

6.2.3. Anger and frustration

In addition, poor integration has resulted in anger and frustration among foreigners. This emotional blackout has influenced some foreigners to do things that they never dreamed of doing their whole life, but life situations pushed them to do ugly and regrettable things. Some are pushed to do something wrong to a place that opened its doors for them, not because they like to but because of circumstances around their integration. Some respondents stated that the government does not foresee these negative consequences when they tighten policies but only focuses on the aspect of regulating people in the country not knowing how this can affect the community. One respondent stated:

“...you lose your skills the more time you spend not practicing your skills you lose and forget them because it took too long to get a job. I see these frustrations being the cause of the criminalities that foreigners are involved in because they are desperate, and they need to survive and put bread on the table” (Ugandan Interview, March 2020).

“I studied in SA but I cannot use my skills. I cannot use the skills I got from back home, I cannot use the skills I got from Zambia. In Zambia, I had an opportunity to work with an organization called Doctors without Borders as a nurse and later when they initially ended, I opened up a clinic and today the government has taken that clinic. That was an impact that I made in Zambia. What about SA, I would have made lots of contributions, but the opportunities are not there” (Congolese Interview, March 2020).

The consequences of poor integration are diverse both for foreigners and nationals. This has increased criminality, drug addictions, prostitution, etc. which has gone a long way to strain relationships between foreigners and nationals. Most participants reported that they do not feel loved and accepted here in South Africa and the consequences of these are diverse. One respondent stated that:

Hence, people get involved in so many illegal things because they are angry and the result of anger is that they get involved in anything to make money and they do not care about the impact it has on South Africans or the society. So many people don't feel or receive love from SA, they say this is not my home, and they treat me as an outsider so why will I care? (Ugandan Interview, March 2020).

Due to anger and frustration, some have decided never to go job hunting again because of too many rejections. Other consequences of frustration include strife in homes between husbands and wives because of their incapacity to handle responsibilities. Several respondents revealed that many foreigners have developed ailments because of stress which has led to the loss of lives in some cases. One respondent reported her experience. The fact that she was not making any financial contributions to the family brought a lot of strife to her home. According to her, no man wants a liability, he needs to see you contributing because both of you are in a foreign land. Some men do not appreciate any other kind of contributions other than financial contributions. Even though you are doing everything else as a homemaker, taking care of kids, home chores, and everything else, if you are not making any financial contribution some men will not appreciate your efforts. Consequently, this opens doors to other kinds of problems that could be avoided if the financial contribution were coming in.

“I did my masters here in architecture but I never had the space to gain experience and remember experience is what matters for you to be registered so that’s the problem as someone who has a PR and is not employed. Also, I have gone door to door knocking at industries showing them my qualifications and asking if they can give me space even if it is volunteering I don’t want you to pay me I just want to volunteer once they look at your CV and see how qualified you are the next thing they will tell you is drop your CV we are going to get back to you and no one is calling you back. Nothing can be more frustrating than that, at least you should have feedback. With all the potential that I have, I have not been allowed to explore, nobody is giving you the chance to explore your potential. It’s very frustrating, there is nothing as frustrating as not putting in what you have studied to use” (Nigerian Interview, June 2020).

Besides, some foreigners have become angry people because of their experiences. Most foreigners feel marginalized and traumatized. Some foreigners cited instances of frustration when they need services but the condition of their permit then does not allow them because they are still waiting for feedback from their renewal applications. Without valid permits access to health, education, banks, and employment amongst others is jeopardized. So, frustration and anger characterize the lives of many migrants in SA.

The administrative procedure that comes with applying for permits has left many foreigners frustrated in South Africa (Amit and Kruger, 2014). Immigration lawyers, business owners, and several stakeholders that were frustrated because of the impact of the recent changes on the critical skill list on their lives and business (Writer, 2018). Similarly, university graduates in Finland had a similar feeling after recent changes in policy and were uncertain about their future in Finland (Kärkkäinen, 2017). The uncertainties that come with integration have devastating effects on foreigners.

6.2.4. Undocumented migrants

The consequences of lack of proper integration lead to many undocumented migrants. Foreigners have become undocumented because of the complications in the application process, xenophobic tendencies, frustrations, ignorance, and negligence just to name a few. This has affected foreigners in different ways making them undocumented for many years. Many undocumented foreigners claim that most foreigners do not choose to be undocumented, but circumstances forced them into that status. This has made life very complicated for most of them. One respondent noted that:

There are so many people without papers who are afraid to present themselves at the home affairs just because they are afraid that if they go there they will get arrested yet we live in the community without documents (Rwandan Interview, March 2019).

Crush, Skinner and Stulgaitis, (2017) stated that one reason for large numbers of undocumented migrants is the closure of the Refugee Reception Offices. The administrative decision to close the RRO led to an increase in the number of undocumented migrants.

6.2.5. Resilience

Insufficient support from the government and relevant stakeholders has resulted in foreigners becoming resilient. From a general perspective, it is challenging to integrate into the SA society at different levels. However, this has produced a positive effect on migrants. Some of them have become very determined and made decisions to succeed in life.

“Like now I have made up my mind that I am not going to remain in the informal sector. When I came, I started this business. I had a shop I was running the two together I kept someone here, the thing is I had to strategize. I thought of the best way to handle my situation because this is not what I wanted in my life. I do not need to be so unmotivated to the extent that I will not forge ahead and realize my dreams, nothing will bring me down. That positivity was what kept me on and kept driving me forward these are my goals, I want to achieve them so I need to pursue them, and I shouldn't let any distractions” (Nigerian Interview, March 2020).

Tough experiences have brought about resilience and determination in migrants. This is similar to Hosseini (2016) study on Iranian immigrants in Australia who maintained patience amid trouble and developed survival strategies and confidence to relate with others positively through social networking with family and friends that made them resilient amidst the challenges. Also, internationally trained professional women from Iran, Israel, and other countries studying in Canada became resilient after losing their professional identity and social status which prevented them from fitting in the host society (Fursova, 2014). Their experience turned out for their good as they gained more confidence in themselves and became independent (ibid). Most foreigners gain resilience from their difficult experiences.

6.2.6. Social exclusion.

Poor integration leads to social exclusion. Most foreigners live in exclusion either because of fear of xenophobia, or negative treatment from some government officials and citizens. This has influenced their lifestyle forcing most of them to live in isolation because they feel unaccepted in society. Most foreign nationals claim that since SA does not give them the necessary support required to facilitate their integration, they neglect and exclude themselves from participating and getting involved in things they would have loved to do. Some of them do not care about the country and the well-being of the people because that sense of belonging is absent. Foreigners' identity as strangers is so obvious with lots of negative consequences.

This outcome is similar to Iranian refugees in Germany who felt stigmatized because of the way they were treated which resulted in them having feelings of foreignness causing most of them to live in isolation (Sadeghi, 2019). Similarly, Somalian refugees living in Kenya lived in isolation because they were segregated and tagged with terror-related offenses. This tarnished the image of Somalians living in Kenya which affected the way they socialized and affected their confidence (Oucho and Williams, 2019). On the contrary, research by Beauregard et al., (2020) shows that the municipality used community arts programs to build relationships between foreigners and nationals living in Canada. This initiative promoted inclusion and built a sense of individual and, collective pride among migrants.

6.3. POLICY IMPLICATIONS

Migrants

- Proper documentation will allow foreigners to create more opportunities and make significant economic contributions to society. This will help them set up businesses; with ease, gain financial security, and give back to society. Findings show that there are several areas already dominated by migrant businesses these include; Bellville, Parow, Goodwood, Khalitsha, and Gugulethu amongst others. Their services in these areas have significantly contributed to economic development in no small way despite the obstacles they face in establishing and running these businesses. Most foreigners come in with a wealth of knowledge and make significant contributions towards the development of the society. So, creating avenues by instituting favorable policies will help increase their productivity, create jobs, boost the economy, and support their integration.
- If all skilled foreigners have proper documentation, they can take loans, make huge investments, expand their businesses, and build their careers. Not integrating skilled

migrants in any community hinders development.

- Besides, foreigners have been eye-openers to South Africans in several ways and will continue to be if given more opportunities. Some sectors that were previously dominated by foreigners have captured the attention of most South Africans, public and private institutions. Most of these institutions have taken advantage of these opportunities and services to empower their citizens and foster development. A typical example is the Cape Town taxi rank, it was just empty and a place where people came and dropped off but foreigners came with the initiative to set up salons and other small businesses and today the city of Cape Town has made it a formal business area. Now small containers have been built and rented out which is now bringing revenue to the economy.
- Reports from respondents show that working as car guards in malls was initiated by refugees and asylum seekers when they first came to SA. This has inspired private organizations to set up security companies all around creating employment opportunities for many South Africans. These are some initiatives from foreigners and today everyone is benefiting. Foreigners have potential that can be explored if given relevant opportunities. Therefore, instituting policies to support foreigners' integration will inspire them to institute more initiatives for the benefit of all.

Government

- The DHA's ineffectiveness and slow accountability in processing documentation hinder the productivity and integration of migrants. Hence, increasing the number of staff and designating responsibilities to specific individuals will help to facilitate the accountability and documentation process which will influence migrants' integration positively.

This chapter presented research findings and discussions on the effects of documentation on foreign nationals. It discussed the limitations of integration on migrants and concluded with policy implications. Main results from the study show that the dynamics around documentation harm foreigners' integration especially refugees and asylum seekers who are mostly affected. Documentation deeply influences migrants' livelihood.

7. CHAPTER SEVEN: EFFECTS OF IMMIGRATION POLICY ON THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS OF FOREIGNERS: (OBJECTIVE THREE & FOUR).

Regulations in the migration policy affect migrants differently. Some governments use the MP as a strategic tool to support the integration of migrants into the labour market because of their unique contribution to economic development while others use it to control the influx of migrants into their countries. This chapter reviews empirical and theoretical literature on the effects of migration policies on the socio-economic status of foreigners in host countries. Key headings include; skills, employment, migrants' contributions to host countries' economies, socio-economic barriers to migrants' integration in host countries' and income differentials.

7.1. Theoretical literature on migrant's skills

Host countries see migrants differently which influences the way policies are designed. The Swedish government's strict migration policy since the 90s restrained the recognition of non-European Union (EU) skilled migrants. It was only later, in 2011 that the Jacques NeirynFck 2008 scheme defended and acknowledged foreign skills as potential human capital that was finally legislated by the Swiss Parliament (Riaño, Lombard, and Piguet, 2018). This policy identified skilled migrants as potential human capital that would benefit the economy. The policy aided the admission and integration of non-EU nationals with a Swiss university degree making it easy for graduates to integrate into Swiss society. Graduates were no longer subjected to the law that prioritized Swiss and EU citizens for certain professions but were now allowed free entry if they qualified. Now graduates have the option to file for a long-term residence status, which was absent under the previous policy (ibid).

Similarly, the government of Switzerland through its policy takes advantage of skilled migrants which has been instrumental to the development of their nation. Switzerland being the second largest population with foreign-born nationals among the OECD countries, depends solely on skilled foreign labour (Riaño, et al., 2018). This has helped to strengthen the economy which had for a long time experienced a shortage of skilled labour since its industrialization in the 19th century. Despite the high control and management of migrants in host societies all around the world, Switzerland allows special categories of migrants to integrate into the labour market. Skilled migrants in Switzerland are identified as valuable assets that help to increase Switzerland's economic competitiveness (ibid). Many nations are taking advantage of foreign skilled labour to build their economies.

Besides, the governments of New Zealand and Australia see international students as ideal immigrants. Aside from the fact that skilled migrants continue to fill highly skilled labour market gaps, their assumed cultural assimilation into the host country is having a positive effect on labour market performance compared with skilled migrants from overseas (Chiou, 2017). In 2014, New Zealand introduced a new policy relaxing work conditions for groups of international migrants to increase their chances of getting employment. Amongst these categories were doctoral and master's research students who were now given unrestricted work rights and full-time work rights during vacation. The policy applied only to full-time students who were enrolled in an academic program comprising 120 credits or more (Chiou, 2017). This suggests that skilled migrants are assets and if properly managed, can contribute to growing the economy in one way or the other. According to the authors, this does not necessarily affect the control and management of migration but can rather be one way of managing migration. In the UK, highly skilled migrants are given a certain period of 6 months – 1 year to look for employment and shift to a more stable residence status which will guarantee them better employment opportunities and participation in the labour market (Cangiano, 2012). In the UK, immigrants are over-educated, with a prevalence as high as 35% (Aleksynska and Tritah, 2013). Likewise, in countries like Canada, the USA, and Australia skill-based immigration policies take advantage of highly skilled immigrants (Czaika and Parsons, 2015).

In the same vein, most Anglo-Saxon countries are now instituting policies encouraging international students to remain in the country after they finish tertiary education (Bedford and Spoonley, 2014). Canada has removed policies that were obstacles to the integration of international students (Geddie, 2015). The government now institutes legislation that is less restrictive and sees this group of migrants as positive development agents. Hence, the government has established policies to address the social and academic challenges that students encounter. Besides focusing on ways of attracting and retaining students, they created an enabling environment to support and provide an impartial environment for students from all backgrounds (Geddie, 2015). Canada, Australia, and New Zealand prioritize immigration policies to favour skilled migrants because of their contributions to support economic growth.

Highly skilled migrants in Singapore report positively of their working experience in Singapore. They gave pleasant testimonies of the treatment they receive from Singapore and how the government and organizations encourage the attraction and retention of skilled migrants. However, in some areas, immigrants report that they have difficulties changing from immigrant status to permanent residence and citizenship due to the recent restrictions in the

immigration policy (Harvey and Beaverstock, 2016).

Despite the trend to legislate favourable policies to retain skilled migrants, policies are not favourable towards Refugees and migrants. According to Morrice (2021), immigrants from third-world countries continue to face higher barriers in the education system than native-born. The report shows that refugees are not often open to a high level of education, hence exposing them to social exclusion and poverty, and creating significant potential costs for Member State economies. Morrice (2021) further states that the latter part is often neglected in political debates because sufficient scientific evidence is not available to buttress the point. When policymakers are thinking about investing more in the education of migrants and their children, social equity is the most often invoked rationale, ignoring key aspects like investing in migrants' integration into the labour market.

Migration is generally seen as a scheme for most Africans to improve themselves and increase their economic opportunities. Their background often instills in them the desire to succeed which has inspired many to acquire new skills on the job. Those who migrate without skills end up learning on the job and continue increasing their capacity (Morapedi, 2018). Poor, uneducated, and unskilled young men from Botswana who migrated to South Africa rose the ladder and some became successful entrepreneurs from the new skills they gained on the job as contractors, plumbers, miners, etc. They used their potential properly to make huge sums of money and invest back in their country (ibid). The author gives an example of a man who took up a job in a contracting company as a labourer but as time went on; he gained new skills and became very knowledgeable in his profession. This shows that migrants' drive to succeed pushes them to continually empower themselves after migrating.

In South Africa changes in the immigration policy have affected migrants in diverse ways. According to an article written by Hagenmeier, Quinlan and Lansinkin (2015) in the Mail and Guardian, the current changes in the new immigration regulation have negatively affected the South African education sector. The sector has seen a sharp drop in international students' enrolment and has raised concerns about students facing unequal treatment in the processing of visas and imposition of conditions at different South African embassies. According to them, the visa facilitation services appointed as agents by the Department of Home Affairs have become more challenging to obtain a study visa and many students are not able to meet the new, stricter, and costlier requirements. Earlier that year, hundreds of students who enrolled for degrees were unable to continue their studies and some others had to suspend their studies (Hagenmeier, Quinlan and Lansinkin, 2015). Such approaches discourage skill attainment and

subsequent retention of skills that can benefit the country in one way or the other.

7.1.1. Empirical literature (foreign skills)

Several empirical studies have been conducted on maximizing the skills of foreigners in host countries. Kärkkäinen (2017) investigated the connection between the migration policy document and university graduates in Finland and found that policies drafted in 2013 seemed to address migrants' needs, but the recent changes in the migration policy have been problematic for most migrants. Some graduates who learned the Finnish language, and worked and studied in Finland expressed their frustrations about their future in Finland due to the recent changes in the policy.

Despite the emphasis on the policy document to integrate migrants into the Finn society, appropriate measures were not taken to facilitate their integration. The non-alignment between policy on paper and its precise implementation is referred to by Czaika and De Haas' (2013) model as an implementation gap, a disparity between policies on paper and the actual implementation by governments, NGOs, and private companies. This made it very difficult for migrants to build networks among Finns, a major obstacle in getting employment. Subsequently, some changes were made later in the policy, instituting practical training which is now mandatory and part of most study programs in the form of internships for foreign nationals. Steps were taken to address the problem of employability by changing the policy from 6 months to 12 months duration for non-EU/EEF graduates to look for employment. This to an extent helped in addressing the issue of employability among immigrants (Kärkkäinen, 2017).

In another study by Aliti (2014) in Sweden, citizens had negative perceptions about the immigration policy's role in facilitating the integration of foreign nationals. Aliti's (2014) qualitative study on Swedish higher education of young adult's perceptions and attitudes towards immigrants and their integration into Swedish society attests to the fact that the restrictive nature of the immigration policy created segregation among immigrants especially women, who were not fully integrated and faced a lot of discrimination. Others alleged that the Swedish immigration policy ignored the contributions immigrants make to their economy (Aliti, 2014).

This is opposite to the UK according to Makakala's (2015) qualitative study on Tanzanian skilled migrants in the UK. According to the study, the migration policy was favourable in such a way that most migrants got employment after completing their studies. The government sees educated migrants in the UK as prospective skilled human capital, especially after graduation.

Even though most respondents complained that the recent shift in the migration policy has reduced the possibility of a post-study work visa which allowed international students in the UK for two years after obtaining a degree. Nonetheless, most of them have remained in the country because they have prospects for the future as skilled migrants.

In Bodsworth's (2013) study, the Stepping Stones micro-enterprise program that was organized to support refugees and disadvantaged women in Melbourne Australia helped to develop skills among refugees. This program targeted different female refugees and disadvantaged women to set up their businesses. Training materials were obtained from the International Labour Organisation (ILO) and United Nations Development Program (UNDP) to design guidelines to help these women have access to resources, empowering them to start up small businesses. Through the program, women gained new skills and learned about the complex Australian regulatory system for small businesses as well as improved their confidence and skills in business planning, English language, and financial management. From the first provisional evaluation, 17 out of 39 participants had started their businesses and 5 of them continued to develop their businesses (Bodsworth, 2013). Programs aimed at empowering and creating opportunities for migrants have positively influenced them to become self-employed and successfully integrate into host societies.

Although skilled migrants have hope of a better future in host countries as seen above, some migrants have jobs that do not match their qualifications. According to Landolt and Thieme (2018), even though some migrants got employed in their countries of residence, their jobs did not match their qualifications. In a qualitative study on tertiary educated Spaniards who migrated to Switzerland to seek better opportunities, findings show that high levels of skills mismatch among the Spaniards who were overqualified for the jobs they took on in Switzerland. Although some of them had employment opportunities that matched their qualifications, the common challenge among both high-skilled migrants whose qualifications matched their jobs and those whose qualifications did not match their jobs was discrimination and salary mismatch. Migrants were restricted from certain tasks and their salaries were lower than natives with the same qualifications sometimes even when migrants were overqualified (Landolt and Thieme, 2018).

This debunks the perception that highly skilled migrants face few problems entering the labour markets in their countries of residence. This aligns with Benton et al., 2014 and Desiderio, 2016 who state that most jobs foreign nationals take hardly match their high qualifications. In Switzerland, regardless of these challenges, most migrants were positive about the high

individual agency in the system; granting them an opportunity to make more money than in their home countries (Landolt and Thieme, 2018).

For some time now, policymakers have been designing policies to favour skilled migrants over low-skilled migrants (Helbling and Kriesi, 2014; Mukhopadhyay and Zou, 2020). Evidence from Tzeng and Tsai (2020) study of six wealthy countries revealed that high-skilled migrants were favoured over low skilled migrants because low skilled migrants were seen as a burden to the nation.

However, South Africa's recent migration policy does not prioritize high skilled migrants. The policy has not addressed the issue of skills shortage in the country as expected. This is evident in a study on the effectiveness of South Africa's immigration policy in addressing skills shortage (Rasool, Botha and Bisschoff, 2012). Findings from this study reveal that the policy had not taken advantage of skilled migrants to solve the problem of skills shortage in the country. Despite the obvious need by South Africa to build an effective system that will monitor and address human migration to meet its short and long-term development needs, the South African government and civil societies are not making significant efforts to improve migration management and facilitate the integration of migrants into the society. A similar study by Bernstein (2011) reports that South Africa's migration policy is not taking advantage of skilled migrants residing in the country (Bernstein, 2011).

Although evidence from literature shows that skilled migrants are potential human capital that can be beneficial to host countries' economies, not every country sees migrants as potential human capital that can be beneficial to them.

Similarities

Several scholars acknowledged that skilled migrants are a form of human capital that can be utilized to the advantage of the host country and the integration of migrants (Kavuro, 2015; Riaño, Lombard, and Pigué, 2018). This view has prompted the institution and legislation of policies that promote their integration. Switzerland, New Zealand, Australia, Canada, and some member states of the European Union are known for their immigration policies that favour the retention of skilled migrants because of their contributions to economic growth (Bedford and Spoonley, 2014; Geddie, 2015; Makakala, 2015; Chiou, 2017; Riaño et al, 2018). This suggests that designing specific policies to support the integration of migrants is beneficial to host countries.

Although several nations recognise skilled migrants especially those obtained through formal education, this is not the case with every country as some countries still have restrictive

immigration policies that are not friendly toward the integration of foreign nationals. Recent changes in Finland's immigration policy have not been favourable for most skilled foreigners although some adjustments were made to increase employment among migrants (Kärkkäinen, 2017). This is similar to Harvey and Beaverstock's (2016) study in Singapore where new migrants faced difficulties changing their immigration status to obtain permanent residence or citizenship. Likewise, new migrants in the UK stated that the recent changes in the migration policy reduced their opportunity to do a post-study work visa that allowed international migrants to work for two years after their degree (Makakala, 2015). In the same vein, despite the skill shortage in the South, the government has not instituted favourable policies to take advantage of foreign skills (Rasool et al., 2012; Bernstein, 2011).

However, several other authors identified skills mismatch as a barrier to employment (Benton et al., 2014; Desiderio, 2016; Landolt and Thieme, 2018). Spaniards who migrated to Switzerland for better employment opportunities experienced a mismatch of skills where their qualifications were higher than the jobs they took (Landolt and Thieme, 2018). Some scholars argue that the jobs most foreigners take do not match their qualifications either because of laws, discriminatory practices, racism, and xenophobia just to name a few (Benton, et al., 2014; Desiderio, 2016).

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Differences

Several governments and organizations inspire skills development by introducing programs to build and develop skills in migrants. The Stepping Stones micro-enterprise program organized to facilitate the integration of refugees and disadvantaged women in Melbourne Australia helped them improve their skills and start up small businesses (Bodsworth, 2013). The "introduction plan" of a plan in Sweden, to provide language training, employment preparation, and basic education supported migrants integration (Drbohlav and Valenta, 2014 and Aiyer et al, 2016). Also, integration courses were offered in Japan to support social inclusion among foreign nationals (Takenoshita, 2015). Contrary to South Africa with very little done to facilitate the integration of foreigners. According to Morapedi (2018), young men living in

South Africa from Botswana had to fend for themselves, learn new skills in their jobs as contractors, plumbers, miners, and entrepreneurs, and become experts in their fields.

Gaps

Literature shows that governments use migration policies to either support or discourage migration, employability and the integration of migrants into host communities. However, not so much research has been conducted to critically examine the socio-economic effects of the migration policy on foreigners' employability and income. Although there have been several debates and perceptions about the effects of immigration policy on foreign nationals in South Africa, the research done by Bernstein (2011) and Rasool et al., (2012) only focused on the effectiveness of the policy in addressing skill shortage from the perspective of employers. There is currently no known study on the effects of the policy after the changes made in 2014. Literature shows that governments use migration policies to either support or discourage migration, employability, and the integration of migrants into host communities. However, not so much research has been conducted to critically examine the socio-economic effects of the migration policy on foreigners' employability and income. Although there have been several debates and perceptions about the effects of immigration policy on foreign nationals in South Africa, the research done by Bernstein (2011) and Rasool et al., (2012) only focused on the effectiveness of the policy in addressing skill shortage from the perspective of employers. There is currently no known study on the effects of the policy after the changes made in 2014.

7.2. Migrant's contributions to host countries' economies

International migrants continue to make positive contributions to host societies. According to the World Bank (2015), not only is the integration of skilled migrants relevant in society but the integration of skilled refugees also. Their accessibility to the labour market in host societies brings rapid development to host countries' economies (Clemens and Hashmi, 2016). Jaumotte et al. (2016) explain that there are significant long-term benefits to immigration in terms of increasing the GDP per capita for host countries through the contributions of both high and low-skilled migrants. A 1% increase in the share of migrants raises the host country's GDP per capita by 2%. Although there could be differences in the mechanisms through which labour productivity increases for high-skilled and low-skilled workers, they make significant contributions to increasing the GDP in host economies. Portes and Forte (2016) further state that migrants contribute to increasing the GDP of host countries asserting that reductions in immigration led to a fall in the UK GDP fluctuating from 0.63 to 1.19%. Migrants tend to be net contributors to fiscal revenue through the taxes they pay which are greater than what is paid

to the state in terms of welfare payments, education, and additional infrastructure (Varela et al., 2021).

The impact of foreigners' contributions to host economies triggered Clemens and Hashmi (2016) to call on the US government to introduce new migration policies that are development-oriented to direct the terms of migration and advance US development. These authors see foreigners as economic forces that can improve global development and fuel the US economy. The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) states that foreign workers create new revenue through the taxes they pay. Migrants pay an estimated \$8,000 more in taxes and social security than what they receive in social transfer every year. Apart from making the US capital more productive, migrant workers increase the earnings of average US workers since immigrants are multi-tasked. Therefore, any practical economy must consider migration as a fundamental part of the development agenda. Immigrants in the United States have benefited from migration as they now earn more money and can remit money back home to support their families. In addition, they have developed skills that can be transferred to benefit their home countries (Clement and Hashmi, 2016).

Italy has introduced active labour market policies and vocational training programs to increase employment among the disadvantaged in society with migrants inclusive. These policies have gone a long way to increase employability among weak subjects in Italy - especially migrants. This has helped to get them integrated into the labour market (Sella, 2014). Evidence from the literature shows that strategic policies targeting specific groups of migrants, especially those with lots of potential are beneficial for host countries' economies.

The positive impact of immigrants from other East African countries led to a dramatic shift from the previous restrictive policies in East African countries. This has motivated the government to allow free movement among East African countries for better employment. Besides, Kenya's 2030 vision was influenced by this. The government now seeks to transform the migration situation for the better by developing strategic objectives and programs. Thus, Kenya now hosts both economic and labour migrants (Oucho, Oucho and Ong'ayo 2013). The new policy framework guiding East African countries has encouraged free movement and circular migration to support each other in meeting their present or future needs. Tanzania and Rwanda now provide technicians and associate professionals to Kenya and Uganda where they are highly needed and vice versa. They use this as a strategy to deal with labour market shortages (Oucho, et al., 2013). The exchange of labour and collaboration among different nations can build a huge reservoir of skills needed to build societies.

Moreover, migrants' activities in host countries create opportunities for other migrants, hence balancing the initial increase in labour supply that migrants represent. As some of them with entrepreneurial skills have been able to set up businesses increasing the demand for labour in host societies (Rugunanan and Smit, 2011; Tawodzera, et al. 2015, Crea et al., 2016). Migrants even create opportunities for nationals.

However, some nations still see migrants as liabilities. According to some experts in the European Union, in the short term, the influx of refugees will lead to increased expenditure, because so much money will be needed to provide shelter, food, and first aid. However, in the long run, the influx of these refugees might be beneficial to the European economy in addressing the EU's alarming demographic trends (European Parliament Research Service, 2019). On the other hand, some others think that refugees with skills and educational qualifications might improve the ratio of active workers and also make significant contributions to innovation, entrepreneurship, and GDP growth. According to them, these migrants can fill up important positions both in fast-growing and deteriorating sectors of the economy and contribute to labour market flexibility. Although this is still highly debated among EU member states, according to the European Parliament, the EU and its member states should be very strategic and take advantage of the current migration influx among others through successful economic and social integration of the refugees (European Parliament Research Service, 2019).

Even though Barker (2015) acknowledges the contributions of skilled migrants, he argues that the influx of low-skilled migrants will lead to job losses and reduce market wages. He further explains that one of the main reasons why migrants are not having a significant impact on the labour market is because they do not only increase labour supply but also the demand for goods and services. As for Borjas (2014), migration might also have adverse effects on destination countries' labour markets in terms of employment, wages, and productivity. Brucker and Jahn (2011) explain that migration reduces average wages and increases unemployment of the current workforce in the short run, while it is neutral in the long run. In analysing the impacts of immigration on the UK Labour market, Barker (2015) states that competition from immigrants could lower the wages of low-skilled local workers and previous immigrants. The author emphasizes the need for the state of the business cycle because immigration damages the job prospects of low-skilled natives when the labour market is lax.

Despite the debates about the economic benefits of migration, several governments had to re-examine their migration policies. This is because of uncertainties about the potential benefits and disadvantages that international migration has on home, host, and transit countries. There are concerns about issues like continuous migration, undocumented movements, trafficking of persons, protection of human rights, social integration, xenophobia, national security, granting of asylum, brain drain, and brain gain just to name a few (Barker 2015). Hence, the number of governments that adopted measures to restrict international migration significantly increased in recent decades. In 2003, one-third of all countries had legislated policies to reduce immigration compared to 7% in 1976 (ibid). Even though policies have become more restrictive, host countries are giving more attention to policies that focus on the integration of foreigners. In 2003, sixty-one countries were reported to establish integration programs for non-nationals living in their country as against fifty-one in 1996. Policies for integrating foreigners into host societies are more common in developed countries than in developing host countries (ibid).

As early as 1972, President Idi Amin expelled the Indian minority from Uganda to secure opportunities for nationals even though most of them were entrepreneurial, very skilled, and formed the backbone of the economy (Micheal, 2019). Subsequently, several other African countries, like Nigeria, Ghana, Gabon, Tanzania, and Zambia etc embarked on similar expulsion policies targeting African immigrant populations (Adepoju, 1984). The Immigration Act (1963) was introduced in Nigeria to regulate the admission and stay of foreigners, the Manpower Act of 1974 in Tanzania and, in Zambia, several steps were taken by Immigration officials with the assistance of the local police at the border and port of entry to apprehend illegal migrants, as well as (Adepoju, 1984). These Acts mainly focused on apprehending illegal migrants.

The Centre for Development Enterprises (CDE) stated that South Africa went the extra mile in resisting the immigration of skilled workers. According to CDE (2012), South Africa's migration policy approach to the pressures and opportunities of migration was poorly conceived and applied. South Africa has failed to attract increasing numbers of skilled people in competitive global labour markets where skills are highly needed. Besides, they have failed to manage the entry of irregular immigrants who are in search of jobs and other groups of migrants like asylum seekers who left because of political suppression. Although many lack formal qualifications that could help them acquire residence permits, they have some skills and energy required to make economic contributions (CDE, 2012).

Some reasons given for nations' failure to address issues around migration are that most democratic governments often struggle to balance the skills needed for their economies, and their rights to obligations and they fear their citizens concerning migration. South Africa made an already challenging situation more difficult by introducing weak migration policies and legislation based on unreliable information and false perceptions (CDE, 2012). This has made the situation more complex. Moreover, the system intended to implement this policy is inefficient and characterized by corruption (ibid). According to Barker (2015), for South Africa to retain the necessary skills needed, they need to take special note of factors instigating an outflow of skills. This suggestion aligns with the International Labour Organization's (ILO) predictions that the market of highly skilled workers is becoming globally integrated and labour migration is expected to feature more prominently in the future (Barker, 2015).

One way to achieve this is for South Africa to be cost-effective by depending on immigrants. Barker (2015) explains that the state can rely on immigration, especially those training for tertiary qualifications. This can bring in revenue rather than training citizens who are heavily subsidized by the state. Besides, the state can take advantage of skilled migrants by creating employment opportunities that will bring competition and uplift the local population. Enabling stable skilled workers and black empowerment would be cost-efficient (ibid). This will not only empower migrants but society in general.

The Harvard group appointed by the South African government to advise on economic growth and development came up with some suggestions like; relaxing migration policy for skilled migrants, building capacity, and creating more opportunities for skilled (Barer, 2015). Findings from all empirical studies on labour demand showed that both high-skilled and low-skilled workers are strongly complementary, not substitutes (ibid). This means when there is a high supply of skilled workers, demand for unskilled workers will also be high for instance; lack of engineers could lead to the loss of hundreds of blue-collar jobs. They stated that as the shared growth strategy requires maximizing the job opportunities of the less skilled, it is important that the high-skill restrictions be relaxed, especially in trade. They also pointed out that a relaxed policy will encourage high-skilled migrants and greater immigration of high-skilled workers will help to limit the salary increases, which will increase wage inequality (Barker, 2015).

According to Kennan (2014), developed countries' foreign aid programs intended to alleviate poverty and drive economic growth in developing countries have not been very successful in supporting developing countries. Different scholars support this view indicating that the cross-

country differences in the productivity of labour among countries have been the main course of the economic development problem (Kennan, 2014). That means there is more to dealing with poverty in developing countries than relying on foreign aid programs to alleviate poverty. According to this author, one possible way to resolve this problem is to allow the free movement of workers from less developed countries into countries where they can be more productive. Although freedom of movement does not necessarily mean people will be given employment opportunities, perhaps, freedom of movement and legislating policies that directly address the issue of unemployment in host societies will help them attain this goal. Hence, favourable immigration policies would help to influence the productivity of migrants in destination countries. This can help alleviate poverty and drive economic growth in developing countries.

7.3. Socio-economic barriers to migrants' integration into the labour market

7.3.1. Access to information and opportunities

Insufficient information is one of the barriers to accessing labour market opportunities. This could be triggered by the rules in immigration policies or institutions preventing skilled migrants from having access to relevant opportunities. Limited access to information prevented Syrian Refugees from accessing the labour market. According to Amjad, Asla, Borgnäs, Chandran, Cark, Passos, Joo, and Mohajer, (2017) refugees living in camps were not aware of local work opportunities since it was very difficult to get leave permits. Insufficient information about employment-related regulations prevented them from accessing formal work opportunities. Both refugees and employers lacked accurate information about the labour market demand and supply of services. While employers did not have adequate information about Syrian refugees' labour supply skills and distribution in the territory, Syrian refugees both inside and outside the camps were not exposed to sufficient information about job opportunities. This bridge of information was a serious barrier for Syrian refugees in Jordan from accessing employability (Amjad et al., 2017).

In addition, some professions were classified as closed professions only open to natives. This excluded Syrian refugees from taking on certain jobs formally in the labour market. Most of them realized that the jobs that matched their skills and expertise were mostly found in a closed profession category that the Jordan policy restricted them from accessing. Employers that went against the regulation were fined from \$280,700 upward. This forced many refugees to remain in the informal sector, which is sometimes more lucrative (Amjad et al., 2017).

Moreover, employers' inability to understand key aspects prevents foreigners from accessing

the labour market. Kavuro (2015) stated that the incapacity of some employers and professional councils in South Africa to differentiate between the Refugees Act and the Immigration Act prevented some asylum seekers and refugees from obtaining employment. The skills that refugees and asylum seekers brought from their home countries or gained while residing in SA were ignored. Human capital from this group of migrants is either neglected or lost (Kavuro, 2015). This placed them in a disadvantaged position against the UN 1951 Convention and its Protocol, which guarantees refugees' rights to work in host countries. Article 17 in particular states that;

“The Contracting State shall accord to refugees lawfully staying in their territory the most favourable treatment accorded to nationals of a foreign country in the same circumstances, as regards the right to engage in wage earnings” and secondly,

“In any case, restrictive measures imposed on aliens or the employment of aliens for the protection of the national labour market shall not be applied to a refugee who was already exempt from them at the date of entry into force of this Convention for the Contracting State concerned, or who fulfils one of the following conditions:

- (a) He has completed three years' residence in the country;
- (b) He has a spouse possessing the nationality of the country of residence. A refugee may not invoke the benefits of this provision if he has abandoned his spouse;
- (c) He has one or more children possessing the nationality of the country of residence”. (United Nations, 1954:5)

This Convention allows host countries to give special considerations and incorporate the rights of all refugees in terms of wage-earning employment, yet this is not applicable. South Africa is a signatory of this Convention and is expected to encourage employment among skilled refugees and asylum seekers yet, they are faced with several hindrances that hamper their integration (Kavuro, 2015). Although it is cautioned in the South African Health Recruitment Policy that the policy should be interpreted in terms of the Refugee Act, this is not well defined because the policy does not exempt refugees and asylum seekers from the high-skilled and non-availability of citizens and permanent residence rules. This already invades refugees' and asylum seekers' rights to work. According to the author, there should be clear specifications on refugees' rights to work, right from the designing of policy documents to avoid complications in the interpretation of their rights to work (Kavuro, 2015). Besides, the author identifies the disturbing gap in South Africa's recruitment and employment policies regarding the retention of refugees and asylum seekers in the labour market. This is because these groups of migrants are always ignored in most policies, especially those aimed at protecting the interests, and expectations of citizens and those that focus on restoring the past inequality in employment in South Africa to establish social justice. Their unwillingness to blend refugee rights with the

legislated recruitment and labour measures has helped to influence the misconceptions that refugees and asylum seekers are not genuine. This is further influenced by South Africans opposing attitudes towards the integration of refugees and asylum seekers in some socio-economic policies (Kavuro, 2015).

7.3.2. Accessing employment

Employment opportunities for foreigners in host countries are something many foreigners look forward to when they migrate. In some countries getting employment is quite easy while in other countries it is very difficult. Different factors influence the employment or unemployment of foreigners. These include policies, integration programs, discrimination, racism, and xenophobia just to name a few.

Most OECD countries have designed temporary seasonal worker migration programs to create opportunities for low-skilled workers to work abroad (Gibson and McKenzie, 2014; Winters, 2016). New Zealand, copying from countries like Japan, has developed New Zealand's recognized Seasonal Employer (RSE) program. This program aimed to meet the labour needs of New Zealand employers and encourage economic development in the Pacific Islands. The program met its expectations and it was beneficial for migrants and New Zealand employers. Migrants received large gains as they were exposed to new opportunities, and increased their income and well-being while New Zealand employers created new relationships where they now have access to a productive and stable workforce (Gibson and McKenzie, 2014; Bailey, 2019). Although the program had a limited amount of spillover effects on migrant communities through public goods contributions from these migrant workers, it helped to improve the status of migrants. Also, the program helped to reduce the rates of overstay in New Zealand and did not bring large displacements to New Zealand workers (Gibson and McKenzie, 2014). Integrating migrants into host societies does not necessarily mean that citizens of host societies will be displaced.

Moreover, countries like Italy and the United Kingdom (UK) have improved the living conditions of refugees and asylum seekers by designing mechanisms to prevent concentration in some areas, which was not the case before. In some countries in the European Union (EU), governments have allocated funding to cater to the new needs of migrants by providing housing for them. For example, in the Netherlands, the local government is working in collaboration with local NGOs to prioritize and invest in providing local houses for refugees and asylum seekers (OECD, 2018).

Also, other nations pass the provision of food and shelter to support refugees and asylum seekers rebuild their lives by providing employment. Seeing employment as one of the main forces facilitating the integration of migrants, the city of Amsterdam designed the "Amsterdam approach" bringing on board all relevant stakeholders to ease the integration of migrants into the labour market (OECD, 2018).

Some local governments collaborate with the local business community encouraging them to employ immigrants and refugees. Employment criteria have been revised in terms of language skills. This has created employment opportunities for many migrants. In the Swedish Chamber of Commerce, for example, some employers are now accepting applications from candidates who speak English not like before when Swedish speakers were the preferred candidate in sectors like engineering (OECD, 2018). In Europe, the employment rates for both natives and migrants are influenced by gender, balance, age structure, level of education, and the number of years migrants have resided in host countries. These four factors as well as the entry channel, play a significant role in influencing the differences of migrants accessing the labour market. The report claims that a migrant's level of education increases the chances of getting employment (OECD, 2018). Similarly, in examining the education and occupation mismatch of immigrants and natives in twenty-two European countries Aleksynska and Tritah (2013) realized that the longer immigrants stay in host countries, the higher their chances of getting jobs that match with their qualifications. In total, 22% of immigrants in Europe qualify for the jobs they do as opposed to natives with 13%.

However, there is often a mismatch between immigrant's educational qualifications and their employment status. Immigrants in Germany and Japan with higher education degrees often face difficulties finding high-skilled jobs than nationals. Consequently, many immigrants are working in unskilled jobs despite the high professional qualifications that could guarantee them better jobs. Hence, they are often overqualified and under less favourable conditions with very low wages and employment protection when compared to native-born workers (Liu-Farrer and Shire, 2021).

In Africa, some countries promote employment and integration of foreigners. Uganda is one of those countries that acknowledge and promote the rights of refugees to work. The Uganda Refugee Act of 2006 allows refugees to fully participate in the labour market like other citizens and migrants in the country. Section 29(1) (vi) 73 of the Act, holds that refugees have access to employment opportunities and if refugees have professional skills, they can practice in designated areas of their choice as provided under section 29(1) (v)74 of the 2006 Refugee Act.

Consequently, several refugees have taken up jobs in both the formal and informal sectors in Uganda (Abayo, 2016).

However, in some countries, foreigners have difficulties securing employment. In America, Several factors like limited opportunities, an overwhelming youth population, and government restrictions have restrained them from participating in the labour market. Foreigners cannot work with their visitors' visas, hence, foreigners engage in criminal activities as a means to generate income for themselves and their families back home (Menjivar and Lakhani, 2016; Oucho, and Williams, 2019). The way policies are designed either helps to support or hinder the integration of foreigners in host countries.

Although the Czech Republic's immigration policy prioritizes creating employment opportunities for migrants, migrants from third-world countries are still experiencing discrimination (Drbohlav and Valenta, 2014). These migrants like other third-world migrants in some parts of the world have difficulty accessing employment. Likewise, Refugees in Jordan had difficulties getting formal employment, and those who managed to get jobs complained of harsh working conditions in factories (Amjad, et al., 2017). Third-world migrants are mostly victims of unemployment in host countries.

Refugees in Kenya and Tanzania are not legally allowed to work. They are expected to obtain a work permit which costs so much money (Oucho, and Williams, 2019). Despite the law not guaranteeing them employment, the expensive fees required to be paid for the work permit further hindered their rights to employment in Kenya. Refugees in Tanzania, refugees are only allowed to be involved in small income-generating activities within the camps (ibid). This has hindered refugees with skills, and professionals from exploring their potential; this is against the 1951 UN Convention, stating that all limitations imposed on immigrants to access employment should not apply to refugees in host countries as provided in Article 17(2) (Abayo, 2016). All refugees are supposed to enjoy equal rights to employment like citizens.

In South Africa, restrictions on immigration policy have affected migrants' employability. The inadequacy of skilled labourers in South Africa negatively influences the economic prospects and worldwide participation of the country globally (Rasool. et al., (2012). According to the authors, these restrictions have prevented South African companies from hiring engineers, technicians, and architects who are in high demand in the construction companies and mining industries.

Some of these restrictions contradict the 2030 Sustainable Development Agenda that prioritizes

decent work in society. Goal 8 of the Sustainable Development Plan (SDP) promotes sustained, inclusive, and sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment, and decent work for all. The goal aims to protect labour rights and secure working environments for all workers, including migrant workers, mainly female migrants and those in precarious employment' (Amjad et al., 2017). The SDP encourages equity and equality in the working environment, which is a tool for sustainable development.

Moreover, The African Union (AU), the governing body that institutionalizes the application of policies in Africa prioritizes the integration of migrants in host countries. The AU encourages member states to develop policies that promote the movement of people within Africa and ensure that their basic rights are respected and protected outside their home countries. Its migration policy framework emphasizes that member states should legislate policies that protect and respect human rights, combat all forms of discrimination and xenophobia through civic education and raising awareness. Member states are expected to foster the integration of migrants in host societies to nurture mutual cultural acceptance that leads to positive development (Achiume and Landau, 2015).

7.4. INCOME DIFFERENTIALS AMONG FOREIGNERS IN HOST COUNTRIES

7.4.1. Theoretical literature

Access to employment and income varies among migrants and, is influenced by policies, an individual's status in the country, social networks, discrimination, and xenophobia among others. When it comes to income, there is a landmark difference between the income of third-world immigrants and nationals of host countries. The wealth between third-world nationals and host country nationals is higher than between foreign-born and native-born. Likewise, the poverty rate of immigrant households is considerably higher, about twice as high than among host country native households. In addition, according to the OECD/European Union (2015), immigrants are more at risk of poverty or social exclusion compared to host country nationals, even when they are in employment. Additionally, migrant children are exposed to a particularly high risk of poverty (Aleksynska and Tritah, 2013).

7.4.2. Empirical literature on income and employability

Access to employment and labour market integration is strategic for migrants in host countries. Although many migrants strive to integrate and get economic empowerment, they still face a series of setbacks. In Europe, issues around asylum seekers and refugees entering the labour market are highly debatable among EU member states and differ from country to country

(Strielkowski, Tumanyan, and Kalyugina, 2016). They used the Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX) to measure the labour market inclusion of asylum seekers and refugees. This methodology is mainly used to measure and compare different levels of integration, particularly for different migration policies. Findings from the study show that the Czech Republic is fair in integrating Asylum seekers and refugees into the labour market. An overall score of 45 was registered according to terminology established by the MIPEX index methodology, which is between 41 and 49 points (Strielkowski, Tumanyan, and Kalyugina, 2016).

In addition, Bevelander and Irastorza (2014) study showed that refugees had more opportunities and were open to the job market than other groups of migrants in Sweden. The study registered a shift from 16 to 64% over 14 years of refugees moving from unskilled to skilled jobs. After a decade of residence, only 21% of refugees with jobs still worked under unskilled employment. This is similar to the case of a large-scale study of 15 European countries to evaluate profiles of asylum seekers. Findings show that the public preferred skilled asylum seekers who could contribute to the economy to other groups of migrants. This response was similar among respondents of different ages, education, income, and political ideologies in the different surveyed countries (Bansak, Hainmueller, and Hangartner, 2016). The author argues that public opinion can influence the admission of asylum permits in some countries because the public's opinion plays a significant role in the type of asylum seekers allowed in a country. This helps in shaping theories and policies in some leading democratic countries; policies are often influenced by public opinions.

On the contrary, Herm and Poulain's (2012) qualitative study shows that employment rates are low among highly educated refugees and asylum seekers - in their study on Middle Eastern Refugees from Michigan that arrived before and after the 2007 recession in the US. In investigating their access to employment, the author found that post-2007 highly skilled educated Iraqi refugees in the US faced higher unemployment and underemployment than those that came before 2007. Their high qualifications and professional experiences still did not give them an advantage over their equals who had earlier arrived before 2007. This was highly influenced by the severe downturn that affected the US economy. Before the economic downturn, only 22.9% of the refugee population was unemployed while after the economy had been affected by the recession, 55.1% were unemployed.

In a similar study assessing the probability of highly skilled migrants getting employment in times of economic turmoil in 22 European countries, results showed that highly skilled immigrants have a greater advantage of getting employment than non - -non-immigrants and

low-skilled migrants. From 2006-2011, there was only a slight gap difference between immigrants and nationals in terms of getting paid employment in times of economic turmoil. In 2006, immigrants who wanted to get jobs faced the same challenges as natives, irrespective of their skills, the same holds for 2008-2009 whereas, in 2010-2011, there was a drop in low-skilled migrants qualifying for employment as opposed to high and medium-skilled migrants.’ The distance within the immigrant group also remained stable in 2008 as compared to 2006 and in 2010 when compared to 2008. Statistics from this study show that in general, there is no discrimination between highly skilled and medium-skilled groups in terms of getting employment (Voicu and Vlase, 2014).

This study also contradicts several researchers' claims about anti-immigrant attitudes mainly influenced by fears of the negative effects of immigration on wages and employment. Targeting US employers from 12 different industries, the study concludes that fears about labor market competition do not appear to have substantial effects on attitudes towards immigration, and preferences about immigration policy, among this large and diverse set of voters. The study shows that all types of native workers prefer high-skilled migrants over low-skilled migrants and they express support for the inflow of high-skilled rather than low-skilled immigrants’ (Voicu and Vlase, 2014).

Besides, another comparative qualitative study of Iraqi refugees and immigrants in America, findings reveals that refugees faced difficulty finding jobs as they were twice as likely to be unemployed than immigrants. 65.1% of refugees were unemployed when compared to 39.9% of immigrants. Their inability to speak English fluently was a critical barrier to their unemployment, which is one of the qualifications employers seek. There were significant differences between refugees and immigrants in terms of language proficiency, lack of US professional knowledge, and health. Immigrants were likely to secure jobs in line with their pre-migration and professional experiences’ when compared to refugees despite their professional and academic achievements back in their home countries. They faced difficulties finding employment, which was not the case with immigrants who could easily integrate into the US system. Poor language skills were more of a barrier to refugees securing jobs than immigrants (Jamil, Kano, Abo-Shasha, Alsaqa, Fakhouri and Arnetz, 2012).

Moreover, there were significant differences between refugees and immigrants in terms of access to financial support or having the opportunity to enroll in professional training that would have given them an advantage in finding a job. The study shows that immigrants were four times more likely to enjoy their jobs when compared to refugees with 95% for immigrants

and 10.06% for refugees. In conclusion, migrants who worked as professionals, irrespective of their immigration status were 18 times more likely to enjoy their work than migrants who worked in non-professional jobs (Jamil et al., 2012).

In a more recent study in Sweden, the report shows that even though asylum seekers and refugees have higher chances of getting permanent residency when compared to other European countries, their prospects for finding employment are less promising than other refugees in other receiving countries in Europe. Rather labour migrants have more opportunities than family migrants and refugees in the labour market (Irastorza and Bevelander, 2017).

In a comparative qualitative study on labour force participation, unemployment, and occupational attainment among immigrants in Western Europe, results show that finding employment was a challenge for both first and second-generation migrants. There was a relative employment disadvantage among immigrant men of non-European origin, which was distinct among second-generation migrants. In all four countries characterized by different welfare state regimes and migration policies, patterns of labour force incorporation vary considerably across origin groups and different generations (Gorodzeisky and Semyonov, 2017). Hence, the possibility of becoming economically active and finding employment was inclined by the region of origin of both first-generation and offspring of immigrants.

Evidence from the study claims that immigrants status increases the chances of getting jobs of high-status irrespective of their origin or gender. Apart from understanding the economic integration of first and second generation of immigrants, it is also relevant to address other groups of migrants to get a general overview of immigrants and labour market participation that this study aims to investigate. Thus, the present research seeks to advance knowledge by examining the significant difference in the integration among different groups of immigrants into the labour market.

In Cangiano's (2012) quantitative study of 15 EU countries using the 2008 EU-Labour Force Survey, the finding showed that the unemployment rate for men was very high among migrants who arrived as asylum seekers, with women being the most inactive when compared to other groups of migrants'. The study also found that among the number of migrants who arrived in these 15 EU states before 1998, students according to the immigration category had the highest level of employment and lowest unemployment rates as well as the highest naturalization rate. Conversely, the general picture is not completely positive because students, mostly men, experience very high levels of underutilization of their education skills.

Besides, one of the major challenges for integration in the labour market is the migrant workforce particularly migrant women. Fifty percent were employed at the occupational levels and often below their educational skills. These lose their 'skill potential' relative to the domestic labour forces as high as 15% or 20%. This was not only for female humanitarian migrants, but also labour migrants also (whether or not with a job offer). The underutilization of immigrant skills is particularly high in Italy and Germany (Cangiano, 2012).

In another study using the Trajectoires et Origins (Enquête sur la diversité des populations de France) data, the labour market performance was assessed in terms of labour force participation, employment and wages of four different immigrant groups based on their visa categories at their point of entry. These include; family migrants, work migrants, refugees and students in France. Findings reveal that work migrants are more likely to participate in the job market than family migrants and refugees. In terms of wages, migrants who came in as students earn significantly more than family migrants and refugees but over a longer period, wage differences between these groups tend to meet at a certain point. This finding is similar to Cangiano's (2012) finding where employability was high among students.

Similarly, in a quantitative study on labour market characteristics of the total number of migrant population' from January 2012 – December 2013, economic migrants were identified as the highest employed and refugees the lowest. Within the European Economic Area (EEA) there was an 87% employment rate for both current UK residents born in the EEA and those in non-EEA countries. Student migrants with 58% then family migrants with 62% followed consecutively. Refugees were the lowest category with an employment rate of only 47% and consistently found in low skilled employment when compared to other groups of migrants. This figure reflects the particular challenges that characterize this group of migrants. Interestingly, the rate of employment between the EEA and non-EEA economic migrants were alike (86.5% for EEA and 86.9% for non-EEA economic migrants). The increasing rate of employment among economic migrants was a result of the recent development in the policy of attracting the brightest and the best for managed migration. Non-economic EEA migrants received high wages with a salary of £369 per week on average (Cooper, Campbell, Patel and Simmons, 2014).

In addition, Ott (2013) states that after controlling the demographic differences such as age, educational level, and ability to speak the host country's languages, the performance of refugees in the labour market is slightly worse than that of labour migrants, though the gap closes in the long run.

This is similar to Amjad et al. (2017) where unemployment was high among refugees. One of the main barriers to employability among Syrian refugees in Jordan was obtaining the necessary documentation to apply for work permits. Most refugees that were eligible for the Ministry of Interior Card (IOM) were not allowed to apply for work permits hence, limiting their access to employment. In the same vein Fasani, Fattini and Minale (2020) agree with other studies that there is a large gap in the economic integration of refugees. They do not only have poor market outcomes when compared to natives even among other groups of migrants. Their income, quality of occupation and labour market involvement are relatively weaker. The study found that refugees are 11.6% less likely of have jobs and 22.1% are more likely to be unemployed than migrants with the same characteristics.

According to Dustmann, Fasani, Frattini, Minale, and Schönberg (2017) asylum policies play a significant role in shaping refugees' disadvantaged position in the labour market. Immigrants and refugees are governed by different policy regimes especially during their early stages in host countries, for refugees this can subsequently influence their integration outcomes. The process of applying for asylum, the processing time for asylum applications and longer waiting periods delay them from accessing the labour market as well as other incentive programs that can support their integration (Desiderio, 2016; Dustmann et al, 2017). Refugees and asylum seekers also find it difficult to transfer their skills, and qualifications to match the host society. They are faced with discrimination and limited opportunities to connect with local employers. Due to the challenges they face, many countries have adopted a solution by introducing innovative policies to support the integration of refugees into the labour market in the future (Desiderio, 2016). However, despite substantial investments made, the solutions adopted thus far have not been able to deal with their immediate and future challenges (Desiderio, 2016). Hence, there is need for further research to bring definite solutions to their challenges. The researcher believes that assessing the effects of the migration policy on foreigners will help to bring strategic recommendations that can help to address issues around the labour market integration of asylum seekers and refugees. Interestingly, despite the different evidence from Desiderio (2016) and other previous studies that refugees and asylum seekers generally have difficulty in finding and sustaining employment, the author found that refugees are often more

qualified for their jobs than other migrant groups and natives as well. Yet they are overrepresented in low skilled work and have low incomes.

In a descriptive study on the socio-economic positions of native-born citizens, naturalized citizens and non - naturalized immigrants, mainly from third world countries across 25 countries in EU results show that non-naturalised and naturalized migrants are more economically active than natives are. 42% of immigrants from non-European migrants often acquire citizenship twice as much as immigrants from EU countries with twenty percent. (Bauböck, Honohan, Huddleston, Hucheson, Shaw and Vink, 2013).

There have also been several studies conducted in South Africa comparing citizen and foreign nationals' access to employment and the labour market. When it comes to comparing foreign nationals with locals, it is often assumed that locals have more advantages in the labour market than foreigners but this is not always the case (Drbohlav and Valenta, 2014; Vermaak and Muller, 2019). Using a 10% sample of the 2011 Census data to explore labour market outcomes among working-age immigrants and locals in South Africa. Findings from the study show that on average, naturalized immigrants and foreigners are more successfully involved in the labour market than locals. Worthy of note is the fact that social networks and foreigner's location play a vital role in increasing their labour market participation. Even though foreigners usually work in low-income jobs - which is the main reason for their low earnings - when compared to nationals. This explains why immigrants are likely to be self-employed or combine self-employment and wage employment than South Africans. This is the reason why migrants are more populated in the informal and private sectors than nationals are (Drbohlav and Valenta, 2014; Vermaak and Muller, 2019). This is similar to Fauvelle-Aymar's (2015) study using MiWorc's econometric analysis in differentiating between domestic non-migrant, domestic migrants and international migrants. He found that international migrants have higher chances of getting employment and work in the informal sector than domestic non-migrants and domestic permanent migrants (Fauvelle-Aymar, 2015).

Findings from a study by Facchini, Mayda and Mendola (2013) - using StatsSA of 1996, 2001 and 2007 to assess the impact of immigration on native-born South Africa -, show that immigration only has a small negative effect on the income of native-born South African workers, but not on their employment at a national level. In accordance with several other studies like OECD and ILO (2019), the presence of foreign workers have no impact on the employment rates of citizens at the national level but on their income.

In another study by Peter and Sundaran (2015), using 10% of the 2001 South African census data, the employment prospects of immigrants from 24 immigrant groups from different countries were investigated. According to the findings, based on an individual's characteristics and level of education, the likelihood of employment varies from country to country. Considering these factors, immigrant's employability is relative to nationals who are internal migrants. About participation and performance, results further show that foreigners from advanced countries perform better than nationals do, while nationals perform more than those from central West Africa and Asian countries do. Although high levels of education increase the possibility of immigrants getting employment, yet foreigners from Angola, Cameroon, Nigeria and the Democratic Republic of Congo have lower prospects of employment at all levels than nationals despite their education qualifications (Peter and Sundaran, 2015).

This explains that concerning performance, foreigners from advanced countries perform better than nationals do. The study does not explain why migrants from Angola, Cameroon, Nigeria and the Democratic Republic of Congo have lower prospects of employment. A study addressing the challenges faced by immigrants from these countries could help to answer the question. Since this study was restricted to males aged 25-65 not including females, it does not give a full representative of skilled migrants in South Africa. Besides, its focus only on those who had acquired qualifications abroad is limiting because migrants in this category might have limited time to integrate/assimilate into the labour market, which the study admits.

To have a better understanding of the economic impact of foreigners and make better policy recommendations, OECD and ILO (2019) conducted a study on South Africa and nine other countries. This study - using a mixed-method - found that foreigners integrate more into the labour market in terms of employment and unemployment rates. Interestingly, this does not disadvantage nationals that are working. However, they also found that there is a high probability of foreigners getting employment than nationals, which is consistent with the country's low employment rates.

According to OECD and ILO (2019), foreigners have a positive impact on the Gross Domestic Product (GDP). Estimates from their econometric model show that immigrant workers may increase the nation's per capita income by up to 5% as well as a positive net fiscal contribution. Other findings show that higher average educational attainment among foreigners could be the reason for the increased specialization in the labour force, which is the reason for their significant contributions to the economy (ibid).

Skilled migrants mostly get formal and informal employment, and are very instrumental in host countries' economies (OECD and ILO, 2019). A number of studies confirm that immigrant workers make significant contributions to the economy of host countries (OECD and ILO, 2019). Factors such as education and skills have been vital in increasing the labour market outcomes for both foreign nationals and working-class South Africans (ibid), although restrictions in the migration policy seem to limit their labour market integration. Statistics from (ibid) show that 1/3 of international migrants in the world are mostly hosted by developing countries. South Africa is one of those countries in Africa that hosts Africans from other African countries.

Similarities and differences

The contributions migrants make to host countries cannot be overemphasized. This has been acknowledged in literature by researchers like Cinoglu, 2013; Oucho, et al., 2013; Sella, 2014; Barker, 2015; Clemens and Hashmi, 2016; Jaumotte et al. 2016; Clemens and Hashmi, 2016; Their contributions are seen through the skills they possess, the taxes they pay to host economies and favourable policies that encourage their participation in society. However, some researchers still believe that migrants are a burden to the host society. Some members of the EU see them as an extra burden that will increase state expenditure (European Parliament Reseach Service, 2019). According to Barker (2015), the influx of migrants increases labour supply as well as the demand for goods and services. Brucker and Jahn (2011) argue that the presence of foreigners' will reduce the average wage earnings for natives and increase unemployment. As for Amjad et al. (2017), limited access to information, exclusion from certain jobs and opportunities hinders them from finding access into the labour market. Besides, misunderstanding of policies and negligence are among other factors that affect their integration (Kavuro 2015).

Despite these challenges, others consider skilled migrants as very beneficial to host societies. Some governments that had very restrictive policies have now adopted policies to support the integration of foreigners (UN, 2004). There are several suggestions made to understand the dynamics and foster migrants in the labour market. Governments, organizations, and individuals have derived strategies to facilitate the integration of migrants. Countries like Czech Republic now prioritizes creating opportunities for foreigners (Drbohlav and Valenta, 2014). New Zealand, Japan, Italy, UK, and several other countries have instituted programs to create more opportunities for migrants to participate in the labour market (Gibson and

McKenzie, 2014; OECD/EU 2018). The African Union continues to encourage member states to legislate policies that protect and respect human rights, combat all forms of discrimination and xenophobia through civic education and educating people (Achieme and Landau, 2015).

Nevertheless, this has not been the case with South Africa where the immigration policy is considered stricter. The effect of this is that several foreigners have become independent, creating opportunities for themselves with many participating in the informal sector. This has helped to boost the economies of host countries, promote decent work in society, encourage diversity and create opportunities for nationals (Rugunanan and Smit, 2011; Tawodzera, et al., 2015; Amjad et al., 2017).

Some countries have created initiatives to facilitate the integration of refugees and asylum seekers in the labour market. Findings from Strielkowski, Tumanyan, and Kalyugina (2016) show that Czech Republic is fairly integrating Asylum seekers and refugees into the labour market. Likewise, Bevelander and Irastorza (2014) study showed that refugees had more opportunities and were open to the job market than other groups of migrants in Sweden. However, in a comparative study of Iraqi refugees and immigrants in America by Jamil et al., Kano, Abo-Shasha, Alsaqa, Fakhouri and Arnetz, (2012), findings show that refugees find difficulties getting employment and they were twice likely to be unemployed than immigrants. This was also evident in Herm and Poulain's (2012) qualitative study with low employment rates among highly educated refugees and asylum seekers. Evidence from Jamil et al (2012), Herm and Poulain (2012), and Voicu and Vlase (2014) show that refugees face difficulties getting employment irrespective of the economic situation of the country. In the same vein, Voicu and Vlase (2014) point out that highly skilled immigrants are more likely to be employed than non - immigrants and low skilled migrants. Migrants' access to employment differs from country to country.

Moreover, statistics also differ when comparing the employment status of foreigners and nationals. Fauvelle-Aymar (2014), Drbohlav and Valenta (2014), and Vermaak and Muller, (2019) show that migrants are more employed than nationals. This slightly opposes Facchini et al. (2013) stating that foreigners have a small negative effect on the income of nationals, but not on their employment at a national level. This finding is contrary to Fauvelle-Aymar's (2015) findings asserting that there might be some negative effects of immigration on citizens' employment at a national level as opposed to the district level. Studies on the labour market integration of migrants vary from country to country depending on the state of the nation and

the policies governing the integration of migrants in that country. Based on an individual's characteristics and level of education, the likelihood of employment varies from country to country. Another group of authors argue that the duration of staying in host countries increases migrants chances of getting a better job (Aleksynska and Tritah, 2013; Peter and Sundaran, 2015). Evidence from the empirical literature shows that when comparing refugees to other groups of migrants, they are least employed in host societies. In conclusion, high rates of unemployment could be linked to several factors and policies governing these groups of migrants could either influence or discourage their integration in the labour market.

Gap

Research done by OECD and ILO in 2016, 2018 and 2017 show that several low and middle-income countries do not have sufficient evidence and awareness about the kind of contributions immigrants make to different sectors of economies. This is because policies did not address migrants specifically. Only a few countries have developed and implemented suitable policies. OECD and ILO's (2018) analyses of ten different developing countries show that the overall impact of immigrants is unnoticed. In reaction, Ghana and Rwanda have legislated policies to encourage immigration because they see migrants as meaningful contributors to development. However, some countries have not instituted policies that encourage migrants to make meaningful contributions to the economy. There are some assumptions of South Africa being one of such countries; therefore, it is important to conduct a study investigating the effects of the migration policy on foreigners to know if these assumptions are true.

Although some studies on the effect of migration were done in South Africa in the past, there is need for more empirical research in the area of the immigration policy since the recent changes made in 2014. Some studies have addressed certain aspects of the employability and labour market integration of international migrants but none targets different groups of migrants to compare how changes in the migration policy affect employability and income. Besides, previous studies about the migration policy used existing data but this study will use primary data and the focus will be on skilled migrants, to understand the socio-economic effects of the policy on them. The study aims to address this by focusing on different groups of skilled migrants, asylum seekers, and refugees.

7.5. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

7.5.1. Methodology

The third and fourth objectives used a quantitative approach (the impact of South Africa's migration policy on the socio-economic status of foreigners and the impact of xenophobia on the socio-economic status of foreigners). This approach is appropriate because it provides data to quantify, model, predict, and measure relationships about a given phenomenon (Mertez and Gisenberg, 2009). Besides, the quantitative approach is objective evidence collected in a balanced manner from a relatively large number of participants analysed using mathematically based methods, especially statistics (Yilmaz, 2013).

7.5.2. Sampling type and population size

The study used the non-probability method. Babbie and Mouton (2001) explain that this method is preferable when it's difficult for the researcher to find the types of probability samples used in a large-scale survey (Babbie and Mouton, 2001). The researcher used snowball and purposive sampling which are both non – probability - sampling methods to choose the study population. This was the most convenient way to identify participants and also because there is no existing data on skilled migrants. The researcher first selected participants from various institutions like universities, companies, NGOs, and a few others who qualified for the study. These connections were used to locate other participants in marketplaces, workplaces, and neighbouring communities. Selections were based on availability and the researcher's judgment. Two hundred migrants were selected from all five regions in Africa using the purposive or snowballing sample methods to participate in the study. The sample areas were areas where African nationals were easily located like Bellville, Parrow, Goodwood, Kraifontein, Belhar, Athlone, and Philippi.

The process of selection was the same as described in Chapter 4 under heading 4 (Sample size and population).

7.5.3. Data collection techniques

The researcher gathered primary data for almost two years (from June 2019 to April 2021). Secondary data came from existing literature, from articles, books, newspapers, magazines, etc. The secondary data was organized in the form of a literature review while primary data was collected through questionnaires.

7.5.3.1. Literature review

Literature review formed a fundamental part of the study, as it helped the researcher place the study in a wider context. The existing body of knowledge builds on a literature review while avoiding duplication (Babbie and 2007). Literature was classified into empirical and theoretical literature. These comprised primary and secondary data from previous studies and sources that other researchers conducted around the study area. This provided relevant information, to help the researcher identify existing gaps in the literature. Headings used in the literature review include social cohesion, xenophobia, documentation, employment, migration policy, etc. The relevant theoretical and conceptual framework that aligned with the study also formed part of the literature. Selection of the literature focused only on information that was relevant to the study and drawn from academic sources like; articles, books, journals, internet sources, as well as relevant reports from governments and international organizations.

7.5.3.2. Survey questionnaire

According to Cooper and Schindler (1988), research data can be collected through personal interviews, telephone interviews, and self-administered questionnaires. The researcher used structured survey questionnaires. Questionnaires are known as the most preferable means for collecting data when respondents are many (Langdrige and Hagger-Johnson, 2009). Langdrige and Hagger-Johnson further explain that questionnaires make statistical analysis quite easy. Two hundred survey questionnaires were administered to participants selected using the purposive or snowballing sample methods and the researcher received 158 completed questionnaires. In most cases, meeting times and venues were scheduled between the researcher and respondents to administer questionnaires where questionnaires were completed in the presence of the researcher. For others that were quite busy, the researcher had to read out the questions and responses to the respondents and then fill in their responses. In some other cases, the questionnaires were self-administered, dropped in the houses or workplaces of respondents where respondents completed them at their time of convenience, and handed back to the researcher. Data collection was delayed by the global COVID-19 pandemic which resulted in the researcher devising another strategy. Electronic copies were sent to selected participants who had indicated their interest in the study. After collecting the questionnaires from participants, the researcher took time to go through them to check if the respondents responded as expected.

The set of questions developed for the questionnaire were in four sections. Section A consisted of demographic characteristics to gather information about the African migrants' profile, section B looked at the immigration and employment status of migrants as well as their skills, while section C focused on their access to health care, property, and perceptions about xenophobia and discrimination. The last section, D, contained information on the migration policy. The kind of information obtained through the questionnaire helped to answer questions around documentation, migrant employment status, the types of employment that migrants possess, their level of satisfaction about their employment status, the kind of skills they have, and their thoughts about the migration policy.

In addition, the questions were designed and phrased in a way that made it easy and less complicated for respondents. They only had to circle or tick for most of the questions. Most of the questions were closed-ended, multiple-choice, and scaled questions to draw relevant information from respondents. The rationale for using a questionnaire is that it allows the researcher to probe and clear up confusing responses. Questionnaires are also effective in guiding respondents (Welman and Kruger, 1999; De Vaus, 2002).

7.5.3.3. Pilot testing

Pilot testing helped the researcher to identify problematic areas in the data collection instruments. This exercise made it possible for the researcher to check the relevance of the study, and assess the level of understanding of the content of the instruments and the validity and feasibility of the study. Pilot testing is paramount in the journey of establishing content validity in research (Creswell, 2014). Five people participated in the pilot testing. Pilot testing helps researchers identify issues like the flow of questions, meaning, task difficulty, variations, timing, and the attention of respondents (Barker, 2003). During the pilot testing, respondents highlighted some areas that needed clarity for better understanding. Some of the questions about the migration policy and xenophobia needed further explanations because the concept was not well understood by most of them. After the pilot testing process, the researcher received relevant feedback. The feedback was discussed with my supervisor and a uniform agreement was made between the supervisor and the researcher to rephrase and restructure some questions. Other questions that appeared irrelevant, ambiguous, and confusing were either dropped or modified to achieve the desired results.

7.5.4. Data Validity and Reliability

Different strategies were used to test the validity and reliability of the research. Through the pilot testing done, the researcher identified areas of concern, which were later rectified and addressed satisfactorily. This helped the researcher to establish content and validity in the study.

Using a structured questionnaire allowed the researcher to gather similar information that enriched the validity and reliability of the study. Finally, yet importantly, the researcher made efforts to control the quality of the quantitative survey by going through the filled questionnaires to verify and ensure consistency. Incomplete and inconsistent questionnaires were either returned to respondents for verification or disqualified.

7.5.5. Data Analysis and presentation

Data analysis and presentation provide a platform to interpret data collected from the field and reinforce solutions (Judd and McClelland, 1989). Data collected using survey questionnaires was captured, coded, and entered into (SPSS), one of the statistical software for social sciences. SPSS was chosen because it is more robust and it takes care of multicollinearity problems which make results more valid and reliable (Zameer, Wang, and Yasmeen, 2020). The researcher used descriptive statistics because it is suitable to interpret the properties of a data set in the sample (Creswell, 1994). Descriptive statistics were used to describe and summarize migrants' characteristics, perceptions of the labour market, treatments at hospitals, housing situations, and SA migration policy amongst others.

I further used analysis of variance often abbreviated (ANOVA) to examine differences among groups and relationships among variables for objectives three and four (Guetterman, 2019). ANOVA is an inferential statistic used to compare the differences between two or more means (Wahid, Latiff, and Ahmad, 2017; Yigit and Mendes, 2018). One-way ANOVA was utilized to analyse objective three (to determine the impact of the migration policy on foreigners' socio-economic status; education level). This technique is typically used when the number of independent variables in the analysis test is only one (Wahid et al. 2017). One-way ANOVA analysis was used to examine whether the impact of the migration policy was significantly different among foreigners with no formal education, secondary, tertiary, and vocational. Data was presented using graphical representations in the form of graphs, tables, and figures to help explain the phenomenon under study.

Furthermore, two-way ANOVA was used to determine the impact of xenophobia on foreigners' socio-economic status (income and employability). I used two – way ANOVA because it allows you to simultaneously test the effects of each of your independent variables on the dependent variable and also identifies any interaction effect (Wahid et al. 2017). Income and employability which are the dependent variables were used to test xenophobia the independent variable.

7.5.6. Analysis of Variance [ANOVA]

The term "analysis of variance" refers to a comparison of the variance (variability in scores) between different groups (believed to be caused by the independent variable) with the variability within each of the groups (believed to be due to chance) (Kao and Green 2008). An F ratio is calculated which represents the variance between the groups, divided by the variance within the groups. A large F ratio indicates that there is more variability between the groups (caused by the independent variable) than there is within each group (referred to as the error term) (Kao and Green 2008). A significant F test indicates that we can reject the null hypothesis, which states that the population means are equal. It does not, however, tell us which of the groups differ. For this, we need to conduct posthoc tests. post hoc tests are designed to help protect against the likelihood of a Type 1 error, but this approach is stricter, making it more difficult to obtain statistically significant differences. Unless there are clear conceptual grounds for wishing only to compare specific groups, then it may be more appropriate to use post hoc analysis (ibid).

7.5.6.1. Two-Way Analysis of Variance

Two-way analysis of variance allows the test of the impact of two independent variables on one dependent variable (Murrar and Brauer, 2018). The benefit of using a two-way ANOVA is that it allows for the testing of an interaction effect, which occurs when the effect of one independent variable is influenced by another. It also looks for the main effects, 'or the overall impact of each independent variable (ibid). There are two different two-way ANOVAs: between-groups ANOVA (when the groups are different) and repeated measures ANOVA (when the same people are tested on more than one occasion) (van Ginkel and Kroonenberg, 2014). In this research, the latter is used. *Two-way* means that there are two independent variables, and *between-groups* indicate that different people are in each of the groups. This technique allows us to look at the individual and joint effect of two independent variables on one dependent variable. One-way ANOVA cannot answer questions when two independent

variables are used. The advantage of using a two-way design is that we can test the ‘main effect’ for each independent variable and explore the possibility of an ‘interaction effect’. An interaction effect occurs when the effect of one independent variable on the dependent variable depends on the level of a second independent variable.

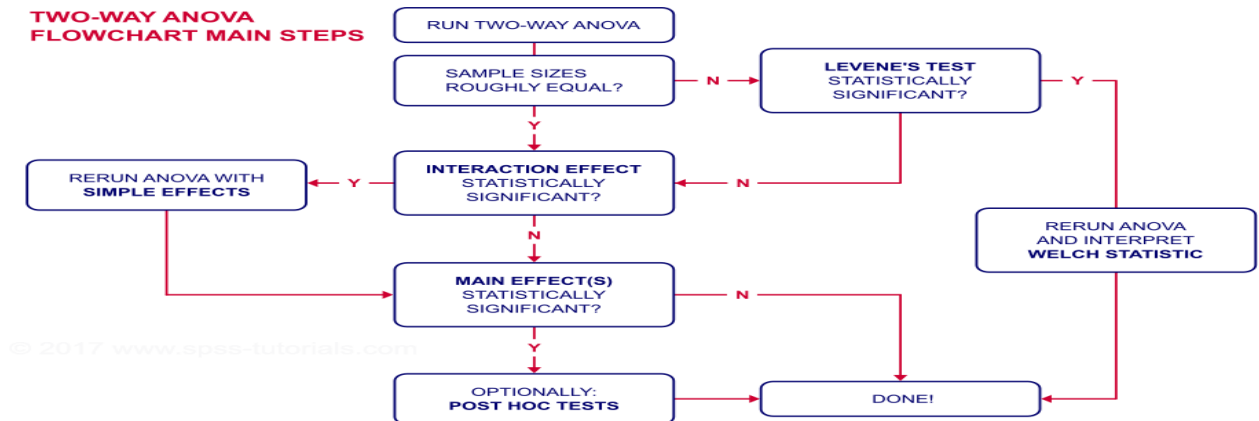
7.5.6.2. Two-Way ANOVA with Post-hoc Tests

Table 3: Two- ANOVA Equations

	Sum of squares	Degrees of freedom	Mean square	F value	P value
A	SSA	$I - 1$	SSA / DFA	MSA / MSE	p value main effect A
B	SSB	$J - 1$	SSB / DFB	MSB / MSE	p value main effect B
A*B	SSAB	$(I - 1) \times (J - 1)$	SSAB / DFAB	MSAB / MSE	p value interaction effect
Error	SSE	$N - IJ$	SSE / DFE = Pooled variance		
Total	SST	$N - 1$	SST / DFT = Total variance		

Source: <https://www.statology.org/two-way-anova/>

Figure 4: Two- Way ANOVA Flowchart main steps



Source: <https://www.spss-tutorials.com/spss-two-way-anova-interaction-significant/#flowchart>

7.5.6.3. One-Way ANOVA with Post-hoc Tests

Using an analysis of variance, the variance (variability in scores) between the different groups (believed to be related to the independent variable) is compared to the variability within each of the groups (believed to be due to chance). ANOVA, or analysis of variance, is a sophisticated statistical method that employs significance tests to identify differences between two or more means or components. It also suggests a method for comparing the averages of different populations. The ANOVA test evaluates two types of variation: mean differences between samples and variation within each sample. This function compares the sample means of k groups. In contrast, one-way ANOVA is a mathematical extension of the two-sample t -test in which the F statistic compares group variability to group variability.

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Table 4: One Way - ANOVA Equations

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	Degrees of Freedom	Mean Squares (MS)	F
Within	$SSW = \sum_{j=1}^k \sum_{i=1}^l (X - \bar{X}_j)^2$	$df_w = k - 1$	$MSW = \frac{SSW}{df_w}$	$F = \frac{MSB}{MSW}$
Between	$SSB = \sum_{j=1}^k (\bar{X}_j - \bar{X})^2$	$df_b = n - k$	$MSB = \frac{SSB}{df_b}$	
Total	$SST = \sum_{j=1}^n (\bar{X}_j - \bar{X})^2$	$df_r = n - 1$		

Source: Source: <https://byjus.com/anova-formula/>

- F = ANOVA Coefficient
- MSB = Mean sum of squares between the groups
- MSW = Mean sum of squares within the groups
- SST = Total Sum of squares
- n = The total number of samples in a population
- SSW = Sum of squares within the groups
- SSB = Sum of squares between the groups
- s = Standard deviation of the samples

Two variables were employed to conduct the analysis. Three unique categories in one categorical independent variable. In the sample, the first Capita-Start-up was recorded to create three equal groups (High, Average, and Low). The Business Success Score is the continuous dependent variable in this case. The technique (one-way ANOVA) analyzes whether the mean scores on the dependent variable differ significantly across the three groups. The F ratio is calculated by dividing the variation between the groups by the variance within the groupings. A high F ratio indicates that there is more variation between groups than within each group (due to the independent variable) (referred to as the error term).

7.6. Limitation of the study

One of the key challenges in this study was insufficient financial resources. Some participants could not communicate in English fluently, so the researcher had to use a translator to interpret the questions which might have led to the loss of data during the process. Due to financial constraints, the researcher could not hire professional interpreters to provide relevant services and acquire detailed information. Besides, some respondents needed a transport refund which the researcher had to provide. The researcher had to make several calls to book and rebook

appointments. Some participants had difficulties responding to certain questions as they were emotionally narrating their experiences in South Africa.

Besides, during the data collection process, the researcher encountered problems with some migrants who were unwilling to participate in the study either due to psychological distress from the effects of the COVID-19 pandemic or personal issues. Many participants were scared and did not want to have face-to-face contact with the researcher while others were just reluctant. Some others took a long time to respond. This slowed the process of data collection and affected the researcher's intention to engage with more than two hundred people, therefore, limiting the number of participants in the study. Considering the time factor and the duration of the PhD program the researcher had to work with the available data. Hence, results from this study could not be allocated to a bigger population.

7.7. Ethics

Ethics is critical for social scientists because people's rights have been violated in the past during the research (Bless, Higson, Smith, and Kagee, 2006). The study was conducted according to professional standards and ethical guidelines provided by the Ethics committee of the University of the Western Cape, Senate Research Committee with the ethics number HS18/9/10. Four fundamental ethical issues were applied which include; voluntary participation, not inflicting harm on respondents, anonymity and confidentiality, and no deception (Babbie and Mouton, 2007). All respondents were informed that they were free to withdraw from the study whenever they felt uncomfortable without suffering any prejudice. They were also told they were not compelled to answer questions. Respondents were assured that any information provided would be kept confidential. Names and any other personal information obtained during the FGD and interviews were withheld. Participation was purely voluntary but written consent was obtained from all participants. Moreover, respondents were informed about the use of a voice recorder which was only used after their consent. All covid-19 protocols were observed to curb fear and minimize risks of transmission.

8. CHAPTER EIGHT: PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF QUANTITATIVE FINDINGS OF THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC EFFECTS OF THE MIGRATION POLICY, ONE WAY AND TWO WAY ANOVA ANALYSIS.

8.1. Analysis and discussion of findings on the socio-economic effects of the migration policy on foreigners.

Many governments use migration policies to regulate, control, and manage migration inflow into a country. One key principal issue that impacts migrants' socio-economic integration is the migration policy in the context of South Africa. The scope of this section is to present, analyse, and discuss the quantitative findings from participants in Cape Town. Section one provides a demographic description of participants, perceptions of the labour market, treatments at hospitals, housing situations, and SA migration policy. Section two utilizes one-way ANOVA to discuss the impact of the migration policy on foreigners' education level while the section describes the impact of xenophobia on migrants' income and employability using two-way ANOVA analysis. The chapter concludes with policy implications.

Table 5: Demographic characteristics of study participants.

Gender	Freq	%	Age	Freq	%	Marital status	Freq	%
Male	91	57.6	18 - 25	19	12.0	Single	67	42.4
Women	67	42.4	26 - 35	53	33.5	Married	83	52.5
TOTAL	158	100.0	36 - 45	56	35.4	Divorced	2	1.3
			46 - 55	14	8.9	Widowed	1	.6
			56+	5	3.2	Separated	3	1.9
			TOTAL	147	100.0	TOTAL	156	98.7
			Missing	11	7.0	Missing	2	1.3
			TOTAL	158	100.0	TOTAL	158	100.0

Source: Author's construct (2022)

Migration is usually undertaken by men and women who aspire to better living conditions. However, more men engage in migration, perhaps because of responsibilities attached to gender roles. According to the 2020 World Migration Report, the number of male migrant workers was more than female migrant workers worldwide (58.4% male and 41.6% female) (IOM, 2020). Similarly, Aksoy and Poutvaara, (2019) study, representing the nature of migration around the world states that the probability of emigrating is higher for men, younger people, and singles. This is confirmed to be true because the number of male migrants in Cape Town is higher than female migrants with 57.6% male migrants and 42.4% female migrants.

Previous literature shows that migration is mostly done by young adults who are still energetic with lots of ambitions and dreams. In Gasper and Truong's (2010) study young men migrated

from the hills of Nepal to the megalopolis of Mumbai because they wanted to get wider experiences which is an important phase in their personal growth. Similarly, a study by Williams, Jephcote, Janta, and Li (2018) stated that young people in Europe between the ages of 16-35 are likely to migrate. The above results confirm with results from this study stating that most respondents 35.4% were between the ages 36-45 and 33.5% of the population between 36 and 35 years. It should be noted that more than 80% of the respondents have lived in South Africa for more than five years which means they came at an earlier age. Akin-Olagunju, Fabusuyi, Adesina, and Yusuf's (2020) study further confirms this study stating that most people migrate in their productive years between the ages of 16 and 45. Only 12% of the population were between the ages of 18-25. 8.9% were between the ages 45-55% and 3.2% were between 56 and above. This 3.2% are probably individuals who migrated at a later stage in their lives. Most young people irrespective of where they reside choose to migrate in their productive years because they want to explore and make decisions that will meet long-term needs for themselves and their families.

Although most respondents were married with a percentage of 52.5%, almost half of the population were single, 42.4%. Only 1.3% of foreigners were divorced, 1.9% separated and .6% were widowed. This confirms previous literature by Akin-Olagunju, et al., (2020) stating that more married people than singles, divorced, separated, and widowed people migrate. Lack of socio-economic stability is one of the main reasons why almost half of the population is not married. This is because most Africans believe that one of the criteria for marriage is financial stability. After all, marriage comes with a lot of responsibilities, especially for men. Hence, insufficient economic viability is one of the reasons why many of them are still single.

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Table 6: Origin, spouse nationality and number of dependents

Origin	Freq	%	Spouse nationality	Freq	%	No of dependents	Freq	%
Southern Africa	48	30.4	No response	6	3.8	None	39	24.7
North Africa	3	1.9	Not applicable	64	40.5	1	23	14.6
West Africa	34	21.5	South Africa	7	4.4	2-4	65	41.1
East Africa	29	18.4	Country of origin	58	36.7	5 and above	14	8.9
Central Africa	44	27.8	Other nationality	23	14.3	Other	3	1.9
TOTAL	158			158	100.0		144	91.1
						Missing	14	8.9
						TOTAL	158	100.0

Source: Author's construct (2022)

South Africa has attracted a lot of foreigners, especially from the African continent with diverse cultures from different nations. Some of these foreign nationals come to take advantage of the opportunities available in SA. A majority of respondents came from countries within Southern Africa 30.4%, mainly from Zimbabwe, Lesotho, Mozambique, and Zambia, probably because of their proximity to SA. According to results from the foreign fact sheet on migrant workers in SA, historical inequality in wealth, under-development poverty, etc., force people to migrate which is usually the only option for survival for many in the Southern African region (ACMS, 2020). This is followed by Central Africa with 27.8%, with most of them from the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), Congo Brazzaville, and Cameroon. Although one of the dominant languages in these nations is French, most of them chose SA because of its rights-based system which to them is a better place to seek refuge from political strife (Anjofui, 2018). It should be noted that most of them from these countries are refugees and asylum seekers. Next is West African 21.5%, with nationals mostly from Nigeria and Ghana. Amongst many other reasons, English being the dominant language in these countries could be one of the reasons they migrated to SA. 18.4% of respondents were from East Africa with nationals from Uganda, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Somalia Kenya, and Tanzania, neighbouring countries to South Africa. Finally, we have Northern Africa with the least number of foreign nationals 1.9%. SA has a population of foreigners from different parts of the world who continue to come for different reasons. From the above statistics, the largest number of foreigners in SA are from the Southern African region, and the least population is from Northern Africa.

This study shows that foreign nationals are more comfortable marrying citizens from their home country than marrying from other countries. Most respondents got married to nationals from their home country, 36.7%. 14.3% married nationals from other countries and only 4.4% got married to South African nationals. This is contrary to the popular narrative that foreigners have come to SA to steal wives (Shea 2008; Adjai, 2010; Amit and Kriger, 2014; Pillay 2017). Although this question did not apply to a percentage of 40.5% of respondents who were still single, the study shows that most foreigners marry from their home countries. Only a small proportion 3.8% did not respond to the question. This study debunks the perceptions that foreigners have come to steal South African women. A narrative that has stirred several xenophobic attacks leading to the loss of lives and properties. This should replace the former narrative to help reduce the hatred and tension that have been existing in SA over the years.

Migrants are seen as pacesetters in their families and a lot of families rely on them for financial and emotional support. Findings from the study show that almost half of the population have between 2 - 4 dependants. 41.6% of the population have between 2-4 people depending on them for financial or material support. Only 14.6% have 1 dependant and 8.9% have 5 and above people depending on them. This result is similar to Ehwi, Maslova, and Asante's (2021) study of Ghanaian migrants in the UK stating that foreigners have many dependents which has deprived many of better living conditions in the UK. Several other studies show that migrants have many responsibilities (World Bank, 2015). Interestingly, 44.7% said they had no dependents, contrary to the notion that migrants always have lots of dependents. 8.9% did not respond to the question and 1.9% of respondents were indifferent.

The logo of the University of the Western Cape, featuring a stylized building facade with columns and a pediment, with the text "UNIVERSITY of the WESTERN CAPE" below it.

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Table 7: Education status, gross month income and legal status

Education	Freq	%	Gross monthly income	Freq	%	Legal status in SA	Freq	%
No education	3	1.9	2500-10.999	77	48.7	Undocumented	3	1.9
Secondary	29	18.4	11.000-20.999	25	15.8	Asylum seeker	33	20.9
Tertiary	116	73.4	21.000-30.999	18	11.4	Refugee status	34	21.5
Vocational	7	4.4	31.999-40.999	9	5.7	Permanent residence	47	29.7
TOTAL	155	98.1	41.000+	10	6.3	Other	40	25.3
Missing	3	1.9	TOTAL	139	88.0	TOTAL	157	99.4
TOTAL	158	100	Missing	19	12.0	Missing	1	.6
			TOTAL	158	100	TOTAL	158	100.0

Source: Author's construct (2022)

This study focused mainly on skilled migrants because of their contributions to the socio-economic development of society. According to Neamtu and Scurtu (2013), educational attainment and access to proper documentation are among the resources that will probably contribute significantly to migrants' economic development in the host country and allow them to increase their success and human capital. A substantial number of respondents were highly skilled with 73.4% having obtained up to tertiary education. However, the high percentage of highly skilled migrants in SA is not because of favourable policies and conditions but because unemployment forced many to continue climbing the academic ladder (Kanayo and Anjofui, 2018). This is contrary to other countries designing policies to attract skilled migrants (Harvey and Beaverstock, 2016; Chiou, 2017; UNDESA, 2019). Only 18.4% had secondary education as their highest qualification and 4.4% of respondents had vocational training as their highest qualification. The lowest percentage were those who had no formal education with 1.9%. Interestingly, most of them who had secondary and no formal education as their highest qualification learned new skills to empower themselves. This is similar to the case of Botswana migrants who came to SA as poor, unskilled, and uneducated young men, but learned skills on the job and became contractors, plumbers, miners, and successful entrepreneurs (Morapedi, 2018). Skilled migrants can contribute significantly to building the economy if well integrated. According to the human capital theory, formal education is a direct investment and increases the production capacity of a population (Olaniyan and Okemakinde, 2008).

Although most people migrate for socio-economic benefits, findings from this study show that most respondents did not meet their desired expectation of gaining financial stability. A greater proportion of the population 48.7% had a gross income between R2500 – R10.999, followed by 15.8% earning between R11.000 –R20.999. Findings further show that only 11.4% earned between R21.000 and R30.999, with 5.4% earning R40.000. Statistics show that, the higher the amount the lesser the number in that category, showing that the income level of migrants is very low despite their high qualifications and skills. Previous studies reveal that foreigners usually work in low-income jobs with restricted tasks and salaries lower than natives of the same qualifications sometimes even when migrants are overqualified (Landolt and Theme, 2018). Only 6.3% of respondents earned R41.000 and above. Even though we see a high percentage of skilled and qualified migrants above 70%, their income level does not match their qualifications. Despite migrants' high skills, a majority of them earn between R2500 and R10.999. This shows that those employed are underpaid and their qualifications do not match their salaries. Similarly, previous studies by several researchers show a high level of skills mismatch among skilled migrants who were overqualified for the jobs they took (Benton, et al., 2014; Desiderio, 2016; Landolt and Theme, 2018). 12% of respondents did not respond to this question. Findings from this study contradict the claim that highly skilled migrants are taking opportunities from South Africans which has instigated several xenophobic attacks.

South Africa issues different permits to individuals that come into the country depending on the one you qualify for. This study focused mainly on permits that are eligible for long-term employment These include work, critical skills, permanent residence, asylum, and refugee permits amongst others that fall under this category. Most participants in this study were legally allowed to work in SA except for a few others who previously had permits under one of the above categories but are now undocumented due to the rejection of their application or challenges around the renewal of permits. Findings further show that 29.7% of responders were holders of permanent residence permits 25.3% were either holders of critical skills, work permits, or other related permits that allow migrants to work in SA. 21.5% had refugee permits and 20.9% of asylum seekers permits. Only 1.9% were undocumented and .6% of migrants did not respond to the question. Asylum seekers and refugees selected to participate were skilled and had something productive to offer.

Table 8: Permit expiration date, status of employment and sector of work

Permit expired date	Freq	%	Status of employment	Freq	%	Sector of work	Freq	%
Less than 1 month	3	1.9	Employed	139	88.0	No response	1	.6
3 month	26	16.5	Unemployed	18	11.4%	Not applicable	18	11.4
6-12 months	29	18.4	Total	157	99.4	Government	3	1.9
3-5 years	44	27.8	Missing	1	.6	Private	92	58.2
Indefinite	51	32.3	Total	158	100	Parastatal	28	17.7
Total	153	96.8				NGO	13	8.2
Missing	5	3.2				More than one	3	1.9
Total	158	100				Total	158	100

Source: Author's construct (2022)

The duration of foreigners' permits regulates the way they operate either positively or negatively. Expiration dates of permits ranged from 1 month to indefinite. 32.3% of respondents had permits that needed no extension (indefinite), mainly those on permanent residence permits. This group of migrants has no issues with permit renewals and their status keeps them in a relaxed state. They have several advantages as opposed to those on permits with shorter duration. 27.8% of respondents had permits that expire between 3-5 years. These were mainly those on work permits, critical skills permits, refugee permits, or other related permits. 18.4% of respondents had permits expiring between 6 and 12 months, mainly those on asylum/refugee permits, and a small percentage 1.9%, had permits that were extended for less than a month. The findings from this study are contrary to Irastorza and Bevelander, (2017) study in Sweden showing that asylum seekers and refugees have higher chances of getting permanent residency. Foreigners using permits with shorter extension periods, live in fear of uncertainties and cannot secure stable employment, mainly those on asylum and refugee permits. Even though they have relevant qualifications, the duration of their permits affects their integration into society and the labour market at large.

Evidence from previous literature shows that most governments are now using delays in releasing documentation to foreigners as a strategy to manage and control migration (Hölscher, 2012). Several other countries like Turkey, Hungary, and Czech Republic amongst others have

instituted restrictive visa requirements, additional clauses, and new laws just to discourage the settling of foreign nationals in their countries (Hölscher, 2012; Benton, Sumption, Alsvik, Fratzke, Kuptsch, Papademetriou, 2014; İçduygu, 2015). The limited extension periods are seen as a strategy by the South African government to discourage migration. On the contrary countries like Canada, Australia, and some countries in Europe, have put in place strategies to facilitate the integration of foreigners making it easy to acquire the required documentation (Bauböck, Honohan, Huddleston, Hucheson, Shaw, and Vink, 2013; Sidney, 2014; Kaushik and Drolet, 2018). Also, European member states are interested in encouraging full integration for immigrants who have stayed in Europe for long periods contrary to the case in SA. Some migrants stated that staying for longer periods does not make a difference because of challenges around documentation and integration.

With regards to employment status, 88% of participants were employed and only 11.4% were unemployed. It should be noted that more than half of the employed population were self-employed and did not depend on others for employment. Statistics from the study show that 58.2% of respondents worked in the private sector and only 1.9% worked in the government sector. The majority of those who worked in the private sector owned businesses. This finding is supported by the African Centre Migration Society research (ACMS) and other researchers stating that migrants are more likely to create employment opportunities for others and work in the informal sector (Fauvelle-Aymar, 2014; Tawodzera, et al., 2015; Ambe, 2016; Abayo, 2016; ACMS, 2020). 17.7% of respondents worked in the parastatal while 8.2% worked in NGOs. Only 1.9% worked in more than one sector. This shows that a majority of foreigners create employment opportunities for themselves and others and are not mainly employed by the government or by private organizations. Findings from this study again counter the narrative that foreigners are stealing jobs from South Africans as revealed in studies by (Shea 2008; Adjai, 2010; DHA, 2016). Furthermore, Facchini, et al., (2013) state that, immigrants only have a small negative effect on the income of Native-born South African workers but not on their employment status at a national level. The narrative of foreigners stealing jobs is not only peculiar in SA but also in other countries. Turkish population was xenophobic towards refugees because they saw them as a serious threat to employment rates, wage levels, and competition in the informal market (İçduygu, 2015). Statistics from this study show that foreigners create employment opportunities for themselves and others. Only .6% of the population did not respond to the question on the status of employment and 11.4% gave no response to the question on sector of employment because they were unemployed. A small percentage of .6% did not respond to the question on employment status. The study clearly

shows that migrants are mainly employed in the private sector. This finding is consistent with Wachter et al., (1974) hypothesis and the labour market theory that migrants are mostly employed in the secondary market as seen above.

Table 9: Main source of income, employment type and perception about the labour market

Main source of income	Freq	%	Employment type	Freq	%	Perception about labour market	Freq	%
Business	43	27.2	Full time	50	31.6	Hostile	7	4.4
Wages	73	43.2	Part time	28	17.7	Broadened	7	4.4
Social grants	1	.6	Self-employed with employees	12	7.6	Uncertain	25	15.8
Depending on others	8	5.1	Self-employed without employees	26	16.5	Suffocating	61	38.6
Multiple sources of income	25	15.8	Contract	24	15.2	Conducive	5	3.2
Total	150	94.9	Not applicable	18	11.4	Multiple responses	46	29.1
Missing variable	8	5.1	Total	158	100	Missing variable	4	4.4
Total	158	100				Total	158	100

Source: Author's construct (2022)

Although most people migrate to seek better economic opportunities, statistics from the study reveal that the gross monthly income of most foreigners ranged from R2500 and R10.999. This shows that the income level of many foreigners in SA is very low and most of them are underemployed. This is consistent with Wachter et al., (1974) hypothesis that underemployment is a universal characteristic of the secondary market among migrants. Research done by other researchers supports this finding stating that there is a big difference between foreigners' income, especially migrants from third world countries (Aleksynska and Tritah, 2013; OECD/European Union, 2015). Despite the high skills and relevant permits of most foreigners, this did not guarantee high income and better employment opportunities like the case of highly qualified Iraqi refugees and asylum seekers in the US. Despite their high qualifications and professional experiences, they were under-employed with high rates of employment (Herm and Poulain, 2012). On the contrary evidence from Gorodzeisky and Semyonov, (2017) study shows that an immigrant's status increases the chances of getting jobs

of high status irrespective of their origin or gender. This shows that the income of foreigners depends on their country of residence.

Statistics from the study further show that, a greater percentage 42.2% of foreigners had wages as their main source of income through salaries from their employers. 27.2% had business as their main source of income, mainly entrepreneurs' and 15.8% indicated they had multiple sources of income. Those with multiple sources of income probably run a business on the side and have part-time or full-time jobs just to raise enough money to cater to their responsibilities. Studies by Kalitanyi and Visser 2010; and Northcote, 2015 confirm that migrants in SA engage in several small-scale jobs at different levels such as trading, construction, and hawking from roadside stalls amongst others just to earn better livelihoods. This does not necessarily mean that those without multiple sources of income are satisfied with their income but it's a matter of choice for some, opportunities, or finances for others. 5.1% could not provide any form of income for themselves but mainly depended on others for support and .6% mainly depended on social grants. Although most respondents had wages as their main source of income, most of them were not satisfied with the salaries they earned. Results from this study continue to prove that foreigners are more job creators than job snatchers.

Furthermore, in terms of their main employment type, 31.6% are in full-time employment, 17.7% are in part-time employment, and 15.2% are in contract employment. 16.5% are employed without employees and only 7.6% are employed with employees. Statistics show that the percentage of foreigners on part-time and contract employment are more than those on full-time employment which is usually unsustainable and unpredictable. This finding confirms the dual market theory stating that foreigners mostly occupy jobs in the secondary sector which is at the bottom of the labour market with negative characteristics like poor pay, poor working conditions, insecure employment, and no career opportunities, etc (Piore, 1979; Bulow and Summers, 1986). Although foreigners have relevant qualifications, securing good and sustainable employment is difficult. This result further buttresses the fact that foreigners are not taking opportunities meant for citizens as many perceive. 11.4% of respondents did not respond to this question because they were unemployed and the question did not apply to them.

Respondents had different perceptions about the labour market in South Africa and most of them were negative. Most respondents said the labour market was suffocating with limited opportunities for foreigners 38.6%. This was followed by 15.8% who said the labour market is uncertain and unpredictable and 4.4% said it is hostile and stressful. 29.1% had multiple responses which were mainly negative ranging from it being hostile, uncertain, and

unpredictable. The overall finding from this study shows that a majority of respondents had negative perceptions about the labour market. Foreigners' negative perception of the labour market is not only peculiar to foreigners in SA. Studies by OECD, 2015; Iqbal, 2017; Amjad, Asla, et al, (2017) state that foreigners were not satisfied with the labour market because of reasons, like discrimination, and insufficient information about the labour market demand and supply services. Only a small percentage of respondents said the labour market was broadened with lots of opportunities and conducive. 4.4% said the labour market is broadened and 3.2% said it is conducive with many opportunities. In summary, foreign nationals have more negative perceptions of the labour market than positive perceptions.



Table 10: Documentation treatment at hospitals, housing situation, difficulty to buy house

Documentation treatment at hospitals	Freq	%	Housing situation	Freq	%	Difficulty to buy house	Freq	%
Never	65	41.1	Cash	8	5.1	Very difficult	66	41.8
Rarely	20	12.7	Mortgage	22	13.9	Difficult	36	22.8
Sometimes	29	18.4	Renting	119	75.3	Neutral	35	22.2
Often	7	4.4	Squatting but not paying rent	5	3.2	Easy	7	4.4
Always	24	15.2	Squatting and paying rent	3	1.9	Very easy	2	1.3
No response	1	.6	Total	157	99.4	Total	146	92.4
Total	146	92.4	Missing	1	.6	Missing	12	7.6
Missing	12	7.6	Total	158	100	Total	158	100
Total	158	100						

Source: Author's construct (2021)

The type of documentation foreign nationals use influences the way they are treated in hospitals and clinics. Findings from this study show that those with passports and holders of permanent residence status are better attended to and treated in hospitals than those on asylum and refugee permits. Mainly influenced by the nature of the document (materiality) which has a lot of negative connotations as confirmed by the qualitative findings and Ambe's (2016) study. Hence, affecting the way some of them are treated in hospitals. Surprisingly, findings from this study show that 41.1% of respondents said they have never been treated unfairly in hospitals because of their documentation. A majority of those under this category are those on work, critical skills, permanent residence, and some with asylum and refugee permits. 12.7% said they rarely receive unfair treatment while 18.4% said they believe they are sometimes treated unfairly because of the type of document they use. 15.2% thought that they were always treated unfairly because of their documentation. Most of them under this category are asylum seekers and refugees. This is confirmed by previous studies in South Africa by Amit and Kriger, 2014; Ambe, 2016; Anjofui, 2018 stating that some asylum seekers and refugees are turned away

from public clinics and hospitals because of their documentation and, others are treated disrespectfully and insulted by health officials because they are not South Africans (News24, 2021). A similar study by Pérez-Urdiales, Goicolea, Sebastián, Irazusta, and Linander (2019) stated that immigrant women from Sub-Saharan Africa in Spain were challenged by institutional barriers in accessing health services such as structural racism, discrimination, and unfair treatment from staff in healthcare centers. Also, in a study of health inequalities of the Hispanic/Latino population Cabral and Cuevas (2020) found that challenges around accessing healthcare services operated differently for undocumented migrants compared to their documented counterparts.

Only 4.4% in the study said they were often unsatisfied with the treatment they received. Even though evidence from previous literature shows that foreigners are unfairly treated in hospitals which is also evident in this study. However, almost half of the population said they have never been treated unfairly in hospitals and expressed satisfaction with the way they are treated in hospitals. This brings a slight change to the narrative of foreigners receiving ill treatment in hospitals meaning things are getting better. However, findings continue to show that foreigners especially asylum seekers and refugees are not fairly treated in hospitals. Vanyoro, (2019) confirms this to be true in a recent study on healthcare providers in Musina. The study gives sufficient evidence to prove that healthcare providers are indiscriminately using language, documentation, and referral letters as vehicles to discriminate against migrant patients. Hence, there is so much to be done to provide a conducive environment for foreigners, especially refugees and asylum seekers in hospitals.

Furthermore, the socio-economic status of foreigners does not allow a lot of them to buy properties. A majority of respondents, 75.3% are still renting even though they have stayed in SA for so many years. 13.9% have houses on mortgage and only 5.1% live in houses they paid cash. 3.2% of respondents are squatting with others and only 1.9% are squatting with others and paying rent. This is similar to studies by Mensah and William (2013) and Balkan, Tok, Torun and Tumen (2018) indicating that most migrants rent in the countries they migrate to. More than 80% of Ghanaians and Somalians living in Toronto Canada live in either public housing or rent from a private landlord (Mensah and William 2013).

In establishing respondents' views on buying houses in SA, results show that up to 41.8% of respondents said it is very difficult to buy a house. 22.8% said buying a house is difficult and 22.2% said neutral. Findings from the study show that purchasing a property is difficult for migrants. 4.4% said buying a house is easy and only 1.3% said it is very easy. These difficulties

are linked to barriers like insufficient funds, bank requirements, documentation, and discrimination amongst others. These findings are supported by several other studies by Mensah and William, (2013) and Balkan, et al., (2018) stating that migrants experience residential segregation, some use nationals to phone landlords on their behalf to hide their identities while others do their phoning changed their accent to sound like a national just to secure accommodation. These among others prevent them from buying properties as most of them desire.

Table 11: Own business, experienced xenophobia, SA immigration policy

Own a business	Freq	%	Experienced xenophobia	Freq	%	SA Immigration policy helpful	Freq	%
No	101	63.9	Never	51	32.3	Certainly not	35	22.2
Yes	53	33.5	Rarely	21	13.3	Rarely	31	19.6
Total	154	97.5	Sometimes	47	29.7	Occasionally	65	41.6
Missing	4	2.5	Often	18	11.4	Definitely	13	8.2
Total	158	100	Always	14	8.9	Most definitely	4	2.5
			Total	151	95.6	Total	148	93.7
			Missing	7	4.4	Missing	10	6.3
			Total	158	100	Total	158	100

Source: Author's construct (2022)

The difficulty of finding employment or better employment opportunities have stimulated some foreigners to set up businesses and provide employment for others. While 63.9% of migrants said they do not own businesses 33.5% own businesses. This finding is similar to previous studies by Kalitanyi and Visser, 2010; Northcote, 2015; Dinbabo et al., 2017 stating that migrants' most prominent means of livelihood is in the informal sector which is a strategy to deal with their socio-economic challenges. This has forced them to set up businesses they depend so much on. Only 4% did not respond to the question.

Xenophobia is one of the major challenges that foreigners have faced over the years. These experiences have shaped the way most foreigners and South Africans see and relate with each other. It is surprising that despite the widespread talks on xenophobia in South Africa, most of those that responded to the question said they have never experienced xenophobia 32.3%.

Almost half of the population said they have not experienced xenophobia. This is contrary to studies by Shee 2008; Adjai, 2010; Misago, et al, 2015; Schippers 2015, Chingwete, 2015 with strong evidence to show that South African's are generally unfriendly towards foreigners. 13.3% rarely experience xenophobia and 29.7% sometimes experience xenophobia. Interestingly, only 11.4% often experience xenophobia. Merely, 8.9% always experience xenophobia contrary to the narrative out there. However, the researcher realized that when you talk of xenophobia a lot of people only think of physical attacks but there are other forms of xenophobia. Drawing from the in-depth interviews and focus group discussions, the researcher realized that foreigners experience xenophobia at different levels. This could be physical, psychological, administrative, political and medical xenophobia. People often identify physical xenophobia because it involves physical violence, but the others are very subtle through policies, discrimination, and treatment from officials as discussed above which most of them have experienced. However, physical xenophobia has greatly reduced in SA since the last outbreak.

Migrants' general opinion of the migration policy was also documented. Respondents were asked if the migration policy has been helpful to foreigners. Many said the migration policy has only been helpful occasionally 41.6%, meaning some aspects the migration policy has been helpful to foreigners while in other instances it has not been supportive. 22.2% said certainly not meaning the policy has in no way been helpful to foreigners. This could be associated to the several challenges that most foreigners still face in terms of integration and accessing employment. Previous studies by (Rasool, Botha and Bisschoff, 2012; Musuva, 2015; Boynton, 2015) confirm this study's findings express foreigners dissatisfaction in the migration policy.

Further study by Kärkkäinen, (2017) shows that foreigners in Finland were unsatisfied with the recent changes in the migration policy because it was not favourable to them. This is similar to Aliti (2014) study of Swedish citizens having negative perceptions about the immigration policy's role in facilitating the integration of foreign nationals. On the contrary Makakala (2015) study on Tanzanian skilled migrants in the UK showed that the migration policy was favourable to foreigners because most migrants got employment after completing their studies. 8.2% of the respondents said definitely and only 2.5% said most definitely, meaning only a small percentage of respondents were very satisfied with the policy. This evidence is consistent with Wachter et al., (1974) hypothesis and the labour market theory that institutional barriers like the migration policy influences the mobility of foreign nationals between the primary and the secondary market. Some regulations in the migration policy is a major barrier for

underemployment and unemployment among skilled migrants.

Availability of employment opportunities for foreign nationals is one major way foreigners use to determine the effectiveness of a policy. Evidence from this study show that securing suitable employment in SA is very difficult for foreigners. Statistics from the study show that most respondents were not satisfied with the migration policy. Hence, adjustments are to be made in the above mentioned areas of concern, so that migrants who are the primary beneficiaries of the policy can benefit more. Several authors highlight that instituting regulations that will provide opportunities for skilled migrants will obviously benefit the host country (Bedford and Spoonley, 2014; Geddie, 2015; Makakala, 2015; Chiou, 2017; Riaño, Lombard, and Piguet, 2018).

The descriptive analysis above show that a majority of foreign nationals are not fully integrated in South Africa. Only a limited number of them are integrated through their documentation, access to health services, property, and employment just to name a few.

8.2. Impact of South Africa’s immigration policy on the socio-economic status of foreigners using a One-Way ANOVA (Objective 3)

Table 12: Descriptive analysis of MP on education levels

Immigration policy	DESCRIPTIVE							
	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence interval for Mean		Minimum	Maximum
Lower Bound					Upper Bound			
No formal education	3	73.33	46.188	26.667	-41.40	188.07	20	100
Secondary	28	42.14	21.319	4.029	33.88	50.41	20	80
Tertiary	107	51.59	18.640	1.802	48.02	55.16	20	100
Vocational	7	37.14	21.381	8.081	17.37	56.92	20	60
Total	145	49.52	20.559	1.707	46.14	52.89	20	100

Source: Author’s construct (2022)

A one-way between-subjects ANOVA was used to determine the impact of the immigration policy on foreigners (education level). Using the immigration policy as the independent variable and level of education as the dependent variable, results show that there is a significant difference, between groups of different levels of education. Foreigners with no formal education were more negatively affected by the migration policy than other groups of foreigners with a mean of 73.33 and standard deviation of 46.188. I am 95% confident that the values fall in between -41.40 and 188.07. This is similar to findings by Tzeng, and Tsai (2020)

showing that foreigners with no formal education and low skills are mostly negatively affected by the migration policy because of their limited contributions to the common good. Interestingly, this is followed by those with tertiary education with a mean, of 51.59 and a Standard Deviation, of 18.640 with a 95% Confidence Interval of 48.02 and 55.16. This finding is similar to Kärkkäinen (2017) study of immigrant graduates in Finland, many graduates were uncertain about their future in Finland despite their educational attainment because of the recent changes in the migration policy which were unfavourable. Nevertheless, this finding is contrary to several studies by Cangiano, 2012-; Czaika and Parsons, 2015; Chiou, 2017; Riaño, et al., 2018, showing that migration policies in New Zealand Australia, the USA and Canada are mainly designed to favour highly skilled migrants because of their labour performance in the labour market. Further results from the study show that those with secondary education had a mean of 42.14 and Standard Deviation of 21.319 and the least affected with a mean of 37.14 and standard deviation of 21.381 were foreigners with vocational education. These findings align with previous literature showing that migration policies are more favourable to high-skilled migrants than to low-skilled migrants (Helbling and Kriesi, 2014; Mukhpadyyah and Zou 2020). Despite the high skill attainments of migrants in SA, most of them are negatively affected by the migration policy.

Results from the study are consistent with the hypothesis that South Africa's immigration policy has different impacts on foreigners with different levels of education.

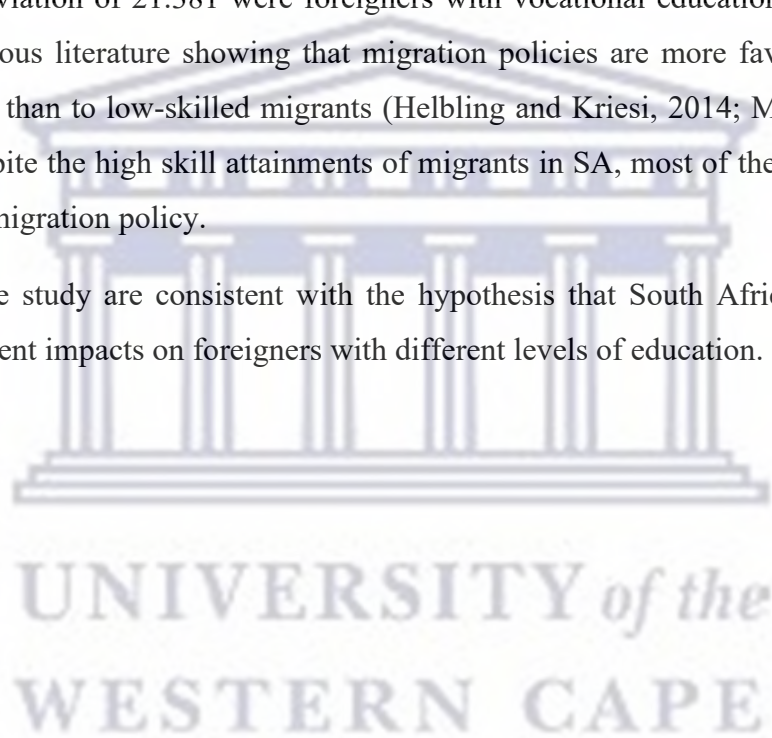


Table 13: Levene Test

Test of homogeneity of variances					
		Levene statistic	Df1	Df2	Sig.
Migration policy	Based on mean	4.364	3	144	.006
	Based on median	1.162	3	141	.327
	Based on median with adjusted df	1.162	3	74.272	.330
	Based on trimmed mean	4.040	3	141	.009

Source: Author's construct (2022)

Levene's test for homogeneity of variances tests whether two or more samples are approximately equal. According to the statistics results the variance is different between groups because the deviations from the mean are different between those with no formal education, secondary education, tertiary and vocational education. Results show that there is a difference between groups of different educational qualifications and the results are statistically significant ($p = .\geq .006$).

Table 14: ANOVA Analysis

Immigration Policy ANOVA					
	Sum of squares	Df	Mean square	F	Sig.
Between groups	4755.348	3	1585.116	3.983	.009
Within groups	56110.859	141	397.949		
Total	60866.207	144			

Source: Author's construct (2022)

Furthermore, results from the ANOVA analysis show that there is a difference between groups in how the SA immigration policy affects those with no formal education, secondary education, tertiary and vocational education. The variability between groups is 4755.348 at a degree of freedom of 3. The results are statistically significant because of the p -value=.009.

Outcomes from Levene’s test and ANOVA analysis are similar to a bulk of literature on migration policies. Host countries view migrants differently which influences the way policies are designed. Most countries design policies to favour migrants who can add value to host societies over those that cannot (Helbling and Kriesi, 2014; Geddie, 2015; Harvey and Beaverstock, 2016; Riaño, et al., 2018; Mukhpadyah and Zou 2020; Tzeng, and Tsai 2020). For instance, Switzerland sees highly skilled migrants as valuable assets to help increase Switzerland’s economic competitiveness, now policies are mostly designed to facilitate their integration (Riaño, et al., 2018). This is similar to several other studies in Europe and the US, migration policies are favourable towards highly skilled migrants that can contribute to the economy than other groups of migrants (Bevelander and Irastorza, 2014; Voicu and Vlase, 2014) However, this is not the case in SA, as findings show that foreigners with no formal education are almost facing a similar challenge with high skilled migrants. This reduces the value of high skilled migrants discouraging them from making meaningful contributions to society.

Table 15: Robust Test of Equality of Means

Robust Test of Equality of means				
	Statistic	Df1	Df2	Sig.
Welch	2.206	3	7.390	.171
Brown – forsythe	1.595	3	4.008	.323

Source: Author’s construct (2022)

These samples were drawn from samples with equal variances that were not equal. The RobustTests of equality of means results show that the sample sizes were not equal. The results are not statistically significant because p-value =.171.

Table 16: Post Hoc Tests

Post Hoc Tests						
Multiple comparison						
Dependent variable: Immigration policy						
Tukey HSD						
(I)Education	(J)Education	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% confidence interval	
					lower bound	upper bound
No formal Education	Secondary	31.190	12.119	.053	-.32	63.70
	Tertiary	21.745	11.678	.249	-8.62	52.11
	Vocational	36.190*	13.766	.046	.40	71.98
Secondary	No formal Ed	-31.190	12.119	.053	-62.70	.32
	Tertiary	-9.446	4.235	.120	-20.46	1.56
	Vocational	5.000	8.430	.934	-16.92	26.92
Tertiary	No formal Ed	-21.745	11.678	.249	-52.11	8.62
	Secondary	9.446	4.235	.120	-1.56	20.46
	Vocational	14.446	7.783	.252	-5.79	34.68
Vocational	No formal Ed	-36.190*	13.766	.046	-71.98	-.40
	Secondary	-5.000	8.430	.934	-26.92	16.92
	Tertiary	-14.446	7.783	.252	-34.68	5.79

*The mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level

Source: Author’s construct (2022)

About the impact of the immigration policy on foreigners within educational levelgroups, there is a mean difference between those with no formal education compared to those with secondary and vocational education with a mean of 31.2 and 36.2 respectively, at 31.2(95%CI 0.32-62.7), and 36.2(95%CI 0.40-72). The results are statistically significant because the mean is less than the significant level of 0.05. However, there is no mean difference in the migration policy between those with no formal education and tertiary education. The results are statically not significant at 0.025 level. This finding is contrary to most findings that show that the immigration policy is mostly favourable to highly skilled migrants than those with low skills (Helbling and Kriesi, 2014; Geddie, 2015; Harvey and Beaverstock, 2016; Riaño, et al., 2018; Mukhpadyyah and Zou 2020; Tzeng, and Tsai 2020). Results show that SA migration policy affects those with tertiary education and no formal education almost in the same way. This shows that less value is placed on highly skilled migrants in SA. A mean difference exists between secondary education and no formal education with a mean of - 31.2(95%CI-62.70-

.032). There is a mean difference between vocational education and no formal education with a mean of .046(95%CI-71.98 -.40). Results from the remaining groups are not presented because the results are above 0.05 (0.15) and are not statistically significant.

Table 17: Tukey Test

Immigration Policy			
Tukey HSD ^{a,b}			
		Subset for alpha = 0.05	
		1	2
Education	N=145		
Vocational	7	37.14	
Secondary	28	42.14	
	107	51.59	51.59
No formal Education	3		73.33
Sig.		.490	.147

Source: Author's construct (2022)

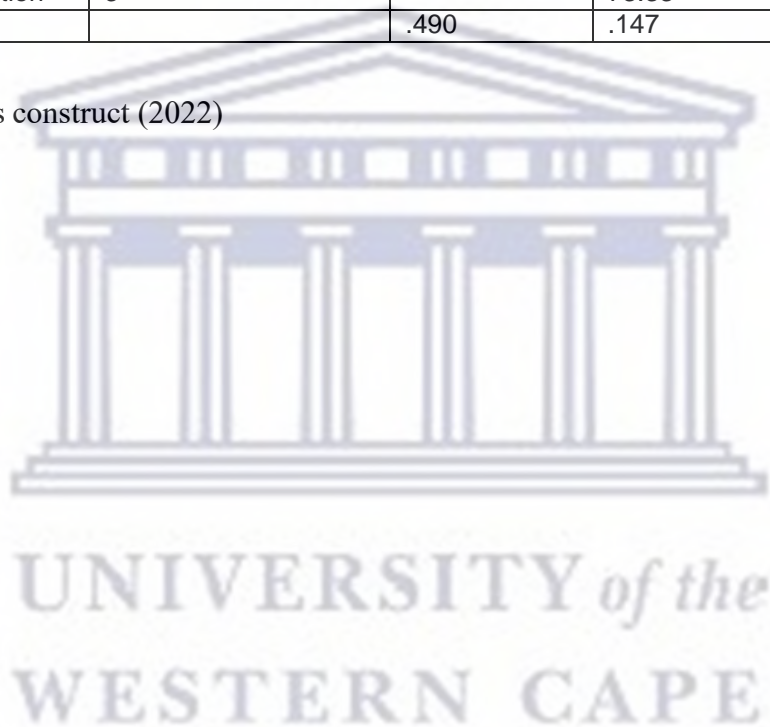
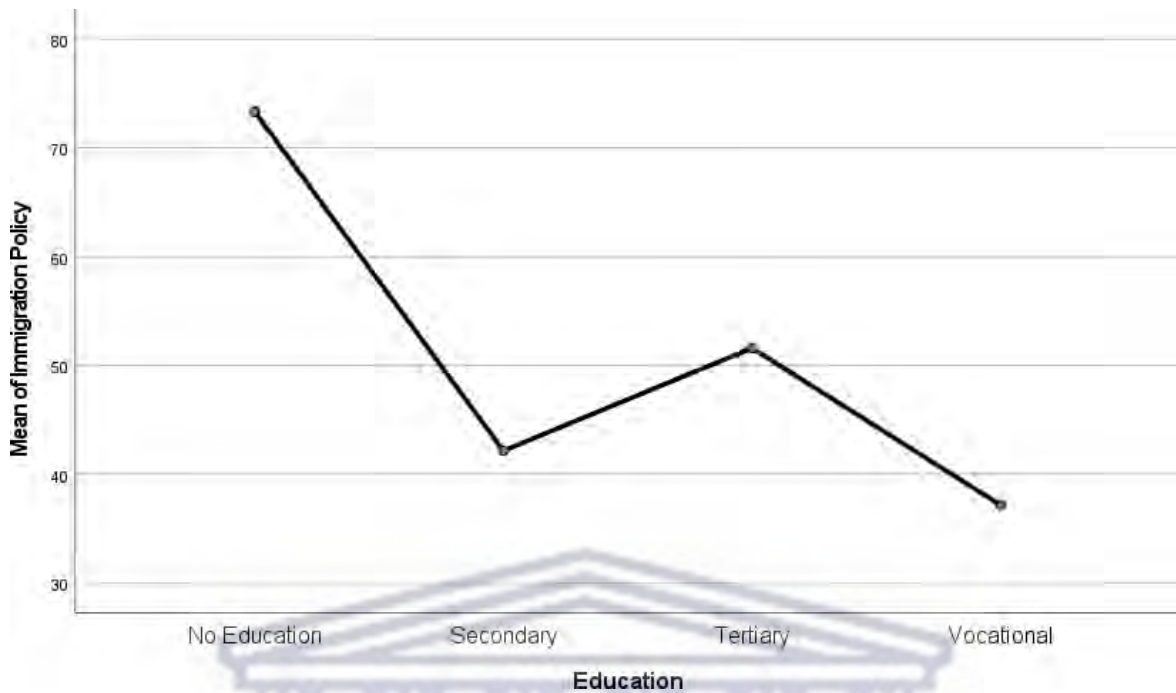


Fig 5: Means plot

Means plot



Source: Author's construct (2022)

The plot above shows that the general estimated means of those negatively affected by the migration policy are foreigners with no formal education (74), higher than other groups of foreigners. Followed by foreigners with tertiary education (51) and foreigners with secondary education (44). The least affected are foreigners with vocational education (37).

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8.3. OBJECTIVE 4: TO DETERMINE THE IMPACT OF XENOPHOBIA ON THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS OF FOREIGNERS (INCOME AND EMPLOYABILITY) WITH TWO WAY ANOVA (OBJECTIVE 4).

Table 18: Test between Subjects Factors

Between – Subjects Factors			
		Value Label	N= 133
Gross monthly income	1	2500 – 10.999	74
	2	11.000 -20.999	23
	3	21.000 -30.999	18
	4	31.000 – 40.999	8
	5	Above – 40.999	10
Status of employment	1	Employed	118
	2	Unemployed	15

Source: Author’s construct (2022)

On a total sample of (n=133) excluding those who did not respond (n=25) 118 were employed and 15 were unemployed. The highest proportion of those employed earned between 2500 and 10,999. Followed by 23 participants earning between 11.000-20.999. 18 participants earned between 31.000 - 40.999 and 8 participants earned between 31.000 and 40.999. Only 10 participants earned 41.000 and above. The above findings confirm several other studies stating that most foreigners earn lower wages irrespective of their qualifications (Herm and Poulain, 2012; Aleksynska and Tritah, 2013; OECD/European Union, 2015). This is contrary to Gorodzeisky and Semyonov, (2017) study and the human capital theory stating thatimmigrants socio-economic status increases their chances of getting jobs of high statusregardless of their origin or gender.

Table 19: Multiple Comparisons

Multiple Comparisons				
Dependent variable : Xenophobia				
Gross Monthly Income	Status of Employment	Mean	Std. Deviation	N=33
2500-10.999	Employed	55.74	28.311	61
	Unemployed	46.16	34.044	13
	Total	54.05	29.373	74
11.000 - 20.999	Employed	48.18	25.192	2
	Unemployed	60.00	.	1
	Total	48.70	24.736	23
21.000-30.999	Employed	53.33	26.568	18
	Total	53.33	26.568	18
31.000-41.999	Employed	45.00	20.702	8
	Total	45.00	20.702	8
41.000	Employed	26.89	14.530	9
	Unemployed	40.00	.	1
	Total	30.00	14.142	10
Total	Employment	51.19	26.864	118
	Unemployment	46.67	31.773	15
	Total	50.68	27.364	133

Source: Author's construct (2022)

Adjusted for the degree of difference there is no association between xenophobia and the income levels of those employed and unemployed.

Table 20: Post Hoc Tests
Post Hoc Tests

Multiple comparison

Dependent variable: Xenophobia
Tukey HSD

Gross monthly income	(J)Gross Monthly income	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.
2500-10,999	11,000 - 20,999	5.36	6.477	.922
	21,000 - 30,999	.72	7.130	1.000
	31.000 – 40,000	9.05	10.098	.898
	Above 41,000	24.05	9.141	.071
11,000 - 20,999	2500-10,999	-5.36	6.477	.922
	21,000 - 30,999	-4.64	8.538	.983
	31,000 - 40,999	3.70	11.136	.997
	Above 41,000	18.70	10.277	.367
31,000 - 40,999	2500 -10,000	-9.05	10.098	.898
	11,000 – 20,999	-3.70	11.136	.997
	31.000 – 40,000	-8.33	11.529	.951
	Above 41,000	15,00	12.870	.771
Above 41,000	2500 -10,999	-24.05	9.141	.071
	11,000 – 20,999	-18.70	10.277	.367
	21,000 – 30,999	-23.33	10.701	.194
	31,000 – 40,999	-15.00	12.870	.771

Source: Author’s construct (2022)

The table above shows that there is no interaction between xenophobia and gross monthly income levels and across the mean difference, significant levels are higher than 0.05.

Results from the post hoc tests show that xenophobia affects foreigners in the same way irrespective of their income levels and employment status. This finding is similar to studies by İçduygu, 2015; Misago, Freemantle and Landau 2015; and Oni and Okunade, 2018 stating that there is an association between xenophobia and income levels. Most nationals see foreigners as threats to employment rates, wage levels, and competitors in the informal market. Results are consistent with the hypothesis that xenophobia has negative impacts on the socio-economic

status of foreigners irrespective of their income and level of employability.

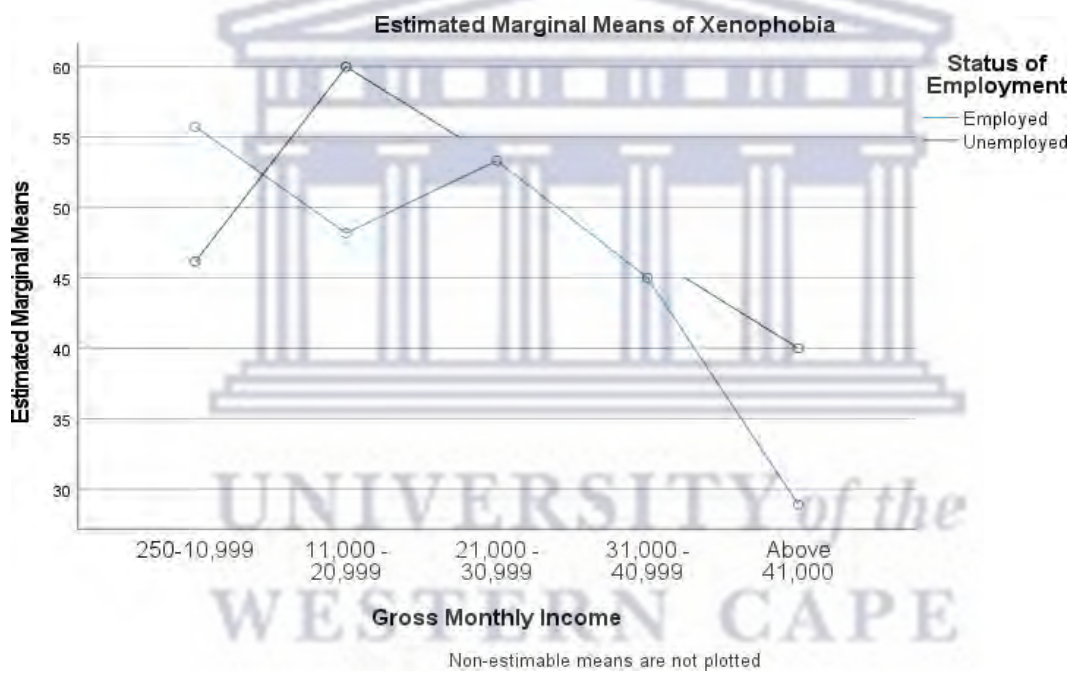
Table 21: Tukey Test

Xenophobia		
Tukey HSD ^{a,b,c}		
Gross monthly income	N	Subset
		1
Above 41,000	10	30.00
31,000 – 40,999	8	45.00
11,000 – 20,999	23	48.70
2500 – 10,999	74	54.05
Sig.		.119

Source: Author’s construct (2022)

Fig 6: Profile Plots

Profile Plots



Source: Author’s construct (2022)

The plot above shows that the general estimated means of those employed (60) are higher than the unemployed (47) at a monthly income of 11.000– 20.999.

Policy implications

Government: When governments do not construct policies that prioritize skilled migrants, they tend to lose skills. After South African institutions have trained many foreigners they leave to other countries who eagerly take advantage of their human capital. Strategies should be implemented to integrate skilled migrants in South Africa.

Migrants: Despite the high skill attainment of migrants in SA, most of them are negatively affected by the migration policy. Skilled migrants are potential human capital that can make significant contributions to the development of any society if given the opportunity.

In summary, this chapter discussed the quantitative findings. Results from the One-Way AVOVA show that South Africa's migration policy affects migrants with different levels of education differently while findings from the two-way ANOVA reveals that xenophobia affects migrants in the same way regardless of their income levels or employability status.



9. CHAPTER NINE: CONCLUSION, KEY FINDINGS RECOMMENDATION AND AREAS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

9.1. Conclusion

Many governments are using migration policies as a strategic tool to curb, regulate, and manage migration to control the increasing influx of foreigners into host countries. South Africa, among other countries, has for many years been the hub of migration, especially for other African migrants. Over the years, the government has instituted several policies to control migration. In recent times, SA's migration policy has become more regressive with stricter regulations. It has been argued that the recent migration policy has brought with it devastating challenges to migrants living in the country especially refugees and asylum seekers (Boynton, 2015; Alfaro-Velcamp, et al., 2017). Hence, this study assessed the socio-economic effects of the migration policy on foreigners in South Africa but with specific reference to Cape Town. The study focused on African skilled migrants and used a more holistic approach targeting different groups including refugees, asylum seekers, permanent residence holders, migrants on work and critical skills permits, and other related permits. While these migrants have potential human and social capital they are faced with diverse challenges such as access to documentation, employment, banking, health, education, and other services provided in the country. However, challenges with integration hinder them from enjoying these services as provided for by the migration policy.

The study was analysed based on four objectives. Objective 1) critically review the migration policy, 2) describe the effects of xenophobia and documentation on foreigners' integration, 3) examined the impact of South Africa's immigration policy on the socio-economic status of foreigners (education level) and 4) assess the impact of xenophobia on the socio-economic status of foreigners (income and employability).

The researcher used three different research methods because of the unique nature of the research questions. The desktop method was suitable to critically review the migration policy because of the availability of secondary data. A qualitative method was used to investigate the effects of xenophobia and documentation on foreigners' integration. Objectives 3 and 4 used a quantitative approach to examine the impact of the migration policy on foreigners' socio-economic status (education level) and the impact of xenophobia on the socio-economic status of foreigners (income and employability).

Three theories (Ager and Strang's integration framework, labour market theory, and human capital theory) were used as guiding theories to investigate the effects of xenophobia and documentation on foreigners' integration, assess the impact of the migration policy on foreigners' socio-economic status and the impact of xenophobia on foreigners' income and employability.

Several interesting findings were realized from the study. Key findings from the study established that SA's migration policy has not been progressive. Despite several attempts made over the years to improve the migration policy, the policy is highly criticized for its restrictions and inability to retain skilled foreigners. Consequently, this pushes them to take opportunities in other countries despite investing in them. These restrictions in the migration policy in South Africa have increased over the years making things complicated for migrants. Trends in SA's migration policy have a history of prejudice that affects migrant integration.

Besides, the study found that xenophobia, the fear of xenophobia, and access to proper documentation have restrained the integration of foreigners in South Africa. Effects of xenophobia through regulations, treatment from government officials, institutions, and citizens amongst others, have forced most foreigners to live in isolation preventing them from associating with nationals. Most foreigners feel relegated and unaccepted in society.

Other results show that even though foreigners are very industrious and competent, access to proper documentation has hindered accessibility to relevant services and opportunities greatly affecting their socio-economic integration.

Although many foreigners are highly skilled, most of them are either underemployed or work in the informal sector earning between R2500 – R10.000. Only a few earn between R40.000 and above. Moreover, Findings from the one-way ANOVA analysis established that there is a difference between groups in the way the SA immigration policy affects those with no formal education, secondary education, or tertiary and vocational education. This is consistent with the hypothesis that South Africa's immigration policy has different effects on foreign nationals with different levels of education. Generally, findings show that a lot of migrants have found themselves in the informal sector as a livelihood strategy despite their educational status.

Further, findings from the two-way ANOVA show that foreigners are affected by xenophobia in the same way irrespective of their income levels and employment status for example, migrants face similar challenges regardless of their socio-economic status. This is consistent with the hypothesis that xenophobia hurts the socio-economic status of foreigners regardless

of their level of employment. The study also found that xenophobia has many phases; to some people it's physical and to others it is institutional.

During the study, the researcher encountered some problems. Some of the limitations were insufficient funds and the COVID-19 panic which prevented the researcher from collecting sufficient data. The researcher wanted to use in-person interviews but due to the covid 19 pandemic, participants were not comfortable because they were afraid to contract the disease. So, the researcher used other means to collect data such as telephonic interviews and Zoom meetings.

9.2. Recommendation

Objective 1

1. GOVERNMENT

- To achieve the AU's 2063 Africa-centric vision, it is important for African countries to work together and make integration easy for Africans who live in other African countries.
- Policymakers should distinguish between skilled and unskilled migrants so that they can better understand their unique potentials and utilize them for economic development.
- Border Control: The government should place stricter restrictions at the borders to control the migration flow and manage it effectively. They can curb this by instituting mechanisms to control bribery practiced at the borders.
- SA government should propose solutions to other African nations that can address problems that cause people to migrate to other countries.

Objective 2

- Government, institutions, and relevant officials should create an atmosphere that encourages migrants to feel free and comfortable to live and contribute to the development of society. The government should use an integrated framework between civil societies, migrants, and host communities, to provide support to encourage migrants and the host community to work together and contribute towards the socio-economic development of the country.
- The government should bring in relevant stakeholders like government officials, NGOs, migrants, etc. to support and build social cohesion between migrants and the host population. Migrants and refugees should be part of the decision-making process in policy formation and issues that concern them because different sectors have unique

roles to play. Leaders in communities like Imams, Pastors, ward counselors, and others who have a direct relationship with the people should also be involved. Meetings should be organized with people at different levels to share the benefits of integration and give strategies to build relationships and foster integration. These meetings should be held frequently and the environment should be conducive for top officials and community members to interact. Also, enough resources should be provided to facilitate the implementation of these actions such that over time the results will be noticeable. This is because community mobilization is an idle strategy to educate nationals and foreigners about the legislations, rights, and responsibilities of migrants that will go a long way to build relationships, foster integration and reduce xenophobia.

- The DHA and other departments dealing with foreigners (the local governments, and institutions at the provincial level) should be involved in the following; institute orientation programs to facilitate the integration of asylum seekers and foreigners with the government at the forefront not leaving everything to some NGO's. At the port of entry after reporting themselves to the home affairs as an asylum seeker the government should institute an initiative to educate foreigners on the social, cultural, and political values of the country. Foreigners should be asked certain demographic questions for instance; where you want to stay, if you say you want to stay in Gauteng give reasons why. If for example, a person chooses Gauteng, then that person should be briefed about Gauteng, e.g. the languages in Gauteng and other important information that the person needs to know about Gauteng (social, cultural, and political, religious values of Gauteng). During these orientation programs, foreigners should be educated on what the state expects from them, and how the labour market works, and the acquisition of a local language should be mandatory. These are some of the things to be included in the orientation program to inform foreigners and the state. This will help them to handle future happenings and challenges.
- The Department of Home Affairs should be more accountable in documenting refugees and asylum seekers. Respondents highlighted that DHA's ineffectiveness and lack of accountability in processing their documentation slows development in the country because foreigners come with a huge wealth of knowledge and resources.
- The government should provide sustainable documentation that allows migrants to easily integrate and be treated as part of the society. This will encourage them to do business, invest, and give back to society.

- In addition, the government should try to widen its horizons and not only look from the position that there is a huge influx of foreigners but should look away and draw from what is happening and use it to the advantage of the growth of the economy. The input of foreigners in building South Africa today should be highly considered when making decisions. The world is a global village and migration is not going to stop. Therefore, the government should look for better ways of dealing with it rather than controlling and bringing more problems from it.
- The government can engage skilled migrants as development partners by creating structures and institutions that support productivity such as knowledge transfer, investments, and collaborative research among others. To build sustainable systems that can build the economy of South Africa.

MIGRANTS

- Migrants should open up and give room for integration with fellow citizens. They should take initiative, organise programs, have workshops, and create opportunities to have dialogues with nationals to discuss relevant topics around trust, and diversity and organize skills development and cultural programs to build strong bonds for better integration.
- Adequate information is an integral part of integration. Foreigners should know their roles and responsibilities in SA and must comply with state authorities. They should also familiarise themselves with South African laws and regulations in the migration policy.

Objective 3

- Migration laws should be relaxed. The laws should be more receptive and relaxed for foreigners in SA, especially those with skills to authenticate their ability to generate knowledge and enhance their ability to create wealth. South Africa has invested a lot in skilled migrants hence, it is important to design policies that give skilled migrants an opportunity to give back to society. This will promote social and economic development for all who live in South Africa.

Objective 4

- More sensitization programs should be organized on radio, TV, and social media platforms and in communities by relevant stakeholders (government, migrants, NGOs, etc.) to educate migrants and nationals on subjects like love and unity and implement strategies to overcome xenophobia.

9.3. Scientific Contribution

- This study has added reliable data on the effects of the migration policy on foreigners in SA which is key to understanding migrants' issues and influencing the legislation of better policies that will be beneficial to migrants and the host country. The study has also added substantial information to the body of literature on international migration in South Africa and provided recommendations that the government can use to address migration and harness its benefits.
- This research provided substantial evidence to show that South Africa is losing skilled migrants and perhaps will lose more in the future. Hence, there is a need for a paradigm shift in SA's migration policy because the current policy has more negative effects than positive.
- The holistic approach used in the study and the application of both quantitative and qualitative methodologies, helped to gather in-depth information on different categories of migrants resulting in definite conclusions.
- This study added one indicator to Ager and Strang's integration model. Documentation and xenophobia are two major factors that negatively affect foreigners' integration in South Africa. The researcher found documentation as a key component for integration. Hence, documentation should be one of the components under the Marker and Means domain because without proper documentation migrants cannot have access to healthcare, education employment, and other related services.

9.4. Further research

- Although this study explored the socio-economic effects of the migration policy on foreigners mainly focusing on foreign nationals, there is a need to conduct more research that includes a wider population such as key government and immigration officials, to get in-depth information for better generalization.
- Documentation literature is limited hence, it is important to conduct more research on this subject.
- Further research should be conducted to monitor and evaluate South Africa's migration policies.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Survey questionnaire to skilled migrants



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Questionnaire

Research Topic: SOCIO-ECONOMIC EFFECTS OF THE MIGRATION POLICY ON FOREIGNERS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

My name is Anjofui Patience Anegub, a PhD student at the institute for Social Development, University of the Western Cape. I am conducting a research that assesses the **socio-economic effects of the migration policy on foreigners in South Africa. In view of this, I am inviting you to take part in the data collection process.**

I kindly ask you to be one of my participants. All information you will provide will be anonymous and confidential. The information that you provide will be used only for the purpose of this research. It is envisaged that the results will assist to inform policy makers and other relevant stakeholders on the socio-economic effects of the migration policy on different groups of foreigners in South Africa. This information can be used to make improvements on the policy to better the livelihood of foreigners in South Africa. Filling the questionnaire will take approximately 20 - 30 minutes. Your participation and input is highly appreciated.

SECTION A. I. DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION (Question 1-8)

No	1.Gender	2.Age	3.Marital Status	4.Region of origin	5.Nationality of spouse	6.Number of dependents	7.Level of Education	8.Gross monthly income
1.	Male	18-25	Single	Southern Africa	South Africa	None	No formal education	R2500 -10.999
2.	Female	26-35	Married	Northern Africa	Country of Origin	1	Primary	R11.000-20.999
3.		36-45	Divorced	Western Africa	Other nationality	2-4	Secondary	R21.000-30.999
4.		46-55	Widowed	Eastern Africa		5 and above	Tertiary	R31.000-40.999
5.		56+	Separated	Central Africa		Other	Vocational Training	R41.000+

SECTION B

ECONOMIC: II. DOCUMENTATION [IMMIGRATION STATUS] (Question 9 – 16) please tick the correct answer

9. When did you come to South Africa? ...2017.....

10. What is your legal status in South Africa? 4. Permanent residence

1. Undocumented	2. Asylum seeker	3. Refugee status	4. Permanent residence X	5. Other (specify)
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11. What is the expiry date of your permit? 5. Indefinite

1. In less than 1 month	2. In 2-3 months	3. In 7-12 months	4. In 2-5 years	5. Indefinite X
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12. How long have you been using your current permit, please indicate the period?2018.....

No	Please tick in the cell that corresponds to the option that best matches your opinion					
13.	How would you rate the likelihood of finding a job with your permit?	1.Very difficult	2.Difficult	3.Neutral X	4.Easy	5.Very easy
14.	Please rate the degree to which you agree or disagree with the following statement. The duration of my permit hinders me from lots of opportunities and finding a good job”	1.Strongly disagree	2.Disagree X	3.Neutral	4.Agree	5.Strongly agree
15.	If your permit is renewable, do you often have challenges renewing your permit?	1.Never	2.Rarely	3.Sometimes	4.Often	5.Always
16.	How difficult or easy is it to change from your current permit to another permit?	1.Very difficult	2.Difficult	3.Neutral X	4.Easy	5.Very easy

iii. **EMPLOYMENT (Question 17-29)**

Please answer the following questions by ticking (✓) the correct answer in the right column of the answer.

17.	What is your current employment status?	1.Employed			2.Unemployed X	
18.	If employed how long have you been in your current occupation?	1. Less than 1 year	2. 1-5 years	3. 6-10years	4. 11-15years	5. 16 and above
19.	How long did it take you to get a job?	1. Less than 1 year	2. 1 year	3. 2 years	3. 3-5years	5. 6 and above
20.	Which sector are you working for?	1.Government	2.Private X	3.Parastatal	4.NGO	5.More than one
21.	What is your major source of income?	1. Business X	2.Wages/salary	3.Social grants	4.Depending on others	5.Multiple sources

22. What type of employment?

1. Full time	2. Part time	3. Self-employed with employees	4. Self-employed without employees X	5. Contract
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23. Please specify your current occupationStudent/mini business.....

24. How satisfied are you with your current occupation?

1. Extremely dissatisfied	2. Moderately dissatisfied	3. Neutral X	4. Moderately satisfied	5. Extremely satisfied
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Please rate the degree to which you agree or disagree with the following statements.

(Strongly disagree =1, Disagree =2, Neutral =3, Agree=4, strongly agree=5)

No	Statement	1	2	3	4	5
25.	My qualification matches my current job	X				
26.	My salary matches my qualification	X				
27.	Having employment before the recent changes in the migration policy was much easier			X		

28. If you are unemployed, what in your opinion prevented you from getting a job? Please tick the correct answer.

1. Very high standards for qualifications are required and work experience needed for available positions	X
2. High competition	
3. Expired papers	
4. Lack of clear and concise information about employment related regulations	
5. Opportunities are mostly limited to South Africans	X

29. What are your perceptions about the labour market?

1. Hostile and stressful	
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2. Broadened with many risks and opportunities	
3. Uncertain and unpredictable	X
4. Suffocating with very few openings for foreigners	X
5. Conducive with many opportunities	

iv. **SKILLS (Question 30-32)**

30. What kind of skills do you possess? Please tick the correct answer

1. Skilled trades (electricians, carpenters, welders, bricklayers, plasterers, plumbers, craftsman)	
2. Management/Executive (senior and board level managers)	
3. Office support staff (secretariats, personal assistance, receptionist and administrative assistance)	X
4. Engineers (managers, electrical and civil engineers)	X
5. Accounting and finance staff (book keepers, certified accountants, sales advisors and retailers)	
6. Sales representatives (sales representatives and advisors and retail sales people)	
7. Technicians (production, operation or maintenance technicians)	
8. Drivers (truck, lorry, heavy goods, delivery, heavy equipment and construction)	
9. Teachers	X
10. IT Staff developers, programmers, data base administrators, IT leaders and managers)	X
11. Other	

31. Base on the current critical skills list, do you fall under any of the categories below? Please tick the response that suits you.

1. Agriculture, agricultural operations and related sciences	
2. Architecture and the built environment	
3. Business, Economics and Management	

4. Information Communication and Technology	X
5. Engineering	
6. Health professions and related clinical sciences	
7. Life and Earth sciences	
8. Professionals and Associate Professionals	
9. Trades	
10. Business and Process Outsourcing (BPO)	
11. Academics and Researchers	X
12. Post-Graduates	X

32. If you do not belong to any of the above categories, could it be because of any of the following? You can tick more than one response.

1. My qualifications does not match with the categories on the list	
2. I don't have the necessary skills needed to apply	
3. My application has been rejected	
4. So many requirements are needed for the application which discourages me from applying	
5. The policy does not allow me to change my current permit and apply for another permit	

SECTION C, SOCIAL

V. ACCESS TO HEALTH CARE (Question 33-36)

No	Please tick in the cell that corresponds to the option that best matches your opinion					
33.	Does your documentation in anyway define the type of treatment you receive from the hospital/clinic?	1. Never X	2. Rarely	3.Sometimes	4.Often	5.Always
34.	What is your level of satisfaction or dissatisfaction regarding the quality of primary health care services you are receiving?	1.Very dissatisfied	2.Disatisfied X	3.Nuetral	4 Satisfied	5.Very Satisfied
35.	Do they ask you for upfront payment in any clinic or hospital before treatment?	1.Never	2.Rarely	3.Sometimes X	4.Often	5Always
36.	Do you find difficulties communicating with health service providers because of language?	1.Never	2.Rarely X	3.Sometimes	4.Often	5.Always

VI. PROPERTY (Question 37-41)

37. Which of the following best describes your housing situation?

1.Paid Cash	2.Mortgage	3.Renting X	4.Squatting but not paying rent or mortgage	5.Squatting but paying rent and mortgage	
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Please respond if applicable. Tick the option that best matches your opinion.

38.	How difficult or easy is it to buy a house?	1.Very difficult	2. Difficult	3.Neutral	4.Easy	5.Very easy
39.	Which of these prevents you from buying a property	1. Insufficient funds X	2.Bank requirements	3.Discrimination	4.Policies	5.Documentation

40. Do you own a business?

1. No	2. Yes
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41.	If yes, how satisfied are you with the laws governing businesses in South Africa?	1.Very unsatisfied	2.Unsatisfied	3.Neutral	4.Satisfied	5.Very satisfied
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VII. XENOPHOBIA/DESCRIMINATION/PERCEPTIONS (Question 42-48)

42.	Have you ever experienced xenophobia?	1.Never	2.Rarely	3.Sometimes X	4.Often	5.Always
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Please use the scale below to respond to the statement in the table by ticking in the cell that corresponds to the option that best matches your opinion.
Scale: Strongly Disagree (1), Disagree (2), Neutral (3), Agree (4), Strongly Agree (5).

No	Statement	1	2	3	4	5
43.	Xenophobia has prevented me from getting better employment			X		
44.	My nationality influences the type of job I get				X	
45.	I have experienced discrimination in South Africa because I am a foreigner					X
46.	Discrimination/xenophobia has negatively affected my performance at work			X		

47.	The migration policy is xenophobic			X		
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48. Who do you think are the main perpetrators of xenophobia? You can tick more than one response

1. South African colleagues	2. Employers X	3.Laws	4.Government	5.Locals/South Africans X
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SECTION D

VIII. MIGRATION POLICY (Question 49-51)

49. From your personal experiences, what will you say about South Africa's migration policy?

1. Very Poor	2. Below average	3.Average X	4.Above average	5.Excellent
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50. Would you say the migration policy has been helpful to foreigners in South Africa?

1.Certainly not	2. Rarely	3.Occasionally X	4. Definitely	5. Most definitely
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51. What would you suggest, to improve the migration policy in South Africa? You can tick more than one answer.

1. The policy should be relaxed	
2. Create more opportunities for skilled migrants	X
3. Institute laws that empowers in terms of integration and participation in local affairs of the host community	
4. Migrant sending countries should actively participate in the formulation and designing the policy.	
5. Institute mechanisms that can do thorough follow up to evaluate the effects of the policy on migrants and the host population.	X

Thank you very much for your time and participation

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

Appendix B: Interview guide for skilled migrants



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SEMI STRUCTURED INTERVIEW TEMPLTE

.....17/08/2018

I am Anjofui Patience a PhD student at the University of the Western Cape. I am conducting a research on the socio-economic effects of the migration policy on foreigners in South Africa. The purpose of this interview is to get your views on the integration dynamics of foreigners in South Africa. I understand that there have been some changes in the migration policy so; I want to understand its effects on the integration of foreigners into the labour market.

I will be using is a tape recorder to facilitate recollection if you don't mind. Despite being taped, I would like to assure you that the discussion will be anonymous. The tapes will be kept safely in a locked facility until they are transcribed word for word, then they will be destroyed. The transcribed notes of will contain no information that would allow individual subjects to be linked to specific statements.

Your opinion will be highly appreciates and there are no right or wrong answers. If there are any questions or discussions that you do not wish to answer or participate in, you do not have to do so. Thank you.

QUESTIONS

1) Where do you stay?

A) Is the area where you stay mostly dominated by South Africans or foreigners?

B) Are there any particular reasons why you chose to stay there?

C) How would you describe your engagements with members of the community where you live? Or perhaps your relationship with members of the community

2) What are the advantages and disadvantages of staying in that community?

3) Do you speak any of the local languages in South Africa?

a) if yes , how did you learn it (them)?

b) Has speaking any of the local languages facilitated your integration in South Africa? If yes, how? Please explain.

c) If no, what prevented you from learning?

d) Would you say foreigners that speak any of the local languages have some privileges or advantages than those that don't speak any of the local languages? Please explain

4) Do you know anything about South African culture if yes, what do you know about their culture. If no, what has prevented you from learning about their culture?

5) Have you ever experienced xenophobia? If yes, how has it affected you? Please explain.

6) What influences xenophobia in South Africa?

7) Have you ever experienced discrimination? If yes, what type of discrimination? Has it affected your integration in any way?

8) Would you say the institutions in South Africa have supported your integration? If yes, how? If no, do you have any idea why they've not supported your integration?

9) Would you say you are enjoying your rights as a foreigner in SA? Please explain?

SECTION B

10) In your opinion, what interventions do you think can support your integration?

11) How will your integration benefit you and the South African society?

12) What do you think can be done to upgrade the migration policy to integrate foreigners without prejudice?

Appendix C: FGD for migrants

Private Bag X17, Bellville 7535, Cape Town, South Africa
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E-mail: pkippie@uwc.ac.za or spenderis@uwc.ac.za

Focus Group Template

DATE: 17/ 08 /2018

I am Anjofui Patience a PhD student at the University of the Western Cape, and I will be the moderator in today's discussion. Welcome and thank you for being here today. The purpose of this gathering is to get your views on the dynamics of your integrating in South Africa. Particularly, we want to know the effects of xenophobia and documentation on your integration.

We will be using a tape recorder to facilitate recollection if you don't mind. Despite being taped, I would like to assure you that the discussion will be anonymous. The tapes will be kept safely in a locked facility until they are transcribed word for word, then they will be destroyed. The transcribed notes of the focus group will contain no information that would allow individual subjects to be linked to specific statements.

Please try to answer and comment as accurately and truthfully as possible. I and the other focus group participants would appreciate it if you would refrain from discussing the comments of other group members outside the focus group. If there are any questions or discussions that you do not wish to answer or participate in, you do not have to do so; however please try to answer and be as involved as possible. Thank you

QUESTIONS

- 1) Are there any particular reasons why you chose to stay where you stay?
 - a) How would you describe engagements between foreigners and members of the community?
- 2) Do you speak any of the local languages in South Africa?
 - a) if yes , how did you learn it (them)?
 - b) Has speaking any of the local languages facilitated foreigners' integration in South Africa? If yes, how? Please explain.
 - c) If no, what prevented you from learning?
 - d) Would you say speaking any of the local languages have some privileges or advantages? Please explain

- 4) If you have experienced any form of xenophobia please, share your experience
- 5) What influences xenophobia in South Africa?
- 6) Would you say the institutions in South Africa have supported your integration? If yes, how? If no, do you have any idea why they've not supported your integration?
- 9) Would you say foreigners fully enjoy their rights in SA? Please explain?

SECTION B

- 10) How will foreigners' integration benefit foreign nationals and the South African society?
- 12) What can be done to upgrade the migration policy to integrate foreigners without prejudice?



Appendix D: Information sheet for questionnaire



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INFORMATION SHEET

For **Questionnaire**

Project Title: Socio-economic effects of the migration policy on foreigners in South Africa.

What is this study about?

This research project is being conducted by Anjofui Patience Anegub, a student at the University of the Western Cape. You are invited to participate in this project as an immigrant, asylum seeker and refugee as it focuses on the effects of the migration policy on foreigners. The purpose of this study is to generate a better understanding of the socio-economic effects of the migration policy on foreigners and provide evidence based statistics to inform the government, policy makers and other stake holders about the impact of the migration policy on foreigners to help design better policies.

What is the questionnaire about?

The questionnaire is divided into four sections. You will be asked to respond to all the questions in the questionnaire. The first part requires information about your career history and personal details. The second part of the questionnaire requires you to share information about your documentation and employment status and also provide some information about your income. In the third section, you will be required to provide information about your skills and your experience with xenophobia as a migrant. Lastly, you will be required to make some suggestions on the migration policy. It will take twenty to thirty minutes to complete the questionnaire. The researcher will assist where necessary.

Would my participation in this study be kept confidential?

All your personal information will be kept confidential and will remain anonymous if that is your choice. You will be required to sign a consent form to protect your privacy and confidentiality while participating in this study. The researcher shall not reveal the identity of the participants and will safeguard the confidential information obtained in the course of the study.

What are the risks of this research?

Participants could be at risk of experiencing trauma while responding to certain questions. Questions that requires them to explain how they have been affected by the migration policy could provoke responses that can be traumatic. Taking that in to consideration, the researcher has put in place measures to provide necessary support. Arrangements have been made with two organisations (Scalabrini Centre and the Refugee Rights Unit) around my study, Cape Town, which offers free counselling services to migrants. In case of such scenarios, participants will be referred to these centres.

1) SCALABRINI CENTRE

47 Commercial Street, CBD, Cape Town

Opening hours Monday- Friday from 9:00-16:30

Contact +27 21 465 6433

2) REFUGEE RIGHTS UNIT

Fourth Level, Kramer Law School Building, 1 Stanley Road, Middle Campus

University of Cape Town, Rondebosch.

Contact details

Tel: 021 650 5632; or 021 650 5652; or 021 650 5581;

or 021 650 2678; or 021 650 5493

Fax: 021 650 5665

email: uctlawclinic@uct.ac.za

web: www.refugeerights.uct.ac.za

Opening hours Monday- Friday from 8:30-13:00

What are the benefits of this research?

There are no material benefits for the interviewee but it will create an awareness and understanding of the interviewee's desired destination to aspire in life.

Do I have to complete the questionnaire and may I stop participating at any time?

Your participation in this research is completely voluntary. You may choose not to complete the questionnaire and to stop participating at anytime you want. If you stop or decide not to participate, you will not lose anything.

How long will it take to complete the questionnaire?

The full questionnaire will take about twenty to thirty minutes to complete and may vary from participant to participant.

Do I need to bring anything to the interview?

You may bring a copy of the migration policy document that will assist you to remember details which might be needed when completing the questionnaire. All other stationery will be provided.

Is any assistance available if I am negatively affected by participating in this study?

Arrangements have been made to provide free counselling services as already mentioned above, with two organisations in case you become emotional triggering painful memories when responding to questions.

What if I have questions?

This research is being conducted by **Anjofui Patience** a student at the University of the Western Cape. His contact number is 0784698578

If you have any questions about the research study itself, please contact Dr Kanayo Ogujiuba at The School of Postgraduate Studies), University of the Western Cape, her telephone number: +27 73 431 5802

Should you have any questions regarding this study and your rights as a research participant or if you wish to report any problems you have experienced related to the study, please contact:

Prof Mulugeta Dinbabo
Acting Director
Institute for Social Development
School of Government
University of the Western Cape
Private Bag X17
Bellville 7535

This research has been approved by the University of the Western Cape's Senate Research Committee and Ethics Committee.
HSSREC, Research Development, UWC, Tel : 021 959 2988,
email: research-ethics@uwc.ac.za



Appendix E: Information sheet for FGD



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INFORMATION SHEET FOR FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION

Project Title:

Socio- economic effects of the migration policy on foreigners in South Africa

What is this study about?

This research project is being conducted by Anjofui Patience a student at the University of the Western Cape. You are invited to participate in this project which focuses on the socio-economic effects of the migration policy on foreigners. The purpose of this study is to generate a better understanding of the integration dynamics of foreigners.

What is the interview about?

You will be asked to participate in focus group discussions with 8-10 other people of a similar background to you. The focus group discussions are going to last for 45 minutes to an hour. The interview requires you to share information about the effects of xenophobia and documentation on foreigners integration. I request to audio-record it so that I can capture accurately what you share with me.

Would my participation in this study be kept confidential?

All your personal information will be kept confidential and will remain anonymous if that is your choice. You will be required to sign a consent form to protect your privacy and confidentiality while participating in this study. The researcher shall not reveal the identity of the participants and will safeguard the confidential information obtained in the course of the study.

What are the risks of this research?

There are no risks involved in participating in this research project. From the beginning, aims and objectives will be clear.

What are the benefits of this research?

There are no material benefits that you are going to receive for participating in the study, since it is a study that is conducted by a student who does not have research funding. However, your

community of beneficiaries may benefit from the knowledge that is generated by this research. It may lead to positive changes and influence the government's policy on migration.

Do I have to complete the interview and may I stop participating at any time?

Your participation in this research is completely voluntary. You may choose not to participate at any time you want. If you stop or decide not to participate, you will not lose anything.

How long will it take to complete the questionnaire?

The interview is going to last for 45 minutes to an hour and I request to audio-record them so that I can capture accurately what you share with me.

Do I need to bring anything to the interview?

You do not need to bring any stationary

Is any assistance available if I am negatively affected by participating in this study?

There are no negative effects that could happen from participating in this study.

What if I have questions?

This research is being conducted by **Anjofui Patience** a student at the University of the Western Cape. Her contact number is 0784698578.

If you have any questions about the research study itself, please contact Dr. Ogujiuba at The School of Post Graduate Studies, University of the Western Cape, his telephone number is +27 73 431 5802 .

Should you have any questions regarding this study and your rights as a research participant or if you wish to report any problems you have experienced related to the study, please contact:

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HSSREC, Research Development, UWC,

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Email: research-ethics@uwc.ac.za

Appendix F: Information sheet for interview guide



University of the Western Cape



UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

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UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

INFORMATION SHEET FOR INTERVIEW GUIDE

Project Title:

Socio- economic effects of the migration policy on foreigners in South Africa.

What is this study about?

This research project is being conducted by Anjofui Patience a student at the University of the Western Cape. You are invited to participate in this project which focuses on the socio-economic effects of the migration policy on foreigners. The purpose of this study is to generate a better understanding of documentation and xenophobia on foreigners.

What is the interview about?

You will be asked to share information on the role of xenophobia and documentation on your integration.

Would my participation in this study be kept confidential?

All your personal information will be kept confidential and will remain anonymous if that is your choice. You will be required to sign a consent form to protect your privacy and confidentiality while participating in this study. The researcher shall not reveal the identity of the participants and will safeguard the confidential information obtained in the course of the study.

What are the risks of this research?

There are no risks involved in participating in this research project. From the beginning, aims and objectives will be clear.

What are the benefits of this research?

There are no material benefits that you are going to receive for participating in the study, since it is a study that is conducted by a student who does not have research funding. However, your community of beneficiaries may benefit from the knowledge that is generated by this research. It may lead to positive changes and influence the government's policy on migration.

Do I have to complete the interview and may I stop participating at any time?

Your participation in this research is completely voluntary. You may choose not to participate at any time you want. If you stop or decide not to participate, you will not lose anything.

Do I need to bring anything to the interview?

You do not need to bring any stationary

Is any assistance available if I am negatively affected by participating in this study?

There are no negative effects that could happen from participating in this study.

What if I have questions?

This research is being conducted by **Anjofui Patience** a student at the University of the Western Cape. Her contact number is 0784698578.

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