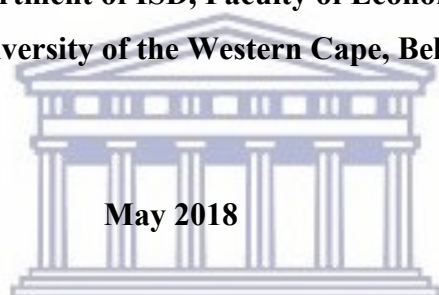


**INVESTIGATING THE PUSH AND PULL FACTORS OF INTERNATIONAL
MIGRATION IN SOUTH AFRICA; THE CASE OF CAMEROONIAN AND
CONGOLESE MIGRANTS IN CAPE TOWN.**

ANJOFUI PATIENCE ANEGUB

STUDENT NO: 3401704

**A mini thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of a
Master's Degree in the Department of ISD, Faculty of Economic and Social Sciences,
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WESTERN CAPE**

Supervisor

Prof. Mulugeta F. Dinbabo

ABSTRACT

International migration is growing steadily and has become an inevitable phenomenon mostly peculiar to the African continent that is characterised by economic, social and political challenges. The study investigated the push and pull factors of international migration in South Africa using the case of Cameroonian and Congolese migrants in Cape Town. In this study, the researcher explored the determinants for migration, assessed the living experiences of migrants and evaluated the effects of the current migration policy on migrants. A qualitative approach using semi-structured interviews with snowball sampling was used to select key informants of Cameroonian and Congolese nationalities in Cape Town.

Findings show that, economic factors are the key factors of migration followed by political factors as well as the influence of migrant networks. Another discovery was that the aspirations and exposure factor that was identified by most migrants as one of the factors influencing migration decisions, was not clearly highlighted in literature as some of the factors influencing migration. This study found out that most migrants did not meet their expectations for migrating and this is mainly because of the migration policy that limits them as they are not exposed to lots of opportunities. The recent migration policy has negatively affected migrants making them more miserable and most of them do not prefer the option of returning because they have not attained their goals for migration. So it is very important for the South African government and policy makers to look into the different challenges that migrants are facing and come up with better policies that will be beneficial not only to the migrants but the South African society as a whole.

Keywords: Capabilities, Cape Town, Immigrants, International migration, Migration policy, Push and Pull, South Africa

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that *Investigating the push and pull factors of international migration in South Africa; The case of Congolese and Cameroonian migrants in Cape Town* is my own work, that it has not been submitted, or part of it, for any degree or examination in any other university, and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

Anjofui Patience Anegub

Date.....

Signature



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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to the Anjofui's family.



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I acknowledge my heavenly Father Jesus Christ for the strength and support through this season of my life.

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ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

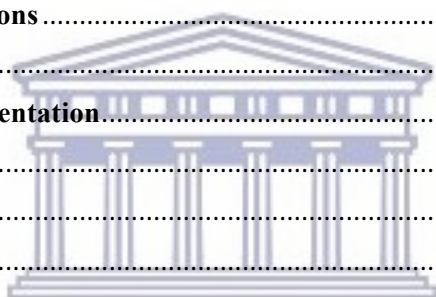
CDE	Centre for Development and Enterprise
DHA	Department of Home Affairs
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
EU	European Union
FDI	International Federation for Human Rights
ICPD	International Conference on Population and Development
ILO	International Labour Organization
NDP	Nation Development Plan
IOM	International Organization for Migration
OAU	Organization for African Unity
SAQA	South African Qualification Authority
StatsSA	Statistics South Africa
UN	United Nations
UNDESA	United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNOCHA	United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs



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CHAPTER ONE

1. BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

International migration is continually becoming an inevitable phenomenon in South Africa and the world at large. Trends in international migration continuous to increase rapidly as the number of migrants grow faster than was ever imagined (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs-UNDESA, 2015). For the past fifteen years, there has been an increase in the number of international migrants all over the world with an estimation of 244 million migrants, an increase of 71 million people as compared to the year 2000 (UNDESA, 2015). According to Bisrat, (2014) South Africa is one of the major destinations for international migration due to the country's social economic and liberal migration policies. However, (Dinbabo and Nyasulu, 2015; Dinbabo, and Carciotto, 2015; Sithole and Dinbabo, 2016) argue that the current migration discourse in Africa and South Africa in particular, is attributed to factors such as economic stress, political instability and poverty in most African countries. This has led many people to migrate to South Africa in search of opportunities and migrants perceive the country as one with better life in relation to health, education as well as economic opportunities among others (Papastergiadis, 2013). Today South Africa receives migrants from across Africa and beyond, thus prompting negative responses from both government and the local communities.

To resist the socio-economic shocks that have attacked most African countries, many families and some individuals are forced to take voluntary or involuntary migration in search for either protection or social economic opportunities that does not exist in their home countries (Bisrat, 2014). Dingle and Drakes (2007) postulate that the increasing rate of poverty, inadequate healthcare, lack of sufficient education opportunities, unemployment, corruption, political unrest, drought, and bad governance to name but few, have provoked many people to migrate in search of better opportunities which is limited in

most African countries. The above narrative constitute to what the researcher would call expectations.

Bisrat (2014) postulate that after the 1994 democratic dispensation, South Africa experienced a significant shift in its society and many black people were able to freely able migrate within different parts of the country in search of quality life. However, migratory patterns were not only limited to South Africans but foreign nationals as well. In this way, the country became a host to thousands of migrants and refugees from counties such as Congo, Somalia, and Burundi in search of both protection and economic opportunities. As a result throngs of thousands to this day continue to migrate though; it has had a negative impact on South Africa's economy.

Nonetheless, the need for service such as education, health, water, sanitation among others are to be provided for in one way or the other, which in some way prompted the development of the new migration policy to regulate and manage the movement of people coming in South Africa. Shea (2008) asserts that migrants may either have positive or negative impacts on a country's resources. Shea, (2008) describes positive impact to issues such as skills migrants bring with them, including the creation of job opportunities for themselves and to less extent, locals as well. On the contrary, negativities about migrants are issues such as criminal activities, involvement in drugs, prostitution and the spread of diseases such HIV/AIDS among others. The above rhetoric is usually echoed by both the public and sometimes government officials but there has never been substantive evidence to support these claims.

However, in light of the above, there are positive and negative connotations in relation to international migration and as such many migrants still continue to come to South Africa. In this way, South Africa pulls a complex and diverse category of both skilled and unskilled migrants. Mbetga (2014) elucidate that both skilled and unskilled migrants come to seek political freedom and economic opportunities in South Africa. However, the author argues that migrants, popularly called "foreign nationals" have become problematic to South African society. To substantiate the above argument, the researcher uses the 2008 xenophobic attacks in which he clarifies that the competition for scarce

socio-economic opportunities between local nationals and foreign nationals will remain a challenge for some time to come as the country continue to receive large numbers of migrants from different parts of the world, in particular from other African countries (Mbetga, 2014).

In efforts to deal with real and perceived challenges, the South African government has instituted restrictive immigration policies on migrants and refugees living in the country hypothetically to manage and regulate migration (Siddique, 2004). According to Dinbabo and Carciotto (2015) many African countries have encouraged restrictive immigration policies as a way to minimize migration. Some of these policies have been a major challenge for some migrants living in the countries such as South Africa. The most notable challenge among others is acquisition of proper documentation which if not acquired would deprive immigrants and refugees the rights to employment, education and movement etc.

In light of the above, Walker and Oliveira (2015) view these restrictions as a problem in itself leading to the existing challenges around documentation, integration, employment and many other prospects migrants expected in host countries thus defeating their purpose of leaving country of origin. This however, contradicts the relevance of public policies which are supposed to reflect the values, attitudes and beliefs of society (Landau and Segatti 2009). In the mix of all these developments people continue to migrate to South Africa with expectation of finding opportunities so that they may be able to support themselves and their families back home.

Nonetheless, this study investigates the push and pull factors in relation to international migration in South Africa with emphasis on migrants/ refugees from the Democratic Republic of Congo and Cameroon. The study further looks at the living experiences of migrants and how the current migration policy generally affects their everyday life. Moreover, the study discusses the major determinants of international migration in South Africa to understand the push or pull factors in relation to the decision to migrate. In this study, the researcher is going to use the word migrants to refer all categories of migrants which include; refugee, asylum seekers, economic, professional

and education migrants. The writer will also use the terms foreign nationals and international migrants interchangeably to refer to migrants generally.

1.2 Background and contextualisation

South Africa amongst other African countries has always been a migrant receiving country ever since the pre-colonial era with the arrival of Europeans who settled in the country (Rasool, Botha, and Bisschoff, 2012). Europeans were attracted to the land and benefited from the mineral resources of the country and gained new markets for their businesses, thereby establishing colonial rule (Crush and Williams, 2005). According to Ngomane (2010) since the 19th century with the discovery of gold in Witwatersrand and diamonds in the Orange Free State in the 1960s, many foreigners decided to stay and establish their investments in South Africa. As industrialisation increased with the growing rate of the mining industry, there was an increasing demand for labour to feed the economic growth and the country's developmental trajectory.

At the height of economic growth, South Africa's indigenous labour was not sufficient to meet the growing demand for cheap labour which resulted to the recruitment of labour from neighbouring countries like Lesotho, Botswana, Zimbabwe, Namibia, Mozambique, and Swaziland which acted as reservoirs for cheap contract labour. Due to migration of foreigners from Dutch, England, French etc., South Africa was recognised as "a country of immigration" and by the late 20th century African migrants replaced the European migrants (Rasool, et al., 2012).

When the African National Congress (ANC) Government came power in 1994, The government restrictive immigration policy was instituted, but offered amnesty to some asylum seekers and refugees from countries that were affected by wars such as Burundi, DRC, Central African Republic, Somalia, Angola, Rwanda, Nigeria and many others (Perbedy and Crush, 1998). The restrictive nature of this policy did not stop the influx of immigrants into the country rather many more came. According to Shea (2009) this was because of South Africa's emerging economy and social-economic and political development which facilitates the inflow of many migrants into the country.

The new democratic dispensation in South Africa brought the country to a new era of political stability and improved development. Consequently, the country continues to attract migrants from neighbouring countries within the Southern African Region and the rest of Africa and Asia (Crush and Williams, 2005). Now, South Africa has an entry of both International and cross boarder migrants who migrate into the country for reasons such as employment opportunities, education and in some cases they offer cheap labour (Bisrat, 2014).

Shea (2009) explains that South Africa's economic stability and proximity to other African countries make it an attractive atmosphere for most students, professionals and the business people. These foreign nationals take up settlements in major cities like Cape Town, Johannesburg, Port Elizabeth and Durban where there are lots of opportunities and are economically vibrant. Some South Africans claimed that immigrants are a threat to their jobs, the reason for the high crime and the spread of diseases which has resulted to several xenophobic attacks (Umezurike, 2012).

One of such attacks was the occurrence in Port Elizabeth where more than 100 small businesses were looted and were alleged of taking their jobs and putting South African shopkeepers out of business by challenging their prices (selling at lower prices than South African shopkeepers) (Muzondi, 2015). These violent attacks started off in informal settlements and later spread to cities leading to the displacement of some African immigrants and the killing of others (Tsheola, Ramoroka and Muzondi, 2016; Piper and Charman, 2016). Despite, all these challenges South Africa is still a preferred destination for most international migrants. In contrary Rademeyer (2013) points out that there is a decline in the number of migrants coming into South Africa though the country has been described as the largest recipient of asylum seekers.

1.2.1 Case study of Cameroonian and Congolese migrants in Cape Town

Most migrants prefer to settle in areas where they can take advantage of the opportunities present. Statistics South Africa (2014) indicates that Cape Town is one of the major cities in South Africa hosting large numbers of migrants from different parts

of the world. Being a preferred choice for both internal and international migrants, it has been identified as one of the rapidly growing migrant cities in the country (StatsSA, 2014). Moreover, according to StatsSA, migrants in Cape Town are a combination of short-term contract labour, informal traders and long term migrants. Cameroon and Congolese migrants form part of the international migrant community in Cape Town. However, Cape Town is not only a habitation for foreign migrants but internal migrants from Eastern Cape and other parts of South Africa (StatsSA, 2014).

Many Cameroonians have migrated to Cape Town because of the social-economic and political problems in some parts of Cameroon. According to Nyamnjoh (2011) travelling abroad commonly known as “bushfalling” is very common amongst Cameroonians because of the dysfunctional government and the increasing number of jobless university graduates. Other factors including; poorly remunerated civil servants, difficulties in conducting business as well as marginalisation and subjugation by francophone Cameroonians. “Bushfalling” usually carries the notion of success and for someone to give up the opportunity of travelling out of the country is like giving up the pursuit for success (Alpes, 2012). Cape Town is one of the major cities where many Cameroonians have settled for different reasons for example some have come in pursuit for education, economic opportunities, greener pastures just to name a few.

In the past South Africa was not a preferred destination for Cameroonians but recently, the nation of South Africa has been an ideal destination for some Cameroonians and the Cameroonian population in South Africa has been growing rapidly. According to UNDESA 2013 database, the population of Cameroonians living in South Africa rose from 978 in 2000 to 2,454 in 2013 and has been growing ever since (Tafuh and Maharaj, 2015, p.132).

According to Tawodzere, Chikanda, Crush and Tengeh, (2015) in a study on international migrants and refugees in Cape Town’s informal sector out of the twenty different countries sampled, Cameroonians were one of the most prominent in this group. Due to the tight nature of the labour market and the recent immigration policy immigrants could not easily have access to well-paid jobs despite their qualifications and skills consequently, they have embarked on entrepreneurial activities in the informal sector

(Barker, 2015). Cameroonians in Cape Town identify themselves in different ethnic associations where they meet to support each other and share ideas on different opportunities they can take advantage of (Mai, 2006). The researcher observed that, their communal lifestyle is seen in their choice of settlements as many of them have settled in Bellville, Parow, Maitland, Goodwood etc., where they can easily network and take advantage of the opportunities in the community to empower themselves.

Besides, according to Thompson (2011) the intertribal war that started in early 1990s in the Democratic Republic of Congo, led to violence and instability that brought fear and insecurity among Congolese people of whom many left the country in search of protection. As a result of this tragedy these people fled to other countries and stayed there as refugees (Thomson, 2011). The 2011 United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UNOCHA) report explain that, 1.7 million people have been displaced from Congo due to political unrest and many have sought asylum to other countries including South Africa (Paddon and Lacaille, 2011, p.16).

Levitt and Wager (2003) assert that a large number of Congolese came to South Africa and are said to be the largest refugee population in the country. Many arrived in South Africa between 1998 and 1999 and most of them came in as refugees and asylum seekers. Most Congolese have been identified as very poor, though a small group of them fall under the group of economic migrants, students and others who were well off in Congo, are able to support themselves here in South Africa (Levitt and Wager, 2003).

In a study on international migrants and refugees entrepreneurs in Cape Town's informal sector, a third of the population were Congolese, 60% had refugee permits and they were also among one of the top three countries under this category of entrepreneurs in Cape Town (Tawodzere, et al., 2015). Despite the challenges that come with migration, some of them have managed to become very successful and established themselves not only in Cape Town but in South Africa (Levitt and Wagner, 2003).

1.3 Significance of the study

According to UNDESA (2015) migrants are often among the most vulnerable people in society, requiring a lot of attention and support. The magnitude of their vulnerability is motivated so much by research on international migration. Despite the number of studies carried out on international migration in South Africa, most of them have focused on economic migrants and their contributions to economic development, such as professional migrants in Cape Town and the push and pull factors in relation to skills shortage in South Africa just to name a few (Shea, 2009 and Rassol, 2012). Most of these studies have mostly focused on a particular group of migrants but this study examines the diverse categories of migrants living in Cape Town. It also captures in-depth information about the expectation and experiences of these migrants as well as how the current migration policy affects their way of life.

1.4 Problem statement

The contemporary trend in migration causes many people to travel miles away to seek better opportunities in different parts of the world. People move from one place to another for political, economic and social reasons. South Africa being the largest economy in Africa after the 1994 democratic dispensation instituted a liberal migration policy which provided room for thousands of migrants to come into the country for either on humanitarian grounds, protection or economic reasons (Bisrat, 2014). Kahanec and Zimmermann (2008) argue that people migrate because they want to improve their economic prospects, live in a secured environment, re-unite with their families or escape from persecution in their home countries. Cameroon and Congo are no exception to this as the war in Congo and the economic collapse in Cameroon has influenced migration.

A study by Dinbabo and Nyasulu (2015) shows that the influx of migrants from all over the world into South Africa is attributed to advanced social and economic development of the country. The inflow of migrants in to South Africa has been a threat to South African citizens and its reputation as a safe haven for migrants and refugees has been scarred by the outburst of xenophobia, violence widespread corruption and allegations of discriminatory practices and human rights abuses by Home Affairs and

immigration officials (Rademeyer, 2013). All of these have become a thorn in the flesh of migrants.

Given the social and economic challenges the country is facing and the influx of migrants, hence the development of new migration policy to regulate the movement of people coming into South Africa. This in many ways has had a negative impact on many migrants living in South Africa and Cape Town in particular. For example, access to basic services such as education and health among others has become a challenge to many of them as thousands are undocumented or have expired documents and unable to renew to travel costs involved. In Mayda's study which investigated the determinants of the migration inflows into 14 OECD countries detected that, in those years when the migration policies of the host country become less restrictive, the pull effect becomes more positive while push effects turn negative therefore migration policies influence the push and pull factors for migrating (Mayda, 2010). The purpose of this research is to investigate the push and pull factors of international migration in South Africa using the case of Cameroonian and Congolese migrants. This scenario leads to posing the following research questions:

1.5 Research questions

- What are the determinants for international migration?
- What are the lived experiences of Congolese and Cameroonian migrants in Cape Town?
- How has the current migration policy affected Congolese and Cameroonian migrants living in Cape Town?

1.6 Aims and objectives

The aim of this research is to investigate the push and pull factors for International migration in South Africa and Cape Town in particular. The specific objectives of the study are;

- To explore the determinants for international migration.

- To explore the living experiences of Cameroonian and Congolese migrants in Cape Town.
- To evaluate how the current migration policy affects international migrants.
- To provide recommendations based on the study objectives.

1.7 Thesis outline

This research study investigates the push and pull factors of international migration in South Africa specifically looking at the case of Congolese and Cameroonian migrants in Cape Town. It reports on the motivations for migration and its effects on migrants. This study is divided into six main chapters.

Chapter One introduces the research by providing a brief introduction to the problem of international migration and investigates how the current South Africa's migration policy impacts on migrants' everyday life. It also highlights the context and the rationale of the study. Additionally, the chapter provides research questions, aims and specific objectives of the study as well as the background of the study.

Chapter Two reviews literature on international migration, experiences and the effects of migration policy on migrants. The first part defines some relevant concepts related to the study like migration, international migrants, migration policy and the push and pull factors of migration. It also provides empirical evidence on international migration, the global and local context of international migration as well as factors influencing migration. This is followed by the expectation/experiences of migrants and finally migration policies in relation to international and national laws that protect the rights of migrants and the effect of these laws on migrants. Part two of this section provides the theoretical framework which are; the push and pull theory and the capability approach. Then, concludes with the conceptual framework designed for the study.

Chapter Three: provides discussion about the research design and methodology that was used to attain the objectives of the study. It also describes the sampling method and how the population sample was selected. Moreover, it explains how interviews, focus

group discussions and observations were conducted. The chapter concludes by presenting the ethics statement and the limitations of the study.

Chapter Four: presents findings of the study objectives based on information obtained from the field. This was done using main and sub - themes in presenting and analysing data in line with the objectives of the study.

Chapter Five: provides a discussion of the findings by interpreting data and compares the results with the literature obtained from previous research. Themes and sub-themes were used to categorise information. This was done according to the objectives of the study.

Chapter Six: presents an overview of the study, summary of key findings and recommendations.



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CHAPTER TWO

2. LITERATURE REVIEW ON INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

The popularity of International migration has increased over the years leading to a lot of research in this area; therefore, there is a vast body of literature on international migration both in developed and developing countries. With migrant's experiences during the process of migration and its impact on their lives, international migration has continued to be a topic of interest for so many researchers.

The desire for better livelihood and opportunities has forced millions of people to move away from their countries of origin to other areas where they would be offered better services and opportunities. The determinants causing people to leave their home countries are called "push factors"; while those that attract them to a particular destination are called "pull factors" (Harris, 1995). Some of these Factors include; the unavailability of better health care services, lack of proper education, unemployment, corruption, conflict, bad government and waste of resources (Harris, 1995). Many scholars have grouped the push and pull factors into conventional factors which are; economic, political, social and demographic factors.

This chapter will review relevant literature on the push and pull factors of international migration with the aim of placing international migration into global and local context. The chapter starts by defining key concepts that are relevant to the study followed by empirical studies on international migration then it looks at the major determinants of international migration from the international, continental and national context as well as the expectations and experiences of migrants as well as migration policies. Lastly, the final section focuses on the theoretical and conceptual framework of the study.

To better understand the different concepts that are relevant to this study, the first section will define and explain the key concept which include; migration, international migrant and push and pull factors.

2.2 Definition of Terms

Migration

Oliver- Smith (2009) describes migration as a choice people make for survival though some risks come with it especially when some migrants have no clue about the destination. To Fryxell and Drake (1988) migration is described as a movement taken by an individual either through the use of locomotives or through the use of a medium from areas with inadequate resources to areas where they believe will support and provide them with adequate resources in order to handle and accommodate their seasonal changes.

Meanwhile, Rees, Bell, Williams and Blake (2000) conceptualises in two fold one which is transition and the other as movement. Accordingly, transition process is comparing a person's location at a particular point in time with that of another and observing how that individual makes one transition between the two points. They used the example of a population census to describe the process of transition in order to know the number of people who have moved and those that have not moved. Thus the people on transition are called "migrants" seeing the process of movement as the process of migration (Rees, et al., 2000). According to these authors the process of moving from one address to another is known as migrating. Hence migration is the movement or transition of an individual.

International Migrants

According to United Nations (UN) (1998), international migrants are classified into two groups; long-term international migrants and short-term international migrants. The UN defines long-term international migrant as someone who has left his/her country of residence and relocated to another country and stays there for at least one year, while short-term international migrant is someone who stays in another country or away from a country for a period of three months and a year (United Nations, 1998). Schulzek (2012) depicts international migrants as individuals who take up residence in other countries and

have lived there for five years' difference and have travelled away from their countries of origin and reside in another country.

Migration Policy

Migration policies can be defined as laws, regulations, agreements and provisions established with the objective to control and manage migration flows (United Nations, 2013). A suitable conceptual scheme in analyzing the migration policy formulation is based on four elements which Rodrik identified as; to consider individual preferences on the policy i.e. their opinions about the policy. Secondly, map preferences into policy demand (take in to consideration how it is going to affect different groups of people) thirdly, focusing on the supply side, the need to identify preferences of policy makers and fourthly, understanding the details of institutional setting in which they are introduced (Facchini and Mayda, 2009). This scheme indicates that those, for whom policies are instituted, are expected to be actively involved in the formulation and design of policies that are supposed to benefit them.

2.3 Contextualising International Migration in general with specific reference to South Africa

In a study by Dinbabo and Nyasulu (2015) in analysing the macroeconomic determinants of the pull factors of international migration to South Africa findings stated that every year, hundreds of thousands of migrants enter the country from all over the world in search of socioeconomic opportunities and many other reasons known to an individual migrant or family. The search for these opportunities has led to both cross border migration, especially from other African countries. According to the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), most African migrants come to South Africa because of the unfavourable political and economic conditions in their home countries as well as inability to survive with this condition (Dinbabo and Nyasulu, 2015).

In McConnell's (2009) study, he alludes that despite the fact that South Africa is a migrant receiving country, her citizens migrate to other countries like Australia, the United Kingdom and the United States to seek economic opportunities. However, in a study by

Djafar and Hassan (2012) using the Indonesian migrant model and relevant data from the Malaysian Home Affairs, in examining the Push and Pull factors of migrant workers in developing countries with Malaysia as a case study; findings reveal that, income and unemployment were the primary reasons that influenced Indonesian migrant workers to migrate to Malaysia. Based on the Indonesian case study, before migrating, migrants have big dreams and expectations from host countries. In a study conducted by De Haas (2007) on the impact of international migration on social and economic development of Moroccan indicates that the average international migrant household's income was two and a half times greater than the non-migrant household's income and this was because of the remittances received from abroad. In the year 2000, migrants from the Netherlands, Belgium, France, Germany, Spain and Italy sent an average of 10.740 dirham every year (De Haas, 2007). Literature shows that the act of migration has given migrants the opportunity to gather enough money in the host country which makes them financially independent especially remittance made to support their families back home.

In this way, favourable migration policies influence people's decisions to migrate to a particular destination expecting to benefit either economically or socially from the host country. This is seen in Schulzek's (2012) cross sectional time series analysis on the impact of welfare systems on immigrations in EU, where migrants were unsatisfied with the reality in Europe as most of them enjoy and benefit from the higher welfare provisions provided. The author further states that better welfare facilities and services has a negative effect on labour migrants (economic migrants) because if the social net increases, the relative number of employed migrants drops, therefore the effect of this service are lesser than they expected. Besides, this was not the case for Asylum seekers who benefited more from these welfare provisions because of the support given to them when they first arrive recognising that they are unemployed (Schulzek, 2012). Their state of arrival in the country gives them access to these services and as such utilises the opportunity to makes savings for investing back home (Schulzek, 2012).

In a study by Rasool, Botha and Bisschoff (2012) on the effectiveness of South Africa's immigration policy in addressing skills shortage, findings revealed that the

restrictive nature of the policy has influenced the shortage of skills in the country, which is not helpful to the country. A similar study conducted by the Centre for Development and Enterprise (CDE) confirmed that the restrictive nature of South Africa's immigration policy has led to skill shortage (CDE, 2011).

An alternative study piloted by FDI (International Federation for Human Rights) (2008) to examine undocumented and other vulnerable migrants in South Africa revealed that, despite the 2002 immigration and 1998 Refugees Act that is in line with the UN Convention on the call to protect the rights of all migrant workers and members of their families, migrants still continue to face problems. They are still exposed to the violation of their rights and do not have adequate legal support and assistance to protect and defend them. For instance, asylum seekers and refugees continue to face problems because of rigidity in the asylum application process which is lengthy and costly for those who either obtained permits in one city and lives in another or renewal of asylum permits after every three months. However, they are exposed to the risk of being exploited by smugglers and fellow migrants going through 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 as some asks for bribes or sexual favours detaining them for longer periods than authorised by the law (Deacon, Olivier and Beremauro 2014).

2.4 International migration in a global context

The issue of migration did not begin today, Golden and Reinert (2006) traces this phenomenon back in history of mercantile period where approximately 1500 to 1800 migrants from Europe migrated to Africa to procure colonies and occupy large portions of lands through merchant capitalism which went on for over a period of 300 years. During one of such periods Alonso (2011) found that one main factor that contributed to transatlantic migration in the past was the social and economic benefits that were existing in the new world. Thus similar patterns play in today's migratory processes.

Migration primarily took place between countries that were at fairly similar development levels for example a majority of migration routes took place between United States,

Italy, Spain and Argentina. The per capita income of America was only 33% higher than that of Italy and Argentina in the 1870s, the per capita income was only 9% higher than that of Spain. Hence, migration was seen as an opportunity to support each other as it allowed poor Europeans to migrate from hierarchical, highly unequal societies to countries with greater social mobility (Alonso, 2011, p.8).

Moreover, with high demand for labour in European industries and the pressure of not coping with the changing market led to a drop in profit for business and some European enterprises decided to transfer subsidiary International companies to Africa to take advantage of the cheap labour and meet up with their goals (Dzvimbo, 2003). Besides, skilled workers abroad also transferred plants to other countries as a way of escaping expensive labour abroad, a phenomenon that is very common in the developed countries. For instance, many companies such as IT companies have relocated certain skill categories to other countries such as India (Dzvimbo, 2003).

Rohrmoser and Wächter, (2008) posits that colonial ties between Europeans and Africans have influenced migration flows in today's world. The author advances that many European powers like Germany, France, Belgium and Spain etc., who had controlled former colonies in South America and Africa made some relationships and the ties which they still share even after they left and still continues now either through political or business engagements. This has strongly encouraged migration of their citizens to these countries. Moreover, the advantage of language similarities has attracted people from certain countries to move to others where there are able to communicate easily and avoid the process of learning new languages.

2.5 International Migration in an African context

The phenomenon of migration is no stranger to Africa and for so many years' millions of Africans have migrated to Europe (Lucas, 2013). Findings from the study conducted by Black, Crush, Peberdy, Ammassari, Mouillesseaux, Pooley and Rajkotia (2006, p.6) indicates that, the number of people migrating from Africa to Europe and North America is increasing between the period 1995-2001 with an average of 110,000 people

leaving Africa every year to Europe or America with the number increasing from 93,000 in 1995 to almost 140, 000 in 2001. This statistics indicates that migration in the African context has grown and will continue to so given the continent's social-economic and political dynamics.

However, Shimeles (2010) posits that the history of migration in the African continent is well known with about 140 million people of African origin moving out of the continent. This occurs mostly in developing countries with an estimate of 300,000 African professionals who live and work outside the African continent. According to Lucas (2013, p.2) in 2011 alone, the number of Africans born in and living in a country outside their place of origin in 2000 was about twenty million and over half of African migrants live in another African country. Based on the 2010 World Bank matrix data estimates, out of the 215 million people live outside their countries of origin, 31 million were from Africa (Shimeles, 2010, p.7). The numbers are increasing from time to time. These statistics however, does not give reasons why these numbers continue to grow which this study discusses. In contemporary times, countries such as DRC have experienced civil wars and poor economic performance, leading to large displacements of citizens into foreign lands. The same applies to Cameroon where the collapse in the economy and marginalisation of non-French speaking Cameroons has equally forced many to migrate to different parts of the world including South Africa.

2.6 Factors Influencing Migration

2.6.1 Political factors

These are reasons that are either influenced by government policies, administrative practices or political instability that can cause people to leave their habitual residence to other countries. Civil wars, state violence and political instability cause people to move to other countries. For instance, in Congo violent conflicts, underdevelopment, poverty, political instability and corruption force hundreds of thousands of Congolese to migrate and settle in Rwanda, Uganda, Burundi, South Africa and Tanzania (Dinbabo and Carciotto, 2015; Paddon and Lacaille, 2011). Recently the country has been characterised with severe armed conflicts, poor governance, increased poverty and

immense humanitarian suffering with extensive human rights violations and widespread population displacement. Over the past 15yrs, conflicts in Congo have killed millions of people and a majority of these deaths are not only attributed to wars but malnutrition that has contributed to displacements (Paddon and Lacaille, 2011).

Lemenih, Kassa, Kassie, Abebaw, and Teka (2014) cite the example of Ethiopia where war and insecurity forced people to move out of their country. This occurred after the uprising that took place in Ethiopia in 1974, many escaped to neighboring countries because of the hunger, hardship and political unrest that people experienced after this period. These attacks affected almost the whole country and people decided to seek refuge elsewhere. Even at the height of political violence, people go to countries where they hope to get better standards of living.

Recent crises in the world today continue to force millions of people out of their home countries. The mass influx of African migrants to Europe has raised widespread attention with sensationalist media reportage likening it to ‘exodus’ where desperate Africans are escaping from poverty at home in search of opportunities in European (Flahaux and De Haas, 2016). Metcalfe-Hough (2015, p.2) states political instability has displaced over 12 million people in Syria and over 4 million have left the country. This is also the case in Iraq where people are faced with resurgence violence and conflicts with over 4 million people currently displaced within and outside the country. While countries like Somalia, Afghanistan, South Sudan, Mali, Eritrea, Nigeria and the Central African Republic are facing the same challenge of insecurity. As a result, many people from these countries risk their lives trying to cross the Mediterranean and Sahara desert to travel to Europe in an attempt to escape from insecurity and uncertainty in their home countries for a better life.

With the influx of migrants, some countries like Australia, UK and France have developed policies to deter the influx of these migrants, making it difficult for those attempting to migrate in such countries. However, despite these strict policies, people still develop strategies to migrate. Some countries have instituted corporate policies to attract skilled migrants who are offered better working conditions and provided assistance for integration (Cervan-Gil, 2016). This is a strong pull factor that can

influence many people to migrate and enjoy the benefit of these policies. In a similar study conducted on the influx of migrants in Australia, findings revealed that during the 90s over 10,000 managers and 25,000 professionals arrived every year because of policies that favoured their integration in Australia (Mahroum, 2000). Those who came in to the country were from the UK, Ireland or some neighbouring countries. In 1996 for example, there were over 81% of highly skilled permanent immigrants from the US and the EU (Mahroum, 2000, p.25).

Also, Germany, Australia, UK and France have enacted certain policies that attract entrepreneurs to migrate and settle in these countries provided they invest or bring a minimum of a certain capital as well as specialised labour in specific sectors. Examples of these sectors are the telecommunication and the health sectors (Dzvimbo, 2003 and Mahroum, 2000). This is where South Africa policy is going as its focus has shifted towards skilled migrants. With the exception few, most African migrants are unskilled or semiskilled and as such the new policy may not control the influx but rather stiffen their living conditions. Most countries look for migrants who can contribute to the development of their economies by establishing businesses that will create jobs for their citizens. But this can't really apply to most African migrants because they are poor. The migration of such individuals is different from people who want to seek for such opportunities.

The collapse of African economies and violence has influenced many people to migrate. What is happening to Syria today is similar to what is happening in Congo. Scholars such as Cervan-Gil, Metcalfe-Hough, Lemenih and De Haas argue that conflict and insecurity in many African countries has been a strong factor that has pushed people to migrate in many parts of the world.

2.6.2 Economic factors

These are factors that are centred on the market and the economy of a nation. Dzvimbo, (2003), The World Bank (2003) and Makakala (2015) argue that limited job opportunities and unemployment are some of the push factors contributing to migration in developing countries. In a study of highly skilled Tanzanians migrants living in the

UK, show that Tanzanians left home because of the unemployment level in the country, citing difficulties to get a job without having a “godfather” i.e. (someone in the system to help you) (Makakala, 2015).

When economies collapse, there is scarcity of jobs and lack employment opportunities. All these force people to look for other opportunities elsewhere. Surprisingly, migration also comes with strategies and one should note that people migrate to countries where they could benefit economically and socially (Miheretu, 2011). For example, Odorige (2016) depicts that unemployment and poverty are viewed as the main drivers of migration. Studies conducted by the International Labour Organization posits that a larger number of international migrants over 100 million of them left their home countries to find employment opportunities so as to support themselves and families. However, Dzivimbo, (2003), Kurekova (2012), De la Rica, Glitz, and Ortega (2013) confirm that striking disparity in the labour market due to wage differences are the main reasons for migration as people are attracted to other countries because of better salaries offered to them. In this case they target destinations where they have added value for their services.

Interestingly, the volatility of South African economy and their inability to control domestic violence in the country pushes South African to migrate to other countries like Australia, USA and Canada whereas at the same time, many people are still attracted to come to South Africa (Bhorat, Meyer and Mlatsheni, 2002). White South Africans have established their investments elsewhere because of their frustration about the country’s political state and loss of trust in the government that is unable to provide the necessary services as well as improve the living conditions of the people. This has resulted to increase migration to other countries where they will be more comfortable to live and to raise their children. Rasool (2012) argue that high rates of crime and violence in South Africa has led to the loss of so many lives with an average of 25,000 people killed every year because of rape and assault. Consequently, skilled workers are forced to seek refuge in other countries (Rasool, 2012).

According to International Labour Organization (ILO) some countries have designed policies to attract foreign migrants and this is evident in South Africa where companies

prefer employing foreigners since they are seen as a source of cheap labour even when the labour market is saturated with unemployment. These African migrants who have come to take advantage of the economic opportunities present are ready to go for anything in order to survive having escaped from high rates of unemployment in their home countries (Ngomane, 2010).

However, since people are rational beings, they usually calculate the costs and benefits of a particular country before deciding to migrate ensuring that the net returns are better than home country. De Hass (2010) concurs that, this is done through thorough research and information acquisition before making choices which are influenced by different factors such as productivity, better wages and the way the labour market is structured etc.

2.6.3 Social factors

Social components have become important components of migration. Schulzek (2012) highlights that; one of the factors that attract International migrants to a particular settlement is the availability of welfare benefits. This encourages migration mostly among the less educated migrants categorically migrants who are more than 25yr of age. They are likely to move to older European Union (EU) member states depending on how high the welfare benefits are, hence the rate of migration in to a particular country is dependent on the average income and the social benefits provided in that country, if it is greater than in their home countries then they will migrate to that country (Schulzek, 2012).

As people migrate, they look out for things that they will benefit their children such as education, skills, health care. South Africa is a country that has better social services that attracts people for example children of refugees receive social grants and if you have four or five children you can receive money that can afford your rents (Magqibelo, Londt, September, and Roman, 2016).

Previous research suggests that family reunification has been the primary route for international migration especially for women. Relatively, migration studies now tend to treat women's migration as primarily a consequence of male migration and women are now seen as merely accompanying or following their husbands (Charsley and

Shaw, 2006). Similarly, Polish migrants in the UK usually ask their spouses to join them months rather than years after migration and the wife supposedly makes inspection visits before finally joining their husbands (White, 2017). Moreover, some high profile Universities abroad offer training programs to students mainly from developing countries. This has motivated many students to travel abroad and take advantage of these opportunities which are not available in their home countries (Kajiura, 2008). Kajiura further states that in the past decades there was an increase in the number of students in The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries. The affordable tuition in South African universities compared to other European countries and high standard infrastructures are some of the motivating factors that influenced francophone Cameroonians to come pursue studies in South Africa migrants (Tati, 2010). Hence this attracts students from Cameroon and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) to come and pursue education in South Africa.

However, studies by Kline, (2003), Kainth (2009), Djafar and Hassan, (2012), and Rasool, et al., (2012) do not mention the media as one of the factors influencing migration. One would argue that media plays an important role in influencing migration for example people use social media to communicate or do research about countries they intend to migrate to and this has been to Cameroonians and Congolese migrating to SA. According to Wood and King (2001) the media such as TV conveys information while newspaper articles provide information that assists them to strategise their movement. For example, Siew-Peng provides information that the TV coverage on satellite TV on Hong Kong's handover to China influenced Hong Kong Chinese immigrants in UK. Similarly, highly skilled Tanzanians living in the UK who did not have a realistic impression of the UK, based their migration decision strongly on perceptions and expectations based on TV programmes (Makakala, 2015). In other words, the expectation and information provided on TV has been critical influence on migration (Makala, 2015).

It can be argued that the media encourages migrants to search for information about the destination or country. For example, someone in Cameroon or Congo seeing pictures of Cape Town's sea point or table view will definitely come to South Africa

based on the reflections of the city's images and in some degree create networks that facilitate the movements.

However, scholars have argued that migrant networks are important factors influencing migration globally (Boswell and Crisp, (2004), Haugh (2008), Nguyen (2015) and Windsor (2015). These networks could be either through kins, friends or parents. These then become key information sources that provide the necessary details about the host country, financial assistance, and travel arrangements as well as economic, social and psychological assistance to migrants upon arrival (Boswell and Crisp, 2004). Their opinion already paints a picture of how life is going to be at the destination and kind of assistance expected.

The availability of networks in host countries introduced to migrants is either through their families or relatives who received them as well. This creates a host of positive externalities such as the transfer of ideas or business links which could further lead to import and export chains and as well contribute to support local and charitable initiatives. According to Abella (2013) support received from relatives abroad shield migrants from all kinds of shocks.

2.7 Migrants Expectations/Experiences

Many people leave home with very high expectations, with a hope to gain more from their destination. However, some of them meet their dreams while others remain with unmet expectations. Tati, (2010), Tonder and Soontiens (2013) argue that most young people travel out of their home countries expecting to pursue studies and get better employment opportunities. Though their actual experiences are different from what they expected, most of them meet their expectations but the process of meeting their expectations is where the challenge is. For instance students have to do some form of work related research, tutor, work as student assistants, take on casual jobs fully aware of the insecurities that comes with the jobs just to make some money that will support their cost of living while studying since foreigners are not formally eligible to formal channels of financial supports (Tati, 2010). According to Van Tonder and Soontiens, (2013) most students ignore their present work conditions aiming at their degree which they look up to.

Literature from previous studies shows that, most students expect to get employment after graduation which increases the possibility of improving their life strategies (Hugo, 2002; Gribble and Blackmore, 2012 cited in Makakala, 2015). Findings from a study on Tanzanian Migrants in the UK indicates that after migrants finished studying, they remained as skilled migrants and got employment after completing their studies. Hawthorne (2008 cited in Makakala, 2015) asserts that international students have developed in to prioritised potential human capital resource one that is suitable to most host country employers because they are young, they possess advanced host country language with professional training and other credentials that are highly acceptable.

Others, come with high qualifications from home expecting decent jobs upon arrival as with the case of Iranian migrants in Australia who wanted employment but did not meet their expectations of high employment opportunities especially those who before migrating had higher qualifications. Their unmet expectation led to further uncertainty and stress which further exposed them to risk of psychological and low levels of well-being (Hosseini, 2015). Van Tonder and Soontiens, (2013) cites the case of South African migrants in Australia who had left well-paying jobs back home trusting to get better jobs, faced difficulty getting decent jobs and the only available jobs were waitresses, streets vendors etc. which was far from their expectations.

Besides, some others who expected better salaries due to promises made to them by some employers needed their support for growth and also sustain public security scheme upon arrival but later realised that the laws protecting foreign labour were unfavorable thus exposing them to abuse, exploitation and violence. This has led to a large number of migrants living illegally in their host countries which doesn't only affect the migrants themselves but the society as a whole (Alonso, 2011). According to a documentary by Aljazeera titled "Surprising Europe - meeting ends meet" (Al Jazeera, 2011), people live under unfavorable conditions and as such forcing people like women into prostitution because they do not have the right documents to pick up jobs or get decent housing as one of the ladies interviewed narrated "my landlord told me to sell my body to pay rents". In summary they concluded that how you imagine about Europe in Africa is not what you see on television or read in social media among other networks.

As a way to seek refuge and get better healthy and working environment, some others who expected better services couldn't be offered such opportunities. On reaching their destination, migrants found out that some of the countries they had migrated to, had failed to address problems faced by their own citizens therefore finding themselves in the same predicament and in some cases worse conditions (Kingma, 2001).

Therefore integration policies in host countries lead to the marginalization of migrants because they are not given the opportunity to actively participate in the affairs of host the country. In Europe, migrants are secluded in communities that exclusively practice their traditions and culture, so these migrants are faced with the challenge of cultural diversity which has always been a source of tension with the local communities. Consequently, this has resulted to violence and racist assaults against foreign population in many of these countries (Rohrmoser and Wächter, 2008).

Inadequate information from previous migrants or agents about employment opportunities and options of legal residence in the intended or desired countries resulted to some people ending up in other countries other than their initially intended destinations. Hence, they become victims of their circumstances as the smugglers or traffickers who assisted them with illegal travel arrangements or employment worsen the situation as they look for ways to get rid of them and at times being used to pay off their trafficking debts by asking these illegal migrants to work under unbearable conditions in sweatshops, farms, mines or get into prostitution. Promises of better opportunities and high level of remittances guaranteed by earlier migrants to new migrants is not the case when people migrate to other countries (Stark and Bloom, 1985).

Regardless of the challenges most migrants face, only a few cases have attracted media attention such as Kurdish migrants that travelled to Italy using dangerous boats, Afghani refugees who were found stranded at the coast of Australia as well as Chinese migrants who were smuggled by trucks to the UK. These are only some few cases that have been documented (Boswell and Crisp, 2004). More recently are the Syrians who are travelling in hundreds using irregular routes to Europe as a way of escaping the political instability in their country are at risk of physical danger, exploitation, abuse, human

trafficking, sexual violence, theft and extortion from opportunist (Metcalf-Hough, 2015).

Nevertheless, to a certain extent migration makes significant contributions to social change and cultural interaction in concerned countries leading to different kinds of development both in the home and receiving countries. It specifically presents migrants with important opportunities to make progress recognizing their identity in the diaspora and a mechanism to empower them in the host country (Gsir, 2014; Abella 2013; Alonso, 2011).

Through migrants' experiences, they have developed strategies to become resilient for instance, the internationally trained professional women from Iran, Israel and other countries studying in Canada through their experiences witnessed a loss of their professional identity and social status thus preventing them from fitting in the new society. Conversely, this produced a positive effect on them as they developed confidence in themselves and became independence because they were not exposed to external social networks hence inspiring them to rely on themselves (Fusova, 2014). Similarly, Iranian immigrants in Australia from their experiences, understood the Australian society and adopted coping strategies to help them easily adapt and integrate in the society (Hosseini, 2015).

The exposure that migrants receive in host countries and transfer to countries of origin particularly knowledge transfer in terms of skills and social capital, have molded them to become important political players in their home countries as they are now involved in political projects contributing to the development of their home countries through monetary and other forms of contributions. Moreover Gsir, (2014), Cervan-Gil (2016), and Alonso (2011) argue that migrants are carriers of new values, customs, attitudes and social relations which they transfer not only to their host countries but also their home countries through ongoing communication, frequent visits and possible return.

2.8 Contextualising Migration Policy

Policies in host countries play an important role in influencing the lives of international migrants. With the increasing rate of international migration, many governments and institutions have legislated migration policies to enable them manage migrant flow in their countries. According to the UN, numbers of international migrants have increased worldwide from 154 million in 1990 up to 232 million in 2013 giving a percentage of 1.6 per year. Due to the growing number of immigrants, governments have reacted swiftly to regulate migrants which has over two decades according to the 2011 statistics, 73 % of governments among the 195 countries with available data had established policies to preserve the level of immigration. Whilst, 16% had instituted policies to reduce the rate of migration in to their countries and 11% had put in place policies to increase and encourage migration (United Nations, 2013, p.5). The question asked is, do these policies really benefit migrants?

In Britain, the government has designed a program called “Highly Skilled Migration Program” which allows skilled workers to come into the UK without any prior offer of employment and other services that will contribute to the growth of the British economy. Besides, they have introduced a new pilot scheme to encourage multinational companies to self - certify work permits for their intra-company transferees. Germany, France and Norway have introduced regulations that allow foreign students to remain in the country after finishing their studies and obtain work permits as regarding their skills (Dzvimbo, 2003). All these are opportunities designed to include and improve the lives of migrants which most of them have taken advantage of to develop their statues and wellbeing.

Due to the positive contributions of migrants to economic growth and development, the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development recognizes that international migration is a multi-dimensional reality of vital relevance for the development of countries of origin, transit and destination, which requires clear and ample responses (International Migration Report, 2015). However, international cooperation has laid emphasis to ensure safe, orderly and regular migration involving full respect of human rights and the benevolent treatment of migrants and refugees (International Migration Report, 2015).

2.8.1 International legal Instruments protecting migrants

There are several international conventions that protect migrants' legal rights. These include among others: Universal Declaration of Human rights (1948); the refugee convention (1951); Refugee Convention (1949); The International Convention of all forms of discrimination against Women and Children (1979)); Human Trafficking Protocol (2000); The Organization for African Unity (OAU); Migrant Workers Convention (1990); The International Convention of all forms of Racial Discrimination (1963) and the ILO Migration for Employment Convention (1949). The following section will discuss the most relevant legal instruments for the purpose of this study.

From the international standpoint, the 1951 Refugee Convention is the key legal document that lays out the basis of protecting migrant's rights. The main principle of this document is the non refoulement and according to a refugee law expert, it is the concept that a refugee must not be forced to return to any country where his/her life is being threatened either through persecution or any form of torture. Hence the law sets up standards to be used in judging the non-return of refugees (Rodger, 2001). The act encourages member states to cooperate with the UN to ensure that refugees have rights which should be respected and protected. However, the Convention outlined some basic principles for the treatment of refugees, without bias to the states giving favourable treatment such as access to the courts; primary education, work and providing them with the necessary documents that will allow them live freely in the host countries. (UNHCR, 2001).

There is also The Universal Declaration of Human Rights which upholds that people's rights must be protected and preserved wherever they find themselves and Article 14 of the Declaration states that; everybody has the right to move to other countries, seek and enjoy asylum from persecution which could be in a case of prosecutions arising from non-political crimes or acts contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations (Ramoroka, 2014).

According to The Program of Action of the International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD), migration is acknowledged as an essential part for global

development in both the sending and receiving countries if accurate policies are put in place that encourages dialogue between both countries. The institutional policies between migrant's home country and the host are very vital in determining the flows, conditions and consequences of international migration (United Nations, 1995). Similarly, the International Migration Report (2015, p. 2) concurs that; "appropriate policies can contribute to inclusive and sustainable economic growth and development in both home and host countries". According to the 2014 World Bank statistics, migrants from developing countries sent an estimate of \$436 billion remittances to their home countries, a 4.4 increase over 2013 level which is far more than the official development assistance excluding China foreign direct investment. According to this report these funds are often used to improve the lives of families and communities through their investments in education, health, sanitation, housing and infrastructure (World Bank, 2015). These legal instruments are designed to protect migrants in host countries ensuring that no matter where people reside they are supposed to be protected and enjoy their stay there.

2.8.2 Migration Policy in South Africa

Prior to 1994, South Africa was a closed country due to apartheid and after 1994 became a signatory of the 1951 UN Convention, the country opened its doors to many people leading to the influx of many especially from war torn countries like Congo (Bisrat, 2014). Migrants are always perceived as people benefiting from social and economic activities of the country. The entry of foreign nationals has created a lot negative perceptions from the public and service providers in the country who view migrants as people exploiting the country causing crime, selling drugs, prostitution to name but three (Bisrat, 2014). Apart from regulating the influx of migrants in to the country, the government saw it fit to protect the interest of the nation (DHA, 2016).

The new migration policy is affecting migrants in many ways but there is no sign it will reduce the number of people number coming into the country (Boynton, 2015). The policy strengthens state institutions to infringe on the rights of migrants in different ways. This new policy is focused on migrants who would contribute to the economy rather than

those seeking protection from political persecution. Countries like UK and Germany have instituted policies to support migrants. However, those who are not skilled are provided training programs and other forms of assistance to support their integration (Harding, Oltermann and Watt, 2015). Coming up with skilled labour policy is to regulate migration whereby ensuring that those without skills are not accommodated hence forcing them to return home.

2.8.3 Concerns about the new migration policy

After 1994, with the birth of a new democratic South Africa, human rights and equality was prioritized which was absent during the apartheid era. The Introduction of the Refugee Act protected the rights of refugees and asylum seekers to facilitate freedom of movement, local integration and right to work (Johnson, 2015). Since the introduction of the 1998 Refugee Act, South Africa has faced numerous challenges of efficiently implementing provisions of the Refugee Act which has affected asylum seekers, making them a vulnerable group particularly in terms of access to employment (Johnson, 2015).

According to the 1988 Refugee Act, a five-year refugee permit may be issued to someone who has remained as an asylum seeker in South Africa for a period of five years continuously and they will have to be refugees for those five years after their asylum application has been granted will be eligible for status as a permanent resident of South Africa (Boynton, 2015). Though this law has been enforced, so many asylum seekers that have lived in SA for more than five years are still facing a lot of challenges getting the refugee status as stipulated in the Act.

The Preamble of the 2012 Amendment Act provides that, the recent changes in the policy are meant to control and manage migration and not to frustrate foreign nationals as perceived by migrants (Department of Home Affairs, 2016)). Despite the preamble of the Amended Act, the recent changes in the migration policy have attracted a lot of criticisms from many who think the policy is restrictive and disadvantageous to migrants.

Evidence of the restrictive nature of the policy is seen in section 27 of the new regulation, which states that people who have overstayed after expiry of their visa are prohibited from re-entering the country and branded as “undesirable”. In the past those who overstay were formerly asked to pay a fine but now constrained from coming to South Africa for between twelve months and five years. This has had a negative impact to many especially students (Boynton, 2015). Previously, the undesirable list was reserved for those with criminal records but with the recent development, “overstayers” have now been included into that list, not taking into consideration their circumstances (Boynton, 2015).

Under the old regulation, migrants waiting for their visas to be renewed could leave the country as long as they had a note from home affairs acknowledging receipt of their submission but now migrants cannot travel out of the country without their visa (Department of Home Affairs, 2014). According to Eliason, 2014 cited in Boynton, 2015 the new legislation disallows and ruins the ability of spouses to live together which in this case is considered unjustifiable affecting people’s rights to dignity. She further emphasises that the dignity of migrants should not only be an essential value to SA’s constitution but it is a justifiable and enforceable right that should be respected and protected for all (Elison, 2014 cited in Boynton, 2015).

In Monkhe’s (2015) study on the impact of xenophobia on international students in the Western Cape, participants complained that applications for the study permits are now difficult to fill out and wish that permits would be renewable after four years instead of every 12 months. Another issue amongst students is the expensive nature of the application fee which they now have to pay R1350 instead of R450 in the previous years (Boynton, 2015).

The new regulations have introduced much firmer identification methods for travelling children in order to end child trafficking by demanding the provision of unabridged birth certificates in respect of any minor travelling to or from South Africa. If the child is travelling with one parent, an affidavit of consent must be provided by the other parent. It

should be noted that South Africa is one of the only countries in the world to introduce this new requirement (Department of Home Affairs, 2014).

Boynton, (2015) further posits that, the recent regulations and amendments have only demonstrated South Africa's commitment to restrictions and nationalist migration agenda because these laws do not seem to be in line with the new Constitution or South Africa's desire to establish a liberal democracy. The author further states that, these policies have affected migration policy itself, migration flows and xenophobia in addition to the treatment of migrants and asylum seekers.

Nevertheless, the availability of only three refugee reception centres in the country to receive new applicants and the fact that asylum seekers have to go for renewal only in their ports of entry (where they first claimed their permits) is a major problem that negatively affects this group of people (Reiss, 2016). It has been argued that having access to refugee reception centres is a major challenge to refugees and asylum seekers as they always struggle to have access when papers are due for extension. Moreover, some sleep outside the premises and sometimes end up not being served but they keep coming which in most cases take longer than three or even months (Khan, 2007; Deacon et al, 2014). Time spent is very valuable to refugees as it might lead to loss of employment, business and even miss lessons in case of students. The delay in the processing of permits leads to vulnerability and subject to arrest and deportation.

Drawing on the article by Hagenmeier and Lansinkin published in the Mail and guardian newspaper (2015) highlighted that the current changes in the new immigration regulation has negatively affected sectors like education as there is a sharp drop in international student numbers, which obviously has raised concerns in the manner in which students applications are handled, especially those applying at South African embassies abroad.

Besides, Hagenmeier and Lansinkin argue that the visa facilitation services appointed as the agent by the department of home affairs has become more challenging to obtain a study visa and many students have been unable to meet the new, stricter and most costly

requirements. Earlier this year, hundreds of students who enrolled for degrees were unable to continue their studies and some others had to suspend their studies (Guardian and mail newspaper, 2015).

According to Boynton (2015) some officials at the Department of Home Affairs see foreigners as a threat to social and national identity while policy makers associate migrants with crime, corruption and a threat to national security. Gigaba the former minister of DHA alludes that police report indicates that many migrants in the country abuse the immigration legislation the reason for sticker laws on asylum seekers (Gigaba 2015 cited in Boynton, 2015). Home Affairs officials are aware of the challenges migrants face but they have made it clear the rules and regulations to make things much difficult for those who are not wanted in the country (Boynton, 2015). However, the author does not elaborate how this approach would work given large numbers of documented migrants whose permits expired as mentioned earlier or those who are not documented at all, including the ones still coming.

Having said that, it not easy for migrants to get into the job market for example because of the requirements under the new law as applicants need more time to process their papers which unlike in the past took a short period without restrictions. The new regulation now requires not only South Africans Qualification Authority (SAQA) to evaluation applicant's qualification but it also verifies those without qualification for example, the need for police clearance from country of origin or birth certificate. This has made it difficult for asylums seekers and refugees wishing to study in the country or inviting family members for rejoinder.

On the contrary, the Department of Labour is now required to issue a certificate confirming that the applicant's employer was not able to find a South African citizen or permanent resident with those qualification and skills or experience equivalent in order to employ a migrant (Pokroy, 2014 cited in Boynton, 2015). Nonetheless, changes in the immigration Act have not addressed the growing skills shortage in South Africa despite the Act's commitment to recruit skilled foreigners (Pokroy, 2014 cited in Boynton, 2015).

2.8.4 South African Migration Green Paper

The recently launched Green Paper by the minister of Home Affairs is another upgrade on the international migration policy document. The purpose of this Green Paper is to regulate migration in flows and excludes the notion of integrating refugees and asylum seekers in the country. The Green Paper proposes a right based migration framework using a “a collectivised approach to burden-sharing in the region, as well as an inclusive approach to regional migration that would help address irregular immigration through increased means for legal participation in the economy” (Johnson, 2015, p. 209). According to the Department of Home Affairs (DHA) (2016) the replacement of the current international migration policy was done to prevent South Africans from exposure to global opportunities while preserving their sovereignty guaranteeing public safety and national security. It further proposes that South Africa should adopt a managed migration approach which is a proactive and strategic to attain a common goal for nation building, social cohesion as well as inclusive economic growth and national security (Department of Home Affairs, 2016).

The Green Paper also introduces the risk based approach, an aspect that is lacking in the international migration policy. Based on the 2016 Green Paper, the constitution has to ensure that risks have to be properly managed and human rights of both nationals and non- nationals to be respected and protected. The absence of a risk- based approach gives room for systematic corruption and exposes all those who live in the country to other issues like terrorism, smuggling of drugs just to name a few.

According to the 2016 Green Paper, international migration has to be dealt with in a holistic way simply because of the interconnectedness of the process and the lives of people. For example, in protecting the rights of refugee and asylum seekers which falls under the human rights domain, exposes the host country to some kind of risks which will eventually be to their disadvantage if not properly managed. Their argument is that because of this, many skilled refugees will take advantage of this opportunity as they can successfully apply to work and stay in the country under the immigration Act.

However, they suggest that the rights to work and study for asylum seekers should be withdrawn.

With regards to retaining skills, The Green Paper states that South Africa intends to grant a special exemption for foreign graduates of South African Universities in critical skills areas. This entails granting permanent residence to international students immediately upon completion with particular qualifications and skills. As vast majority of international students in South Africa are African and SADC nationals, this measure is an important step towards free movement of students within the SADC as supported by the SADC Protocol on Education and Training. In addition, it allows for the retention of skills within the region preventing graduates with critical skills from migrating to other continents and regions where they can find employment. So they suggest that they must take advantage of these students that have been trained in South African institutions (Department of Home Affairs, 2016).

According to the 2016 Green Paper, international student should not leave the country upon completion of studies; otherwise profit on that investment is lost to the host country. It is argued that a number of countries grant residence visas and permits to international students (including South Africa students) after graduation as an incentive for attracting students to stay in the country. However, South Africa has not adopted a similar approach to attract students to stay in the country after their graduation. In fact, SA should consider this approach as it may help migrant students want to gain work experience before returning to their countries as it is a case in Britain where government has designed a program called “High Skilled Migration Program” which allowed skilled workers to come to and work in the UK without any prior offer of employment to offer them jobs and other services that will contribute to the growing of their economy (Dzvimbo, 2003.p.14).

The study by Hammerstad (2012) indicates that in order for South African government to manage international migration it should rectify its current Immigration Approach. In other words, immigration should not only be treated as a matter of policy

and control by DHA but should consider different sectors at all levels of planning whether schooling, urban planning, agriculture, healthcare and foreign policy so as to have a harmonious way of dealing with migrant related challenges. The author further states that this is the only way South Africa can achieve the best out of immigration especially economic potential and skills migrants bring with them. In addition, it is necessary to create better ways for legal immigration and work permits for migrants who can pay taxes and contribute freely to the development of the society without any fear of the host country (Hammerstad, 2012).

Needless to say, there is need for international community to ensure that immigrants are facilitated with legal documents be it work permits, study, residence, business or spousal in order to contribute to the development of the host society. The author in addition suggests that in order to build an adequate and efficient migratory policy, there is need for migrant sending countries to actively participate in the formulation and design of policies. This will help in addressing the migratory phenomenon since he believes that an efficient migratory policy should address the issue of migration well before people decide to migrate because migration is supposed to be planned (Alonso, 2011).

2.9 Theoretical Framework

During the twentieth century, several attempts were made to design a theoretical framework for migration by representatives from different disciplines (Bijak, 2006). This has led to a number of theories explaining international migration both in developed and developing countries. Theories such as Ravenstein theory of migration, Dual Labour Market Theory, Neoclassical Economic Theory, New Economics of Labour Migration Theory, Relative Deprivation Theory, World Systems Theory (Dinbabo, and Carciotto 2015; Dinbabo and Nyasulu, 2015).

2.9.1 Push and Pull Theory

The push and pull theory has become famous amongst others as it is commonly used in secondary and university education (Martin, 2008). According to this theory, the source of migration is seen from two angles (the cause and effect of migration).

These are forces that influence people to move from one place to another known commonly as ‘push’ and ‘pull’ factors of migration. The push factors are common in the benefactor’s country while pull factors are found in the host country. These two forces are necessary for migration to occur (Kline, 2003).

Zimmermann (1996) categorizes these factors to demand pull and supply push factors. Demand pull are factors that attract an individual to move to a certain geographical location with better working conditions, social security and booming economies while supply push are factors that provoke people to migrate to other areas such as bad governments and unemployment. The table below classifies factors that encourage migration by the type of migrant.

Table 1. Classification of the factors that influence migration by the type of migrant

Type of	Demand – Pull	Supply – Push	Network/Other
Economic	Labour Recruitment	Unemployment or underemployment issues such as low wages	Jobs and wage information flow
Non-Economic	Family unification (husbands and wives join spouses,	Fleeing war and/or civil unrest	Communications; transportation; assistance organizations; desire for new experience

Source: Martin and Zurcher (2008, p.4).

Ravenstein’s work significantly contributes to the theory of migration as he formulated laws of migration based on the close connection between migration and development. This connection led to his affirmation that migration is influenced by economic development of the host country (De Haas, 2010). According to Parkin (2010 cited in Butler, 2016) migration theories have mostly centred on economic factors. However, studies indicate that migration is primarily motivated by economic factors i.e. the search for better economic opportunities, which is very common amongst people from developing countries (Parkin, 2010 cited in Butler, 2016).

Raventein's theory of migration was further revised by Lee, who states that apart from the economic factors there are other factors he didn't mention and went further to propose a new analytical framework for migration as he identified other models that have been developed mostly by geographers and demographers to provide a clear explanation for the push and pull theory of human migration (Nsengiyumva, 2013).

According to Lee (1966) people's decision to migrate is determined by four main factors which are; factors that are related to their country of origin, factors that are associated to the country they intend migrating to and the intervening obstacles like nature of immigration laws, distance, physical and personal factors. Lee uses "plus", "minus" and "zero" to explain the process of migration. "Plus" represents factors that encourage the migration process, "minus" are factors discouraging the process of migration and "zero" are cases where the migrant is indifferent (Lee, 1966; Gurcinaite, 2014; Makakala, 2015).

According to Makakala, (2015) numerous factors drive people from their home countries to different parts of the world which Lee describes as the "plus" and "minus" signs. Lee emphasizes that a factor is only push or pull from the personal characteristics of the person evaluating the factor and other factors considered as "zeros" are cases where some people consider something to be positive while others consider them negative depending on their personal factors respectively. However, there are significant differences between the factors associated with the area of destination and the set of "pluses", "minuses" and "zeros" are particular to an individual and are subject to individual assessment. Consequently, the same factor could be defined differently at both origin and destination depending on personal characteristics of the decision maker (Makakala, 2015).

The intervening obstacles according to Lee's analytical model cut in between the country of origin and destination. For instance, in the area of origin obstacles preventing people from migrating are called friction which can be the cost of traveling, distance and poor health. Immigration policies restrictions on the job market and wage earnings just to name a few can be intervening obstacles in both origin and destination areas (Lee, 1966). In this study, one of the intervening obstacles is the migration policy which directly affects migrants in the destination area. Lee's model

states that factors related to their country of origin most probably influences individual's migration decisions than those in the destination area. Besides, both positive and negative factors push people from one country to another (Lee, 1966). Conceptualizing this to the study, Congo and Cameroon are countries of origin while South Africa is the destination.

The war in Congo has displaced millions of people and many have left the country because of fear of persecution and insecurity (Paddon and Lacaille, 2011). Meanwhile, Cameroonians leave because of the high rates of unemployment and hardship (Zourkaleini, Mimche, Nganawara, Nouetagni, Seke, Chouapi, Hamadou and Tjomb (2013). In recent decades, the country has witnessed high migratory patterns and over 40,000 Cameroonians reside in France, 7,000 in Germany and 5,000 in the Netherlands. As for the United States of America, it is estimated that over 700,000 reside in the US and 250,000 have naturalized as citizens. A large number of teachers and doctors have travelled out of Cameroon. There are more than 5,000 Cameroonian doctors abroad and about 123 teachers from Cameroon are teaching in German universities (Zourkaleini, et al., 2013). So many people are moving out of the country because of the economic and political instability that the country is experiencing.

It should be noted that people migrate to other countries with expectation of better living condition, access to employment and economic opportunities. In this study, the destination country is South Africa which has attracted many African migrants who are either influenced by high levels of economic development, education, political stability and health services, to name but four (Lee, 1966). Lee's model further states that influencers of migration are associated with the country one intend to migrate to. Lee's model for migration states that, people's perceptions are the primary drivers of migration and not so much of the actual factors at the origin and destination countries. Before migrating, they assess the advantages and disadvantages of a given area considering their level of education, personal feelings and accuracy of information about their potential destination (Lee, 1966). Some others after migrating realise that they had over -evaluated their destination country not taking into consideration negative elements that they could encounter (Lee, 1966).

The push and pull theory is considered an attractive model because it incorporates factors that influence decision making for migrants. However, the push and pull theory is relevant to this study because it utilises labour as a factor for migration (De Haas, 2008). Moreover, push and pull theory is criticized for not addressing the propensity of a person to migrate, especially the migrant's aspirations (De Haas, 2016; Butler, 2016). The theory explains other aspects of migration like return migration and the concurrent occurrence of migration and emigration from and to the same area. It doesn't also speak to the impacts of migration and how it can advance or limit the host and home countries. These has not only been identified by this theory but other migration theories such as neoclassical and structuralism theory that have made a general assumption of everyone's needs as constant forgetting the fact that people have different aspirations since people are unique and have different needs. Haas (2007) argues that this is a stereotype model that mainly focuses on external factors and analytically locating migration as a central part of a wider transformation process.

Having identified these two groups of migrants (Cameroonian and Congolese), this theory helped the researcher to identify unique differences as well as their similarities among the population under study and thus their reasons for migration. To address their different aspirations as highlighted above, the capability approach is a suitable framework to underpin the study.

2.9.2 The Capability Approach

Capability approach is suitable for this study because it provides a well formulated basis for human mobility and development better than the descriptive push and pull model which mainly focus on utility or resources but not giving more insight to the non-economic and policy factors of migration and how it affects the wellbeing of migrants (Gasper and Truong, 2010).

The Capability Approach is mostly associated with Amartya Sen an Indian economist and philosopher. Robeyns, defines the capability approach as

“a broad normative moral framework for the evaluation and assessment of individual well-being and social arrangements, the design of policies and proposals and how this brings social change in society. It can also be used as an alternative evaluative tool for social cost– benefit analysis, or as a framework within which to design and evaluate policies, ranging from welfare state design in affluent societies, to development policies by governments and non-governmental organizations in developing countries” (Robeyns, 2005, p.94).

According to Sen (1999) the central argument of the capability approach is that, people can either achieve freedoms or fail to achieve them because of the social, economic, political constraints or opportunities. The approach centers on the themes; “functionings”, “capabilities”, “aspirations” and “agency”. Sen defines functionings as the ability of doing what one wishes to do and being what he wants to become (Sen, 1989). As for Alkire and Deneulin (2009) functionings are treasured activities that make up people’s wellbeing “beings and doings” for example being safe, being educated and having a good job among others. When people’s basic needs are met; they enjoy the functioning of being well nourished. This is because functionings are features of human fulfilment. (Freedom and functionings) explains that people should be free to make choices as to what they value most.

Capability on the other hand is the real freedoms that people have to choose a particular way of life and the ability to achieve (Alkire and Deneulin, 2009). This approach is a moral framework that proposes that social arrangements should be mainly evaluated according to the extent of the freedom people have to promote or achieve the functioning they value. (Alkire, 2002). Capabilities are a kind of opportunity to freedom for instance a person exposed to different capabilities could enjoy many different activities and follow different paths. (Alkire and Deneulin, 2009). With capability being a person’s real freedom or opportunity to achieve the functionings the real opportunity to travel is a capability. Linking it to development it is the way to expand the multi-dimensional potential and functionings of people allowing them to be and do to their full potentials (Benería, 2007). This is likened to an individual’s decision to migrate. According to the Universal Declaration of the Human Rights, everyone has the

right to freely move and reside within the borders of each state and the right to leave any country whenever he wants, (Gasper and Truong 2010). The difference between capability and functionings is that one is possible and desired on the one hand and the other is what is actually realized. Sen (1999) refers to people's real freedom to choose their place of destination and benefit from the resources in that country as capability.

Increasing people's capability leads to development as Lee further argues. Sen (1999) theorized development as the process of expanding the fundamental freedoms that people enjoy. In his operationalization of this through the concept of human capability, he states that it is the ability for human beings to live life the way they value to and to improve the choices they have. Sen argues that in assessing development it is very important for people to have a good life base on their freedom to live life the way they want to live and not necessarily the wealth of a country or its income growth. Stating that a country might be wealthy but people are not free to live the way they choose to preventing them from reaching the state of complete happiness (Sen, 1999).

Nevertheless, Sen (1999) further gives two reasons why freedom is vital in development. Firstly because of the intrinsic importance of human freedoms that directly increases the value and quality of people's life and also the instrumental value of freedoms that contributes to human and economic progress (Haas, 2014). Further the author depicts that according to Sen's capability approach, migration should not only be theorized as an instrumental-functional means to an end to improve people's ability to live the lives they have reason to value but as a necessary protecting factor to defend their rights and enhance wellbeing (Haas, 2014).

Aspirations, one of the components of the capability approach is defined as people's deepest hopes and dreams (Hart, 2016). Mostly future oriented motivated by conscious and unconscious enthusiasms which are indicative of an individual or group's commitment towards a particular end point. Aspirations can either be conflicting, shared, individual or guided aspirations (Hart, 2016). Some aspirations may come with little influence from other while others stem from strong influence of others encouraging particular aspirations (Hart, 2016). In line with this study the aspiration to migrate can be an individual's choice to

pursue dreams or the influence of parents and others. Aspirations are valued to people and when the necessary opportunities are not available for them to explore their goals and ambitions, they feel inferior and unsatisfied (Robyens and Conradie, 2013). One of the reasons why people have to migrate to other places to make their dreams and hope become a reality.

In reference to Sharma 2008 study on the migration of young men from the hills of Nepal to the megalopolis of Mumbai, Gasper and Truong, (2010) explain that these young men took on the venture to migrate to a place with less social constraints, a place they could get wider experiences, experimentation and personal growth which was an important phase of growing as a man in the community. Their motivation for migration was because of the search for cultural or sexual freedom as well as adventure purposes something that was unattainable in their home land.

Besides, Robeyns and Conradie (2013) assert that contrary circumstances can cause people to adapt their aspirations to as well as develop new ones to align with their circumstances hence acquiring capabilities. Contextualising it to this study, it explores migrant's expectation before migrating and the different mechanisms applied from their unique experiences in the host country. These authors further explain that, new aspirations are strongly connected to or influenced by our family, surroundings and social value system, cultural and spiritual background. Stating that, people in advantageous positions have several options that can be explored to gather experiences that will help them realize their aspirations while those who lack structural opportunities for instance policies, job opportunities and social services would never accomplish their aspirations (Robeyns and Conradie, 2013).

Dreze and Sen (2002) depicts that, the capability approach as a people-centred approach places humans as agents first. The critical role of social opportunity is to expand the area of human agency and freedoms. How agency relates to others in society and within the space of increasing freedoms has an effect and influence on the available options and opportunities that people have. In order to increase the capabilities of active work-seekers, policy makers should give priority to the role of agency and how it influences their capabilities. This is because policy indicators are central in addressing and measuring

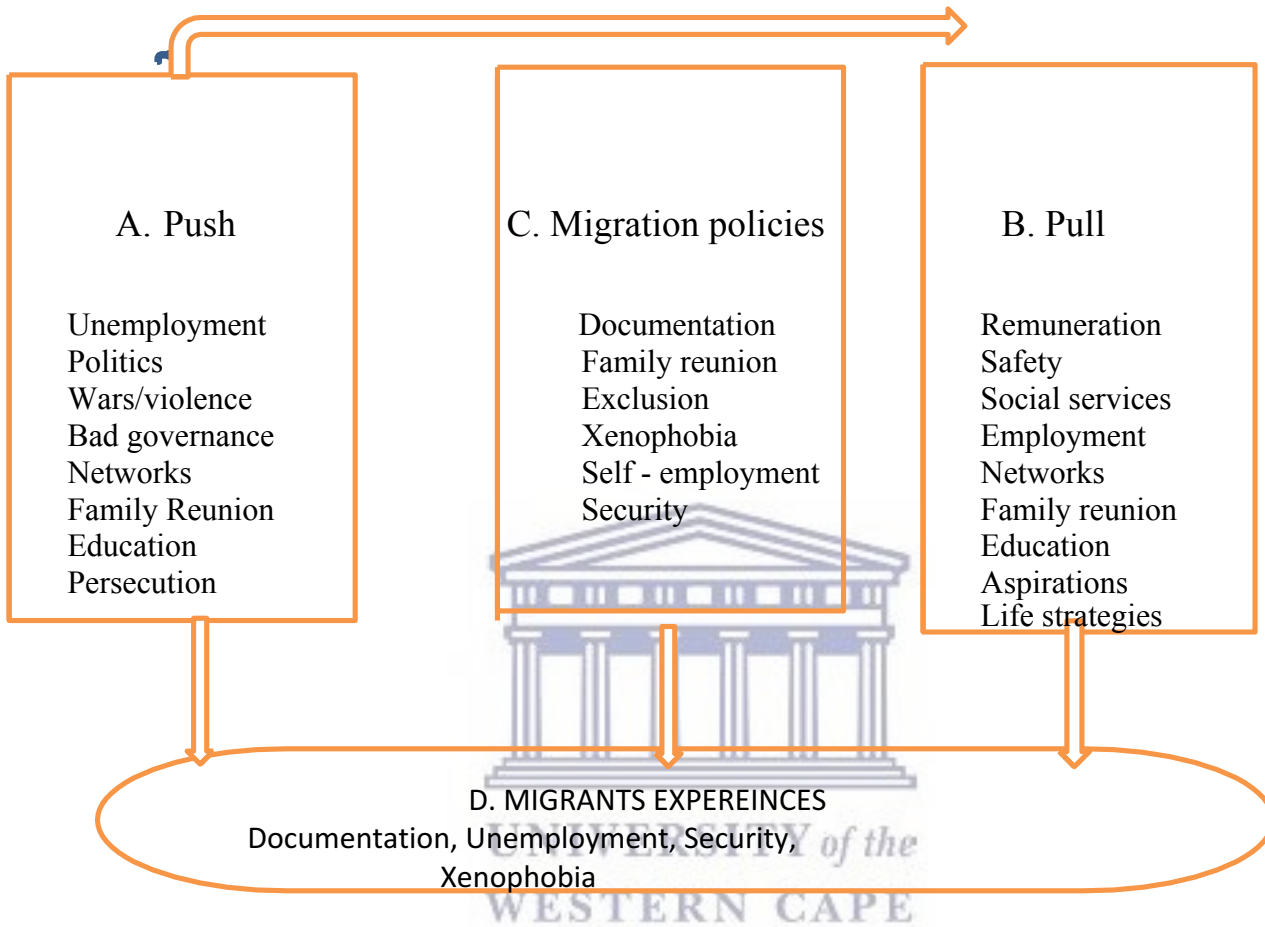
capabilities which are necessary in the social transformation process. Well-defined social policy indicators are needed to create a safety net for vulnerable persons that are unable to access any form of government intervention. According to Hogwood and Gunn (1984) Social Policy indicators are active intervention strategy drawn from various disciplines to restore the equilibrium of livelihood, development and well-being of vulnerable persons within society and regulate the interactions and activities between society, agencies, civil society and governmental institutions. Government as the agency to effect change plays a vital role in creating an enabling environment.

Hence capability can be related to the removal of obstacles in people's lives so that they have more freedom to live the kind of life they choose to (Benería, 2007). So, migrants are expected to enjoy the benefits and services in the countries they migrate to and not be restricted either by laws and policies which isolate them from the rest of the population. Moreover, Alkire and Deneulin (2009) delineates that people should not be treated as passive objects of generous social welfare provisions but rather active objects as they are supposed to have the freedom to participate in making decisions about their lives that will enhance and empower them and as well as choose the best means of meeting their needs.

Haven migrated to a particular country because of the benefits that people predicts to enjoy their expectations are hindered by restrictive immigration policies which are problematic because they discourage the development of human capabilities and limits human freedom (Risse, 2009). Immigration policies create winners and losers in the country of destination especially in the labour market for instance, when there is an influx of immigrants in to a country, this makes the wages of skilled workers low leading to a decline in their capabilities affecting the citizens of that country. However, the capability approach shows how we can't simply assume that immigration policies are merely a matter of what is best for us (Risse, 2009). As this study will assess the different ways in which the new migration policy has affected foreign nationals.

2.10 Conceptual Framework

Fig 2. Thematic Illustrations



Source: Author's own compilation

The developments in migration today cause many people to search for better opportunities. As illustrated in the diagram above box A, contain push factors i.e. reasons influencing people to move as shown in box B (pull factors). These migrants come with different expectations influenced by the push and pull factors to achieve what they could not attain back home but are restrained by the environment and the migration policy which has affected them in different ways. These characterise their lived experiences which does not only limits them from meeting their expectations but affects the society at large.

2.11 Summary

The increasing rate of global networking has encouraged the movement of people out of their countries to settle elsewhere in foreign lands. Literature has indicated that people are rational in nature and always on the move looking for opportunities for survival. Economic, political, social and demographic have been identified as the conventional factors for migration. These factors have been the primary drivers for migration especially among Africans. Many people travel to other countries escaping unemployment and poverty to improve their livelihood and generate income in new spaces.

Political instability was identified as one of the factors that pushed migrants to flee their home countries to find peace and security elsewhere. Under social factors, family and other psychological reasons have also persuaded people to migrate. Despite the different reasons for migrating, literature shows that people migrate mainly for economic reasons. This is supported by Ravenstein's laws of migration which states that economic factors are the major reasons for migration (De Haas, 2010).

Choices for settling in a particular country are influenced by different reasons that is; remunerations, remittances, better services, political stability, networks and favourable immigration policies just to name a few. Literature further indicated that as people migrate, they come with different expectations and experiences.

One other reason for the unfavourable experiences amongst migrants is the influence of the immigration policy. Policies are supposed to protect the rights of migrants in host countries but unfortunately they being used to control and regulate the movement which in some way hinders some of them from enjoying their rights and take advantage of opportunities available to attain their goals. The institution of a new migration policy in South Africa has been criticized by many who think the policy is too strict having negative consequences on migrants.

The last section of this chapter discusses the relevant frameworks for the study which are the push and pull theory and the capability approach. The central argument for the push and pull theory is that unfavourable conditions cause people to move out of their

home countries (push factors) to search for better opportunities in other countries. Before migration to a particular country, several things are taken into consideration which influences their choice to settle in a particular destination (pull factors).

The capability approach on the other hand argues that people need the structural opportunities that will support and guarantee them the real freedom to make decision and choose paths that will help them attain their capabilities. However, due to the restrictive immigration policies which are some of the challenges that migrants face, it becomes problematic because these policies hinder the development of human capabilities and in turn limit their human freedom. The next chapter-chapter three will discuss the research design and methodology.



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CHAPTER THREE

3. RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

A research methodology connotes not only the process followed to collect and analyse the data needed to accomplish a study but also the theoretical underpinning of this process Kumer (2005). This section provides the discussion of this process. It specifically focuses on the adopted research design, study population, sampling, data collection methods and instruments. The data collection procedure, challenges encountered during data collection, and data processing and analysis methods are also respectively presented and discussed. The chapter further outlines the challenges encountered during data collection and the ethical considerations made during the study.

3.2 Research Design

Research design is a plan that displays the way research is going to be conducted. Kumer (2005) describes research design as a strategy, structure and means designed to guide the researcher in responding to the research questions as well as presenting the process and tools that would be used in data collection and analysis. In research, there are three philosophical distinct classifications of research paradigms which are; positivism, interpretivism and critical postmodernism (Thomas, 2010). These three fall under the qualitative method which is the appropriate methodology for this study. The nature of this research mainly focuses on the interpretive paradigm. The interpretive paradigm is suitable for this research because it emphasizes on how important it is to understand the world as it is from the subjective experiences of people through face - to - face interviews with participants. Moreover, observation made relies on a subjective relationship between the researcher and the interviewee. This approach gives room for an in-depth investigation of a given phenomenon of interest and attempts to explain the subjective reasons and meaning that explains people's action (Thomas, 2010).

Interpretive design was used in this study and data was collected through face -to -face interviews, participant observation and focus group discussions. This method was chosen because it gave the researcher the opportunity to interact with participants in form of dialogue and they were given room to share their ideas and experiences. It gave the interviewees an opportunity to explain what influenced them to travel to South Africa, why they chose the destination, their experiences in the country and effect of the new migration policy on their everyday life. These engagements allowed the researcher to relate with the participants, understand and provide detailed information about the state of migrants and have an idea about the situation in their home countries. Through this approach in-depth investigation was done giving the researcher a deeper understanding of the phenomenon studied.

3.2.1 Case study

The case study is a relevant tool in scientific research that gives direction to the researcher for intensive investigation about a given unit (Babbie and Mouton, 2001). According to Baskarada (2014, p.1) case study research involves “intensive study of a single unit for the purpose of understanding a larger class of (similar) units ... observed at a single point in time or over some delimited period of time”. This permits in-depth investigation which gives the researcher an opportunity to have a deeper understanding about the research problem which can help in facilitating the description of the research problem (Baskarada, 2014).

The rationale for using the case study in this research was because it gave the researcher an opportunity to get a deep and holistic view of Cameroonian and Congolese migrants through interactions and discussions. Identifying these two groups of migrants (Cameroonians and Congolese) as the target population for this study gave focus to the research. This made it easy for the researcher to gather in-depth information which led to a fair generalisation of the subject matter. Since most people fled from Congo to South Africa because of the wars and conflicts that took place in their country and those from Cameroon came for other reasons not related to wars, the researcher’s choice of these two countries was suitable to compare similarities that they share and their differences.

Having these two countries with different experiences helped the researcher understand the different dynamics of migration.

3.3 Research methodology

Research methodology is a technique used in collecting data. Firestone (1987) identifies two major types of research methodology in social sciences which are quantitative and qualitative methodologies.

Since the study focuses on the push and pull factors of international migration, the qualitative method was the most appropriate method to apply in understanding peoples' behaviors and perceptions amongst others. This method helped the researcher to get detailed information on the experiences of migrants and how migrants have been affected by the current migration policy. It presented an opportunity for migrants to explain and express their views and opinions on how they have been affected by the migration policy and what they think can be done to improve the conditions of migrants in South Africa.

3.3.1 Sampling type

Since it is usually not possible to study the whole population during research, the researcher chose a sample that would represent the population under study (Latham, 2007). The researcher focused on the non - probability sampling to choose the study population. The selection was based on availability and the researcher's judgement for instance, making sure that people who are selected have the understanding of what constitutes push and pull phenomenon. Although there are different types non-probability samplings, the study focused on snowball technique.

The snowball sampling also known as a referral sampling technique, allows participants or respondents who had previously been contacted for the survey to use their social networks to refer the researcher to other people who could potentially participate and contribute towards the study. According to Neuman (2007, p. 44), "it begins with one or a few people or cases and spreads out on the basis of links to the initial cases."

The rationale for choosing this technique is because it helped the researcher to easily locate other participants who contributed to the study. This method helped the researcher to identify people who were knowledgeable about international migration. Thirty two participants were chosen from the two countries (10 Cameroonians and 10 Congolese), 2 from the same fields for both countries and the same goes for the different spheres for example 2 Cameroonian students and 2 Congolese students, 2 Cameroonian entrepreneurs and 2 Congolese entrepreneurs etc., participated in the individual interview. Twelve other participants 6 from each country participated in the focus group discussion separately organised for Congolese and Cameroonian migrants.

3.3.2 Data collection methods

This research used both primary and secondary data. Secondary data was collected from already existing information about the topic from books, articles and many other relevant sources as seen in the literature section above. Meanwhile, primary data was collected through face-to-face interviews and focus group discussion using a semi - structured interview schedule for a period of two months and was outlined under the following themes; determinants for migration, experiences/expectations of migrants, how migrants are affected by the new migration policy as well as managing their livelihood in this process.

3.3.2.1 Interviews

Interviews are quite useful in collecting data for qualitative research. This allows the interviewees to fully express their views spontaneously during the course of the interview (Abiche, 2004). Elliot and Timulak (2005) outline three principal aspects for interviews in research; firstly, the focus of interviews are naturally piloted by specific research questions and it should be noted that this approach encourages constructive critique and openness to modification of the chosen focus, if the researcher realises that the data is taking a different direction.

Secondly, it deliberately gives power to respondents in the sense that through their participation they become co-researchers as the interviewer tries to empower respondents

to take lead and to point out important features of the phenomenon as they see it. Thirdly, interviews go along with observation and focus group discussions making use of the triangular strategy that gives a more balance picture of the phenomenon and also functioning as a cross validation method. The researcher focused on the semi - structured interview schedule which was used to guide the conversations. Broad questions were asked and new questions were allowed in the course of the discussion to give an opportunity to gather new information which was relevant for the study.

Through the semi - structured interviews, the researcher was opportune to have a deeper understanding of the respondents' experiences and how they have been affected by the migration policy. After sharing their experiences, they were also given the opportunity to make suggestions on what can be done to have a policy that speaks to their challenges. The 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 on the interview schedule. The duration of the interview was between 45 – 60 minutes.

3.3.2.2 Focus group discussions

According to (Freitas, Oliveira, Jenkins, and Popjoy, 1998) focus group discussions is an in-depth interview that is organised in a group aimed at discussing and interacting with members in the group, where participants influence each other through their responses to the ideas and contributions during the discussion. This technique 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 this study (Freitas, et al., 1998).

The researcher organised focus group discussions with the two groups of immigrants having six people per group. Leaders of two immigrant organisations were contacted, who then contacted immigrants who were willing to participate in the focus group discussions. During the process, the researcher guided the discussion using semi-structured interview schedule and used a tape recorder to record their contributions. This helped the researcher to understand their different experiences and the contribution of one

encouraged the others to say something. The focus group discussions helped the researcher gather data that was not included in the semi – interview schedule.

3.3.2.3 Observation

Observation is the act of identifying the activities and interrelationships of the people under study while also maintaining professional distance (Sangasubana, 2011). Observations were undertaken throughout data collection process. In the context of this research, observation helped the researcher to see the people’s reaction and their different expressions. Neuman (2000) states that, observation also helps to provide meaning and depth in understanding the subject. As participants gave their different contributions, new information arose that were omitted in individual discussions as the moderator stimulated discussions with comments.

3.3.3 Data analysis and presentation

Data analysis was carried out by identifying themes and patterns in data drawn from the study conclusions (Mouton, 1996). Using this technique, the researcher transcribed information collected and classified the data collected into different themes thus reducing the size of the data into a manageable proportion so that anyone can easily understand the results. Thematic analysis was used to analyse data. According to Braun and Clarke (2006, p.7), “thematic analysis identifies themes within the data”. This was the most suitable method to analyse the data collected from the interviews, focus group discussions and observations that were transcribed and categorized accordingly. Data was presented under different themes for instance: remuneration, networks, xenophobia, security and protection as well as children as victims.

To begin data analysis, the first step was to transfer all information from the tape recorder and save on a memory stick and computer. Data was then transcribed and typed in a word document. After this the researcher read the whole data to be able 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 was deleted and the important ones grouped under the various themes (Braun and Clarke, 2006).

3.4 Limitations

Mouton (2001) states that lack of generalizability in the case study approach places a limit on the results. However, results from this study could not be allocated to a bigger population. 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. Some respondents needed transport refund and had to make calls to book appointments. Some participants found it difficult to respond to certain questions as they felt emotional regarding what they are going through in South Africa.

3.5 Ethics

According to Bless, Smith, and Kagee, (2006) ethics is a fundamental part of social scientists because people's rights have been violated in the course of research. Babbie and Mouton (2007) outlined four ethical issues that must be taken into consideration when carrying out social research these include; 1) voluntary participation, 2) not inflicting harm on the participants, 3) anonymity and confidentiality and lastly 4) not deceiving subjects. Privacy was respected as respondent's identities were not disclosed. Information acquired was not taking into cognizance the participant's name or personal identity. Moreover, the researcher did not force people to partake in the study. Thus participation was voluntary. Participants were told about the use of a recorder which could only be used after their consent. They were also informed to leave at any time if they felt uncomfortable. The study was only carried out after the Senate of the University of the Western Cape and the Institute for Social Development gave clearance for the research.

3.6 Summary of chapter

This chapter has provided detailed explanation of the research methodology used in this study. It has discussed in detail about qualitative method and the different techniques used in data collection such as focus group discussions face - to - face interviews

and observations. In identifying the population sample, snowball a non-probability technique was used. The chapter finally concluded by highlighting the limitations of the study and research the ethical considerations applied. The next chapter presents the results and findings of the study.



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CHAPTER FOUR

4. STUDY RESULTS: QUALITATIVE DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter analyses data drawn from interviews and focus group discussions with Congolese and Cameroonian migrants in Cape Town. The chapter organises findings within the broad themes as presented in chapter three. It captures also data from respondents' suggestions and the way forward. The chapter looks at the following; determinants for migration, experiences/expectations of migrants, how migrants have been affected by the current migration policy and migrant suggestions on the way forward.

4.2 Determinants for Migration

This section covers findings on the different factors that made respondents leave their countries and why South Africa was their destination of choice. Most respondents gave more than one reason why they decided to migrate. The following main themes were used for the presentation of data; economic, political, social and networks.

4.2.1 Economic

Respondents from both countries identified economic reasons as factors that influenced their migration decision. This is as a result of the bad economic climate in their home countries Economic reasons have been organised under the following sub-themes: remuneration, employment and level.

4.2.1.1 Remuneration

Participants' dissatisfaction about their wage earnings was one of the reasons some migrants left their home countries. They worked for long hours with very low wages which was not enough to cater for themselves and cope with other responsibilities. This led them to think of migrating as a better option for them because they saw it as an opportunity to get better jobs and make more money. In response one respondent had this to say:

“In the university where I was working, the salary was not enough to take care of my responsibilities and I could not have any other decent job. However, it was never my priority to migrate; the circumstances of my country influenced my decision to migrate” (Cameroonian, Interview, March 2017).

Some others who owned businesses back home were not satisfied with the profits they were making, so they came to South Africa to seek employment opportunities with the aim of making more money. Most of them decided to come to South Africa because they believed the country will offer them better employment opportunities (pull factor). A few others who left for this same reason decided to migrate for further studies. Findings revealed that more Cameroonian than Congolese migrants left home because of remuneration.

4.2.1.2 Employment level

Most participants from both countries left because they were unemployed and despite job hunting, their efforts were unsuccessful due to very limited job opportunities. Majority of the respondents had first degrees but stayed home for many years without employment. As a result, they saw a need to migration as the only hope to transform their lives and family members. Traveling to South Africa was perceived with not only opportunities to further their studies but to work and study at the same time. Some who were unemployed back home came purposely to seek employment opportunities and not only to make more money for themselves but to support their families back home.

One respondent narrated that:

“I came to seek better opportunities and get a good job that will guarantee me to save enough money and send back home to support my family.” (Cameroonian, Interview, March 2017).

Most respondents from Cameroon stated that, the economy and political structures of the country influenced them to migrate as the number of unemployed youths is alarming and the economy is not flexible enough to provide enough opportunities for everyone. Consequently, people go to school with no hope of employment as this has been going on for a long time now. Migrants from both countries mentioned that, some of the

contributions for the high rates of unemployment are nepotism and the fact that old people remain in power and channel opportunities to those they know. Therefore, it becomes very difficult to get into the system and as a result has encouraged bribery. One respondent commented that:

“.... for you to get into any position of influence you have to bribe your way to the top. So looking at all these factors and much more, I was persuaded to move because staying back home will crumble my dreams which has been the case of many young people” (Cameroonian, Interview, March 2017).

Due to limited opportunities back home, the rate of bribery and nepotism are high and those who do not have the money to bribe for positions are always disadvantaged which is the case in both countries. However, one of the possible options they had was migration with a hope to get opportunities of making more money and improve the dilapidating situation in their home countries. A respondent has this to say:

“...I believe in equity and I should go to a place where I should be treated well not because of the money I have but for the contributions I could make in society and identified for what I know and not who I know. This was a strong motivating factor for me to migrate” (Cameroonian, Interview, March 2017).

4.2.2 Political

Most Congolese respondents noted that they were pushed out of their country due to political violence. They noted that their migration was influenced by wars, dictatorship, unfavourable policies that do not provide opportunities for youths, nature of political structures and the organisation of the society; where one has to say yes to everything, instabilities, abuse and lack of protection from the government to reassure the next day. These have affected so many people leading to discouragement and disappointment among them. Some participants from Congo indicated that political instability and tension for the past 30 years have been the major influence for migration. A majority of those who left for one of these reasons came to South Africa mainly for safety because their lives were threatened though some of them had other social and economic reasons for migrating:

“...where you come from it became difficult for you to really have positive dreams because there was this bleakness that if you are not from the French speaking part of the country you will not easily get opportunities” (Cameroonian, Interview, April 2017).

Though there is no war in Cameroon, the effects of government policies and political structures influenced some people to migrate. Most respondents from Cameroon identified poor political structures as the main reason that pushed many to migrate. One of their reasons was the perception about the marginalisation of English speaking Cameroonians which has made it difficult for one to have big dreams because very few English speaking Cameroonians get to the top, this is because they are being marginalised by the system.

“...where you come from it became difficult for you to really have positive dreams because there was this bleakness that if you are not from the French speaking part of the country you will not easily get opportunities” (Cameroonian, Interview, April 2017).

Political instability has led to massive migration either directly or indirectly. More respondents from Congo than Cameroon migrated because of political related issues. Many respondents said they migrated to South Africa because of the political stability of the country, protection of human rights, its peaceful nature and an environment where there is freedom of speech. One respondent chose South Africa because it has the best constitution in Africa when it comes to their freedom charter and with a ‘black’ government in power, he knew that integration will be easier for him and he could easily function and feel much at home unlike other European countries. However, a few others had no particular reason for migration to South Africa.

4.2.3 Social

Different social factors contributed to participant’s choice of destination. These were discussed under the following sub-headings; spouse, aspirations/ empowerment, education, media, perceptions and networks.

4.2.3.1 Spouse

Migration was not the idea for most married women. Most women had no intention to migrate but left their home countries only to join their husbands who left for economic or political reasons. Connecting with their spouses was the main pull factor for their migration. Some came to join their husbands for a better future for themselves and their children. One female respondent who had migrated leaving her husbands behind later encouraged him to join her so that they could work together. Despite the fact that a majority of them had no push factor for migrating, some of them left for either economic or political reasons. Interestingly, one female respondent said one of her reasons for migrating to Cape Town was because she wanted to marry a white guy or better still get a better spouse.

4.2.3.2 Personal Reasons

Healing from some form of disappointment was one of the reasons for migration. Four main forms of disappointments were identified in the study and include; disappointment from an alternative plan to travel to another country, disappointment from a relationship, disappointed with their status (type of job) and country. One respondent left because he was not happy with the situation he found himself at that point in his life and found himself in despair, anger and frustration because he lost his job and the life he used to live. Migration for these participants was a way to escape from all these unpleasant happenings in their lives.

“...So according to me people are thinking that my standard of life has dropped maybe nobody was even having that in mind but there was this phobia that people are now saying I am broke. So it was a way of evading that mockery, at least people know that I am out of the country because of the perception that when you are out of the country you are better off than someone who is still in the country. So it was a way of running away from the situation I was faced with” (Cameroonian, Interview, April 2017).

Some migrated because they were disappointed with their country because it could not provide them the opportunities they needed. Migration then became a relevant opportunities as remarked by the respondent below:

“...I believe in equity and I should go to a place where I should be treated not because of the money I have but for the contributions I could make in society and identified for what I know and not who I know, which was a strong motivating factor for me to migrate” (Cameroonian, Interview, March 2017).

Those who had incurred some form of disappointment because their initial plans had failed came to South Africa because, that was the next best option for them at that moment. Some reasons they gave were that; South Africa was more advanced than other African countries, it was closer to Europe and travelling to South Africa was less expensive than other European countries and it was closer to home. Most of those who left their home countries because of some form of disappointment and therefore came to South Africa for other economic, political and academic reasons. According to these migrants, migration for them was a strategy to develop themselves as well as challenge the system back home.

4.2.3.3 Aspirations/Empowerment

Migration is a form of empowerment either for businesses, personal status and personal development. Aspiration was identified as one of the factors for migration. Majority of respondents saw migration as the only opportunity to meet their dreams. Some parents left their countries because they had a vision for their children while other individuals had big visions and dreams for themselves. Few others saw migration as an opportunity to exploit other places outside their country meet new people and create new networks.

Apart from making their dreams a reality and exploit the outside world, some others migrated because migration for them was some form of empowerment. In both countries, respondents reveal that families that have children abroad are highly respected. Both focus group discussions highlighted that, migration brings pride and strength to families due to the perceived benefits and status upgrade that migration brings to a family.

“It is a big privilege for any family to have someone out of Congo, families are excited because it is a sign of prosperity knowing that the person is going to be a source of strength to the family especially through his/her financial contributions and support. You are considered as light and inspiration of the family” (Congoese, Interview, April 2017).

4.2.3.4 Education

Education is another form of empowerment that has caused so many people to migrate. The absence of certain programs and the lack of confidence in the educational system back home are some of the reasons why some people left their countries. This was very common amongst Cameroon migrants though few respondents from Congo asserted to this. Only one respondent out of the six participants in the Congolese focus group discussion left Congo because he wanted to continue with studies while in the Cameroonian focus group discussion most of them left because they wanted to study.

Some respondents who said their reason for migrating was for studies, said the courses they wanted to do were not available back home, while others indicated that the courses they enrolled in needed more practical's than theory and most often the practical part was absent which made studies boring. Some complained of insufficient lecturers. Moreover, their reasons are linked to the fact that there is no guarantee of a decent job. The bleakness of studying in such an environment made them to consider migration as a suitable option. According to one respondent:

“The main reason I left my country is because the conditions back home were not favourable Since my intention was to do medicine, my country could not provide me with the necessary opportunities and there were no proper equipment's that could make learning easy for me. This made the whole process complicated then I decided to look for other options to further my education” (Congolese, Interview, March 2017).

The reasons for choosing South Africa were based on the following: certificates obtained in South Africa are internationally recognised, tuition in South African institutions are cheaper than in other European countries, South Africa has the best Universities in Africa and, they have all the equipment needed for field work and it was easy to get a visa to South Africa. Besides, they saw South Africa as a place to build their careers and equip them for a decent job. Some others from Congo and the French speaking part of Cameroon chose South Africa because of the opportunity to learn English.

4.2.3.5 Media

What people see, hear and say has the ability to influence their choices. The media also played a role in encouraging people to migrate to South Africa as some respondents were influenced by the media through avenues like news on radio, about the economy of South Africa, Sophie watched on TV, print news and the pictures from others overseas. In contribution with other factors, these images painted a picture which influenced a few respondents.

“The music from South Africa was profound which also posed a pre appetite for my choosing SA. For example, the music of Lucky Dube, Yvonne Chaka Chaka and you watch movies like Saraphina, you see Mandela being inaugurated it gives you a vision of harmony and calmness. Then when you look at the constitution and where I come from I just wanted to move because being in South Africa will guarantee me some opportunities where I can explore so I had that imagination and euphoria where I think being in Africa you will feel at home and even a better place to be.” (Cameroonian, Interview, April 2017).

4.2.4 Perception

Perceptions could either be right or wrong. People’s perception about SA played a significant role in influencing them to migrate. People’s perception about Cape Town was one major factor that influenced them to leave their home countries and migrate to South Africa. A greater proportion of migrants chose South Africa and Cape Town in particular because of what believed or heard some which points to the white population living in Cape Town and for this reason assuming the city is like Europe. Respondents noted that Cape Town has a lot of touristic sites and it is a place where they can exploit for opportunities. Participants from both focus group discussions had the perception that migrating to Cape Town and South Africa as a whole would change their lives positively. Moreover, some few believed that since South Africa was an African country it will be a better decision to go there because they will feel much at home than elsewhere in Europe.

“... When you look at their construction and where you come from, you just want to move because being here you believe it will guarantee you some opportunities where you can explore. So you have that imagination and euphoria where you think being in Africa you will feel at home and even a better place to be. I formed

these images in my mind of how free the society is” (Cameroonian, Interview, April 2017).

Perceptions could either be right or wrong. People’s perception about SA played a significant role in influencing them to migrate. These perceptions became real when people who complain about the disadvantages of the country did not leave. According to respondents, the fact that people did not leave South Africa despite those disadvantages, caused doubts and triggered them to migrate and experience things for themselves.

4.2.5 Networks

Networks played a significant role in influencing migration and only a few were not influenced by someone to migrate. According to the study findings, most of the respondents were influenced by friends, relatives, brothers, sisters, husbands, parents as well as traffickers. Parents encouraged their children to migrate because they saw it fit than staying in their country where there was no sign of a better future. Some were encouraged because of the advantages presented to them and the achievements other migrants had attained back home such as the construction of modern houses. Few others were promised to be assisted with documentation, and they were linked to other networks that will facilitate the process of migration.

Since most of them already had someone living in South Africa or who promised to assist them with the travelling arrangement, receive them and provide accommodation and jobs for them upon arrival preferred South Africa to other countries.

“I had family in Cape Town who could receive me as opposed to any other option where I had no relatives. So having my family in Cape Town made it easier for me to travel because they applied for my university and accommodated me upon arrival. This was also a driving force for me because that could easily help me integrate since they were also studying in Cape Town” (Cameroonian, Interview, March 2017).

This was further motivated by the fact that some of them had no relatives or friends in other countries that could support and help them integrate in the new society. However, a majority of them came because other migrants had told them of their experiences and

how life was better than in their home country. All these advantages lured many to leave their countries.

Those who wanted to pursue their career were informed about the resources they will have access to as well as the opportunities they will have after graduation. Besides, some few had others who promised to help them travel to other countries from South Africa since SA was an easy transit to their dream country.

Networks played a significant role in influencing both Cameroonian and Congolese migrants to travel to South Africa. Respondents who left their countries for all the above reasons were influenced by networks except for some few who left because of political reasons.

4.3 Experiences/Expectations of Migrants in Cape Town

Haven left home for different reasons to come and settle in South Africa; people came with different expectations of what they intended to achieve. This section focuses on the experiences/expectations of migrants in Cape Town and results are presented under the themes: education, employment after graduation, unemployment, xenophobia and discrimination, security and protection.

4.3.1 Education

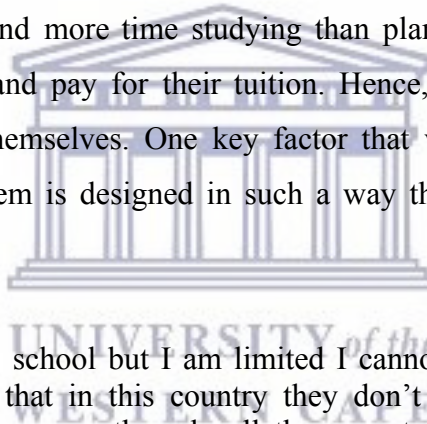
More Cameroonians came with the expectation of pursuing studies than Congolese migrants. Hence, majority of them actually enrolled in school except for a few who could not continue because of financial constraints or documentation problems. Their expectation was to study and work while at the same time support themselves during school.

This was not possible for some because they could not cope due to the work load and most of them did not succeed to get a good job that was enough to pay for their tuition and accommodation which led to some of them dropping out of school. Despite this challenge most of them managed to work and study but complained that their salaries were not enough, which is far from what they were expecting. These limitations led to

some spending longer time studying while others suspended their studies for a while to go and work and later resume.

Some respondents from Congo that came expecting to study medicine and other related courses ended up not doing their desired courses so, they decided to do something else nevertheless they are contented with what they are studying.

Many migrants find it challenging coping with the expenditure that is needed for studying since most of them are self-sponsored. They put in a lot of efforts to obtain good grades that can qualify them for scholarships but many are disappointed because most bursaries are only open to South African citizens, which prohibit them from meeting their objectives. These respondents complained that since they are not exposed to a lot of funding opportunities they spend more time studying than planned because they have to go and work to raise money and pay for their tuition. Hence, they have to drop out of school to work and support themselves. One key factor that was identified by most of them is that they feel the system is designed in such a way that foreigners cannot move forward as desired:



“I really desire to go to school but I am limited I cannot support myself. There is this conception I have that in this country they don’t want foreigners to so far because they are too clever so they do all they can to place a limit on them. If foreigners are given opportunities they will be able to get to the top which is what I think they want to avoid by instituting laws that are unfavourable to them or that will place a limit on them. They do not want us to go forward” (Congolese, Focus Group Discussion, April 2017).

Despite their experiences, a few of them have received bursaries that have helped them to accomplish and even surpass their expectations. One respondent remarked that:

“I met my expectations and even went beyond. Now I have gained so much exposure. Being a holder of a PhD which I didn’t plan to undergo, though I came to do a particular course that will equip me to go back home and get a better job, I was privileged to get a bursary. This has motivated me now as I’m doing something more than I expected that has given me a lot of opportunities” (Congolese, Interview, March 2017).

Study findings show that a majority of those who wanted to pursue studies met their expectations of studying though did not have the necessary financial support as expected due to their low earnings and limited funding opportunities. Their actual experiences counter their expectations and perception about life and studying in SA because they thought things will be much easier.

4.3.2 Employment after graduation

All respondents who came to SA to study had the intention of getting a decent job either here in SA or in their home countries after completing their studies. Some wanted to study for two to three years and pick up a job with the qualifications obtained but that was not possible because of the difficulty in getting a job. The only option for most of them has been to continue studying, even though it was not in their plans. According to one migrant:

“The immigration conditions continue to change which has slowed things for me. They keep changing the condition for work and resident permits and this makes people to become academic refugees because of the state’s requirement for them to have certain conditions to be able to get into the system. Though in the long run it is to the advantage of foreigners but it is challenging because I have other responsibilities, time is passing and one is ageing” (Cameroonian, interview, March 2017).

Majority of them attributed this to the recent changes in the migration policy which has made things more complicated and making it difficult for them to get into the job market because of the long procedures that come with applying for a work permit and many other related issues. This has discouraged a lot of them who believed in themselves and had the necessary qualifications that could afford them with better jobs. Despite their lost hope some still see bright pictures of the future because they believe education is a resource that will never fail anyone, so they will continue studying to get to any level possible. However, continuing with studies places a limit on some who have other financial responsibilities to adhere to.

Though majority of Cameroonian and Congolese respondents came to get education, they actually got educated but could unfortunately not meet their expectations of getting a decent job after having some level of qualification intended to peruse:

“...I then enrolled in UCT in 2010 where I obtained my certificate I had to go for training but the lecturers will only come and call citizens for training in companies and they will tell us if we like we go back to our countries so it was very difficult to get a job or get training because of the disadvantage of being a foreigner” (Congolese, Focus Group Discussion, April, 2017).

One Congolese respondent who had completed studies and not being able to find a job in the country wanted to return to his country but found out that those that are educated are a threat to the government. Therefore, for fear of his life, he decided not to leave. Despite the challenge of getting a decent job amongst foreigners after graduation, a few of both Congolese and Cameroonian respondents managed to meet this expectation after completing studies.

4.3.3 Unemployment

Many migrants who came to SA expecting to get decent jobs ended up having unmet expectations because of high rates of unemployment. Hence, they had to come up with different strategies to support themselves such as; doing short courses, working as nannies, waitresses, as security as well as setting up their own businesses.

“When I came I could not get a job so I had to cook and sell during winter, walking from place to place I had lemonier because I was waking up early every morning to cook and didn’t even have enough winter clothes to cover myself. I came here to make money so I had to do whatever I could to survive” (Cameroonian, Interview, March 2017).

Besides, a few of them have stayed for more than two years at home without having a job and when they manage to get one, it is not a well-paying and after bills and as such, they are left with little or nothing. This was common amongst Congolese migrants. Due to the increasing rate of unemployment, coupled with the change in society and the economy, those coming now into the country are seriously affected as means for survival have become complicated. Respondents noted that they have to come up with their own ways of

surviving. And because nobody wants to be a hobo or stay on the streets they come up with different survival strategies for getting into drugs, prostitution etc.

“...many people get into drugs and prostitution knowing that they are facing jail but what is it that will push someone to prefer jail it must be something deep because they are so desperate from my personal experience, most of the young people you find doing prostitution or drugs is out of desperation because you find some of them who have tried to get a job and tried informal trading but it’s not working. So they decide to take a short cut” (Cameroonian, Interview, April 2017).

Getting a job in Cape Town is far from what both Cameroonian and Congolese migrants thought. From their perspective, life in Cape Town is survival of the fittest. Results show that, only few migrants met their expectations of employment and most of them are not happy with their state of life against their expectations. Though things did not go as expected for most of them, they could still send remittances home to support their families. According to one respondent;

“I am now able to support my family back home and I have managed to bring my sister here. Though it has not been easy but South Africa is ok, if you are focused and push full you will be able to make it here” (Cameroonian, Interview, April 2017).



4.3.4 Xenophobia and discrimination

Xenophobia is not new to many foreigners in South Africa. Most participants noted that they have experienced xenophobia several times. Participants from both target groups stated that xenophobia is practiced almost everywhere on the train, workplace, school or at residences. Many claimed that they knew nothing about xenophobia before migrating. One respondent cited a case of foreigners not allowed to stay in certain areas because of adverts saying no foreigners allowed. Another migrant noted that her rights were violated and was victimised not only by her landlord who threw her belongings out, but also the police who told her that they cannot do anything to support her because she is a foreigner:

“...There was a scenario when my landlord threw out my belongings on returning home. This is a house I had stayed for four years and paid my rents before the due time. The landlady had given me short notice that I should move out. But before the due date which was not even the proper duration according to the law, this happened. Being helpless not knowing what to do and who to fight for me I realised I could go to the police whom I believed will make fair judgements. To my amazement, they told me that they can't do anything to support me because I am a foreigner. That was really shocking to me I then concluded that in SA as a foreigner you have to fight for yourself because nobody cares about you since they see foreigners as a threat” (Cameroonian, Interview, March 2017)

Others have had different experiences at work where slangs are thrown such as “you do not belong here.” (Cameroonian, Interview, March 2017)

Some Cameroonian and Congolese respondents who were students cited instances of segregation and discrimination when scholarships being advertised and boldly written South Africans only. They explained that this limits them despite the fact that some of them have the academic qualifications that are required. Few other students have had encounters with their lecturers which made them feel uncomfortable in class and subsequently, leaving certain institutions because they could not cope with the way they were treated. Also one respondent complained that some foreign students have spent a longer time studying because most companies do not offer them the opportunity to do internships which is part of their program. The respondent further blamed this on policies that restrain companies from recruiting foreign students:

“Where I study we have to do two years theory and the one year experimental training part. So when we sit in class these papers pass around and it is written boldly South Africans only. This has really affected us and we find it very challenging to have a place for our internship and with the changes in the migration laws it is said that the South African government is working hand in hand with the companies to recruit only south Africans and the companies don't want to take chance and so they make sure they go for south Africans only. The law restricts them so you can have like ten companies only two are open for foreigners. I have been looking for a place to do my in service training but I haven't gotten a place, this has taken a long time now” (Cameroonian, Interview, March 2017).

4.3.5 Security and protection

This was one of the highlights during the study as many respondents alleged that the high rate of robbery, killings and insecurity is the reason why most people live in fear. Most of them have been victims of robbery either in their shops, houses or even on the road during the day. In the Congolese focus group discussion, one respondent noted that people are killed anyhow even if they are not at fault and that, robbery is rampant and security is not enough. Some respondents said that the level of crime and insecurity is very high as one is exposed to being attacked at any time and because they are not from this land, protection is their first priority. Therefore, they have to do all they can to stay out of trouble. Many of them now live in fear as stated in the extract below:

“Killing someone in South Africa is very common. I live in fear; the level of insecurity in SA has gripped me with so much fear. This is due to the so many stories of how people have been killed and attacked at gunpoint (Congolese, Interview, April 2017)”.

Migrants experience with security and protection was not what they expected because of their perceptions about SA, knowing that since SA is an advanced society, security and protection will be well advanced than in their home countries. Many of them are exposed to attacks some because of where their businesses are located and others because of where they stay. The fact that migrants live in communities and these communities are located in certain areas make them more exposed to perpetrators of these acts who easily identifies them.

4.4 Positive Effects of Migration

4.4.1 Resilience

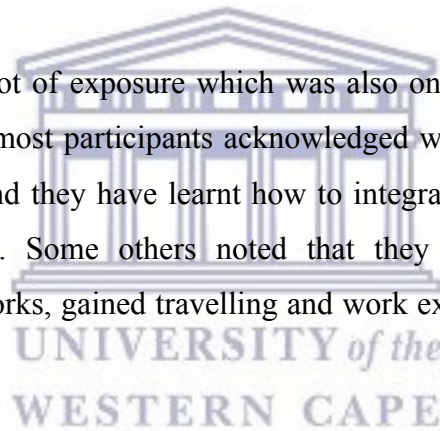
Despite the fact that most migrants have unmet expectations, their experiences have had a positive effect on them. According to a majority of them, their experiences have made them to become resilient, independent, responsible, bold, strong and very courageous, patient in life, tolerant and hope for the better. The extracts below explain this:

“I have learned a lot from SA and I am now able to deal with the challenges of life. I can now face anything and get over it and I have learnt to be more patient because I used to be a very arrogant person but the situations of life has made me a calm person. After living in SA for more than 16yrs, I have made remarkable progress” (Congolese, Interview, April 2017).

“Being in Cameroon I thought I was responsible, here I have developed to take actions and be accountable for them and apply them. There is no mother or father to caution you. Coming here has made me improve on my decision-making and made me more responsible. If I get to Cameroon let’s say I am just taken from here and put in a plan in a year’s time, what I am going to achieve will be more than those who have stayed there and have never travelled because of the knowledge and exposure that I have had. I have learned how to create something from nothing” (Cameroonian, Focus Group Discussion, March 2017).

4.4.2 Exposure

Most migrants have gained a lot of exposure which was also one reason for migration for some of them. The first thing most participants acknowledged was that they were exposed to different dynamics of life and they have learnt how to integrate and live with people of different cultural backgrounds. Some others noted that they have gained new skills, knowledge, created new networks, gained travelling and work experiences as well as made educational advancement



“...You are open to meet scholars from all over the world, you attend conferences and meet this marvellous people that you have only been reading about but now you have been given the opportunity to meet with them, discuss with them and equally exchange ideas hence it demystifies education because I remember when I was still back home for somebody to go to school to become a doctor, it is a process that will take 15-20 years (forever), making education mystified” (Cameroonian, Interview, April 2017).

One respondent stated that career wise, he has been exposed to a new type of methodology that is unique and when he looks at cases or papers written by his peer’s back home, the standard is so low.

Another participant remarked that living in Cape Town has been a blessing to him and his experiences have been exceptional because the people of South Africa have been supportive. He stated that:

“I think I owe South Africa for receiving me and supporting me in such an amazing way” (Congoese, Interview, April 2017).

4.5 Effects of the South African Migration Policy on Migrants

The new South African migration policy was designed to protect, manage and regulate the stay of foreign nationals in South Africa but to a greater extent, migrants in Cape Town have been negatively than positively affected by this policy. Migrants think that the policy is so strict, making life very difficult for them. Different topics identified below are used to present the findings.

4.5.1 Migrants’ perceptions of the policy

Most migrants have negative perceptions about the policy and they think that it is unfair and discriminative, inhumane and designed to frustrate migrants. Some of them see the policy as very restrictive and makes life difficult for foreigners. Others said it is very unstable because it is always changing. Some pointed out that the policy protects them to some extent but to a greater extent it is complex and scary. All participants of the Congoese focus group agreed that the change in policy is another form of xenophobia and has changed from attacking people physically to structured xenophobia where laws are used to victimize foreign nationals. Respondents added that, even though the law had not always made things easy for foreigners in general, it has become worse with the new system that has been introduced. The extract below is pertinent:

“This policy scares me because now my daughter wants to study medicine but now I am thinking of sending her back to Congo or in another foreign country because here it is difficult” (Congoese Focus Group, April 2017).

Although most respondents have negative perceptions about the immigration policy, one respondent from Congo remarked that South Africa like any other country has done nothing strange but has just designed a policy that will prioritize its citizens:

“I think that every policy is meant to favour its citizens and that is just what the SA migration policy is, which is the case with my country and any other country. I ask why we blame them; we do because of our feelings” (Congolese, Interview, April 2017).

4.5.2 Reliability of Information

Lack of information is seen from two perspectives; one, from the administrative officials and migrants themselves on the other hand. Most from both countries complained that communication between the migrants and officials are not quite effective. They noted that they struggle to get the right information, for instance:

“when asking information about something, when I meet one official he tells me one thing and when I meet another he will say something else while others have no clue about the subject.” (Congolese, Focus Group Discussion, April, 2017).

Migrants emphasized that this was complicated for them because it left them feeling confused not knowing what to do. During the focus group discussion with Cameroonian migrants, lack of knowledge was highlighted as a major limitation:

“Lack of knowledge of the migration policy is a major limitation. People are not informed about the migration policy as done in other countries like the US. In SA you have to make your own inquiries and when you go to get information the possibility of getting the wrong information is high because some of the workers don't give you the right information” (Cameroonian Focus Group, March 2017).

Apart from administrative officials who are supposed to provide the necessary support, migrants themselves reported that they are not aware of the migration policy. Some of them indicated that they have not taken out time to read what the migration policy entails and are clueless about certain aspects of the policy. Some respondent especially from Congo have not gone to school or send their children to school because of their ignorance. For

instance, according to the law children are supposed to inherit their parents permit but some are unaware of this and their children have not enrolled in school because they think the policy does not allow them study with their asylum permit.

However, despite the ignorance of some officials, the law further complicates the obtaining of permits for their children as the procedure is long and stressful.

“When you meet some officials they will tell you to use the birth certificate in school but when you go to school the officials at school will ask for the child’s permit. This conflicting information from some schools and the home affairs officials have made some parents to give up because of the inconveniences during the process” (Congolese, Interview, April, 2017).

4.5.3 Inconveniences

One of the major ways that the migration policy has affected migrants is regarding the amount of time and money they put in either to get documents processed, apply for permits or renew permits. In some instances, respondents noted their varied challenges experienced as long distance travelling for renewal of permits, loss of jobs during the process of renewal, miss exams/classes, delays in receiving feedback after submission of documents, lost documents, long and cumbersome procedures and the closure of bank accounts.

Respondents from both target groups alluded that the process requires lots of finances and being financially unstable makes things worse because one end up becoming undocumented. Despite the fact that travelling long distance has been an issue for some time now as most respondents using the asylum permit claim. The duration for extension of permits has reduced and it is now limited ranging from one to two weeks or between one to six months and they have to travel all the time for renewal either to Pretoria, Musina or Durban.

According to respondents, the policy has made them to find themselves in very uncomfortable situations, making their lives miserable. Consequently, some have used corrupt means as a way of escape and some of them have been issued fake permits.

4.5.4 Inability to Change Permits

Some respondents who were on asylum permits complained of having being on this permit for more than five years without getting a refugee status and that with the new development in the policy, the future seem bleak because the policy does not allow them to apply and change to another permit:

“The policy has affected me negatively because ever since I came I am still on asylum permit; it’s been eleven years now. I believe that by this time I should be having at least a refugee status and with that I can’t go home. Besides, the advantages that I have, I deserve a refugee status instead of getting extensions” (Congolese, Interview, April 2017).

This does not only apply to those using the asylum permits it also applies to some other type of permits. One respondent using a work permit explained that, he is expected to go home to renew his work permit when it expires which is different from the past where one could renew their permit in SA. According to respondents, this frustrates the hopes of some migrants who are now stuck and not knowing what to do next. Some complained that they do not have enough money to sponsor their trips and travelling home comes with a lot of other responsibilities for instance the expectations from their family since most of them are not financially stable.

4.5.5 Lack of Hope for Employment

Some few respondents from Congo who are on a refugee status permit and others with the green identity (ID) thought with their papers, they would have so many advantages than other foreigners when it comes to getting employment but that has not been the case. According to a number of them, those who had applied for jobs say when employers check their ID and notice they are foreigners they are rejected. So they think they are given

papers that do not expose them to a lot of opportunities not making them any different from other foreigners who do not have these documents.

4.5.6 Children as victims

Children born in South Africa have become victims due to some of the clauses of the new migration policy. Most respondent who are parents explained that some children have become undocumented because the process of getting documents for them is very long and cumbersome, also requiring a lot of finances.

The fact that most of them are not financially stable and have other responsibilities, affects them negatively. In the Congolese focus group discussion, it was mentioned that the unabridged birth certificate given to children at birth prevents some children from going to school because they are requested to present their permits. Since they are not given papers at birth, they remain undocumented for many years, hence, affecting their schooling. One other respondent said according to the law his child cannot benefit from his medical aid.

Some participants expounded that the new system is different from the previous law where parents only had to pay a repatriation guarantee for their children to get a visa which was much better. Also, the fact that the law stipulates that a child can only become a citizen after seventeen years which is a long time make things even more challenging for some parents:

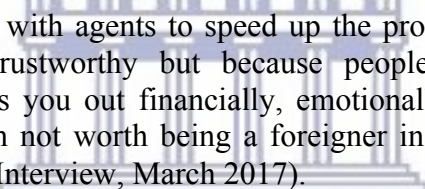
“... Now children have to apply for their own passport before getting a visa. Since my children were born here they have not been opportuned to visit my home country because if they go they cannot come back. Hence children are going through difficult moments because they cannot freely go home and come back; this is different from the previous years. Now registering a child at school is difficult because the birth certificate which the child has is not original ...”
(Cameroon, Interview, March 2017).

One other aspect highlighted was the fact that, children born of refugee parents have a refugee status though they were not part of what happened to their parents and

according to one respondent this is not fair because her children are now refugees. It was noted that all these have not only affected children but their parents as well who have great plans for their children.

4.5.7 Cost and need for Requirements

Many participants stated that the long procedures and the costly nature of visa application is one of the major ways that migrants have been affected by the new migration policy. The amount of money used and the time spent to follow up and process documents has been of concern to most of them. Most migrants complain of the expensive nature of the application and visa fees where there is no guarantee of a positive feedback hence, many of them are now compelled to use agents because they are desperate. According to one respondent;



“I have to spend money with agents to speed up the process and at times some of these agents are not trustworthy but because people are desperate they are exposed. Also, this ways you out financially, emotionally and affect your output. At times I feel like I am not worth being a foreigner in SA because of the way I am treated” (Cameroon, Interview, March 2017).

Faced with the responsibility of updating their status in SA is prioritized by some while others are being challenged by the costly nature of things. Some have to spend lots of money to go out of Cape Town to renew their permits and others have to re-apply when their documents are rejected. For some migrants especially students who are self-sponsored they expressed that it is very challenging for them. The extract below explains the difficulty regarding permit applications:

“Initially when you came to this country to renew your permit, it was R480 but that is not the case now and when you go to submit your documents at the home affairs they will check and if anything is lacking they will tell you to go bring it without collecting the file from you but with this new system they just ask you if you have put everything without properly checking if you lack any document and you to pay fee of R1330 not even being sure that your permit will be out. When your document is rejected, you have to pay another registration fee and also pay for postage”. (Congolese, Interview, March 2017).

4.6 Positive Effects of the Migration Policy

Despite the challenges that migrants face, there has also been some positive feedback about the new migration policy.

4.6.1 Access to Free Health Care

Though migrants have been negatively affected by the migration policy, documented foreign nationals continue to have free access to free health care in public hospitals. Some who had terminal diseases and had spent lots of money back home received free medication which is not the case back home.

4.6.2 Support to Students

Students who are on asylum permits and refugee status are still allowed to register in school without any medical aid and not requiring upfront payment of tuition as other international students. This has supported many immigrants to support themselves through school. However, those on study permits indicated that during the student protests at different Universities in South Africa, they received support from their institution and in collaboration with the policy makers, which gave them more time to extend their permits. This was highly appreciated by most of them because it came in handy.

4.6.3 Protection for Children

The clause in the policy that states that before a child travels both parents have to sign before the child is released is commended by migrants because this will help in preventing child trafficking which adheres to the law that protects children's rights. Likewise, the fact that the policy is out to track down illegal migrants is appreciated by some migrants.

4.7 Migrants Suggestions regarding the New Migration Policy

Due to the difficulties experienced concerning the migration policy, migrants made some suggestions on what can be done to address their challenges. They think the policy

is too rigid for refugee/asylum seekers and most especially students studying in South Africa. They however, suggest the following:

- Those that have studied and would like to stay in the country should be encouraged instead of looking at them in a stereotype way. Opportunities should be created for migrants where they can easily be integrated in society and contribute to the development of the host country. According to them, the SA government should realise that foreigners are very peaceful and focused people who utilize their skills to better their lives and the host communities as well.
- The policy should be relaxed in such a way that people can come and go. This is because if people are restricted, knowing that they will not be allowed to come back, they will not want to go believing that they would either have difficulties in extending permits or not get it all, so they will do all they can to stay. But if they had the liberty to go in and out of the country they could go elsewhere to find other opportunities, hence reducing the number of migrants in SA. The number of working hours should increase for foreign students working in the university and they should be encouraged through funding because they are always willing to work harder and these opportunities will not only benefit them but the universities and society as a whole.
- Many researchers in South Africa are from other African countries and they are making a lot of input to the society so these should be considered and policies should be drafted in a way that support this type of man power.
- Migrants should participate in decision making regarding laws and policies that affect them.
- Government should consider the fact that they have used their resources to train foreigners especially asylum seekers and refugees who have been equipped with the skills that can be used for the benefit of their society. This would then require that proper documentation be issued so that they can be integrated and support fellow South Africans.

Migrants should not be seen from the perspective of being foreign but rather Africans who are at home with the ability to contribute to the development of the host country.

4.8 Summary of Chapter

This chapter has provided empirical evidence from participants of Cameroonian and Congolese nationality about: the determinants for migration, migrant's experiences/expectations, the different ways in which migrants have been affected by the new migration policy and migrants' suggestions on the new migration policy.

There were several reasons that influenced people to leave their home countries to migrate to South Africa. Amongst Cameroonian migrants, the key driver for migration was economic, mainly high rates of unemployment followed by the influence of networks and lack of career opportunities. Due to inadequate opportunities back home, they chose SA as their country of destination because SA will offer them better opportunities to work, study and also the fact that they already had someone living in SA that will support them upon arrival against other options. Though there are some similarities between the push and pull factors for migration between Cameroonian and Congolese migrants, with the Congolese migrants their main push factor for migration was political because of the war back home and the effects of this war. This was followed by economic reasons such as unemployment and network respectively. Their reason for coming to SA was because of the political stability in the country and to get employment opportunities.

According to this study push rather than pull factors were the main reasons for international migration. Most respondents said if things were much better in their home countries they will have no reason migrating. In order of chronology, the main reasons for migration were economic, followed by networks, political, educational, aspirations and exposure. Interestingly literature does not say much about aspirations and exposure as reasons for migration which this study has identified.

Findings show that migrants had different expectations of SA before migrating and results show that, most of them did not meet their expectations relating to their actual experiences. The researcher organized their expectations around the themes education, employment after graduation, employment, security and protection, xenophobia and discrimination. Despite the fact that their actual experiences were contrary to what they expected, a few of them met their expectations and others and surpassed their expectations. Findings also revealed that in the long run, migrants' experiences later had positive effects on them, as they became resilient devising other coping strategies. Some others gained exposure which also was a pull factor for some, exposing them to new adventure in their academics, work place and the society at large.

Looking at the different ways in which migrants have been affected by the new migration policy, to a greater extent, results show that migrants have been negatively affected by migration policy, making life even more challenging for them preventing them from fully exploiting their potentials as well as meeting their goals. Results on effects of the migration policy on migrants were presented under the themes perception of the policy, reliability of information, inconveniences, unemployment, inability to change permit, children as victims as well as cost and procedures. Though the negative effects of the policy are more than the positive effects, some migrants applaud the policy's contributions towards health care, support to asylum and refugee students as well as other international students in times of crises. Lastly, the clause in the policy that supports the protection of children from traffickers and the fact that the policy aims to track illegal migrants is also commented by respondents.

Finally, the chapter concludes with some recommendations and suggestions by participants on the migration policy to address some the challenges they are facing. This is to enable the authorities understand their situation and provide the necessary assistance so that they can easily integrate and make contributions towards the development of the society as well as support them in attaining their objectives. The next chapter will be the discussion chapter that focuses on interpreting the significance of the findings in

light with other key findings that have already been investigated, and to explain any new understanding about the problem after taking the findings into consideration.



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CHAPTER FIVE

5. DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a discussion of results as presented in chapter four. It discusses the different determinants for international migration among the Congolese and Cameroonian migrants in Cape Town, migrants lived experiences in relation to their expectations and effects of the current migration policy in South Africa. The chapter explains how the new migration policy affects migrant's everyday life.

The push and pull theory grounds the first and second section of the discussion as it outlines the different determinants influencing migration and the expectations/experiences of migrants. This is further expounded by the capability approach which engages the notion of opportunity and freedom and how it considers the well-being of migrants in Cape Town.

5.2 Determinants for Migration

Results were grouped under different themes such as: economic, political and social which summarizes the main reasons why participants migrated to SA.

5.2.1 Economic

Participant's responses were classified under two sub-themes which are: level of employment and remuneration. In terms of the level of employment, results from this study show that most people left their home countries because they were unemployed. Dzvimbo, (2003), The World Bank (2003), and Makakala (2015) supports this assertion stating that, limited job opportunities and unemployment are some of the push factors that contribute to migration especially among those with skills particularly in developing countries.

Participants explain that some of the reasons for the high rates of unemployment are nepotism, corruption, mismanagement of funds and the fact that old people remain in power and channel opportunities to those they know. This is not particular in Cameroon and Congo alone but other African countries like Tanzania. In a study of highly skilled Tanzanians migrants living in the UK, findings confirm that Tanzanians left home because of the unemployment level in the country and it was difficult to get a job without having a “godfather” that is, knowing someone in the system to help you (Makakala, 2015).

According to Odorige (2016), unemployment and under-employment produced poverty are the main drivers of international migration. Findings from the International Labour Organization also portrays that a larger number of international migrants of over 100 million left their home countries to find better jobs and opportunities for their families (Odorige, 2016). It is for this same reason why many participants decided to travel to South Africa because they believed that in South Africa they would find opportunities to work study and increase their finances to support themselves and their families back home.

This finding is in line with two out of Lee’s (1966) four factors that influence people’s decision to migrate which are factors related to their country of origin and factors related to the countries they intend to migrate to. Unemployment is a push factor that is related to their country of origin and better employment opportunities is a pull factor that is related to the country they intend to migrate to which is South Africa in this context. The incapacity to provide the necessary opportunities for people to have the freedom to make better choices for instance employment opportunities in Cameroon and Congo is deprivation of one’s real freedom according to the capability theory. Hence, preventing them from meeting their capabilities and living their lives the way they choose to that will subsequently contribute to their personal development.

With regards to remuneration, some participants mainly from Cameroon left home because they were not satisfied with their wages. Their input was higher than the wages they received. Djafar and Hassan (2012) support this result by stating that, income and

unemployment were the primary reasons that persuaded Indonesian migrant workers to migrate to Malaysia. Other studies (Dzivimbo, (2003), Kainth (2009), Kurekova (2012), and De la Rica et al., (2013) confirmed that striking disparity in the labour market due to wage differences is the main reason for migration and most people are attracted to other countries because of better salaries offered.

In this study, economic factors were identified as the main push factor for migration amongst Cameroonian migrants however, economic reasons contributed as one of the main reasons for Congolese migrants. These findings confirm to the push and pull theory based on Harris, Todaro's model, the neoclassical and other economic theories that economic factors are the primary motivators for migration stating that the one main reason why people move from one settlement to the other is because they want better wages due to the wage differences between two places. The fact that a country offers better wages against the other causes people to move and settle in such places because of the opportunity of getting a better income (Miheretu, 2011). Highly skilled Cameroonian and Congolese migrants are seen as individual rational actors, who made calculations of gain maximization such as high pay before migrating to South Africa. Their hope for better employment opportunities is a pull factor that influenced their migration decision.

5.2.2 Political

Majority of Congolese migrants left Congo for political reasons. Wars and its effects were the main political drivers for migration amongst Congolese. Literature supports this finding in that political instability has been the major cause for migration especially amongst Africa countries. Dzvimbo (2003) cites the cases of Liberia, Rwanda and Sierra Leone where people left home countries because of wars, ethnic conflicts and human rights violation to find refuge in other countries. Similarly, (Lemenih Kassa, Kassie, Abebaw, and Teka, 2014); Paddon and Lacaille (2010) mentioned cases of African migrants from Congo and Ethiopia that have escaped to neighbouring countries because of political instability, insecurity and corruption. Other countries like Syria, Somalia, Afghanistan, South Sudan, Mali, Eritrea, Nigeria and the Central African Republic are still experiencing conflicts and violence in their countries (Metcalf-Hough, 2015).

Political issues were not the main drivers for migration amongst Cameroonian participants but economic. However, few participants identified dictatorial reign, unfavourable policies that do not provide opportunities for youths, nature of political structures and the organisation of the society as factors that prevented them from functioning properly and making the country an uncomfortable habitation for many.

Case study participants chose South Africa because of its liberal asylum regime that protects human rights, political stability and the peaceful nature of the country. Similarly, Mahroum's study found out that, the corporate policies in Europe which offered better working conditions, attracted many people to seek better working conditions (Mahroum, 2000).

According to Lee's (1966) model, people leave their countries and go to other areas where they think life is much better as it is the case for Cameroonian and Congolese migrants who migrated to South Africa to seek refuge from the uncomfortable political situation in their countries. The push and pull theory explain that pull factors consider that there are added advantages in the destination country than in the host countries like in the case of this study, peace, security, freedom of speech, South Africa's freedom charter for example, were the main reasons why foreign nationals were motivated to migrate to South Africa.

Interestingly, though some people choose South Africa because of security and protection, many South African skilled workers are moving out of the country because the environment is detrimental to them and the future of their children being at risk (Shaw, 2007). According to Rasool (2012), an average of 25 000 people are killed every year because of rape and assault which has forced people to seek refuge in other countries. Despite all these, South Africa is still an attractive destination for most African migrants and this could be attributed to volatile economies and political unrest in many African countries.

5.2.3 Social

In line with this theme, other sub-themes emerged such as spouse, personal reasons, aspirations/ empowerment, education, networks and perceptions as components that mitigated migration among Cameroonian and Congolese migrants.

5.2.3.1 Spouse

The case study results showed that most married women never had any push factor for migrating except to be united with their husbands in SA. The vision of their spouses influenced their decisions to migrate though few had other factors that motivated them to migrate such as unemployment and the search for a better life. According to them, migration was an opportunity for them to re-connect and work towards a common goal of providing a better life for their children. This is similar to Polish migrants who ask their spouses to join them in the UK usually months rather than years after migration and their wives supposedly make inspection visits before finally joining their husbands (White, 2017).

However, given that migration is now a global trend, some wives, being pioneer migrants, subsequently invites their husbands to join them abroad (White, 2017). One female respondent encouraged her husband to join her in Cape Town knowing that two hands are better than one and will speed up the process of achieving their objectives. Previous research suggests that the different migration status of each spouse can be a form of empowerment that helps them in making decisions about the family. For instance, women who were mostly oriented in education and work were able to invite their husbands to come join them as well as provide care and to support their families (Nadim, 2014). Hence, migration studies now tend to treat women's migration as primarily a consequence of male migration and women are now seen as merely accompanying or following their husbands (Charsley and Shaw, 2006).

According to Martin and Zurcher (2008), push and pull classification table of factors that influence migration by type of migrant: wives, husbands and children joining their

parents fall under the category of non-economic migrants which is a demand pull factor. Findings from the Cameroonian and Congolese case study and literature prove that the primary reason for migration among married women is to reconnect and reunite with their husbands. Family re-unification is a demand pull factor for migrants in Cape Town.

5.2.3.2 Personal Reasons

According to the study findings, disappointment of some sort contributed to one of the reasons for migrating because they were affected emotionally and psychologically. Migration for them is a strategy to get over what they were facing either in their relationships, loss of job etc. which affected their social status. Some form of dubious act perpetrated on them as well as disappointment with their country formed other personal reasons. This finding is similar to a study by (Bidwell, Laxmikanth, Blacklock, Hayward, Willcox, and Peersman, 2014) on South African health personnel in the UK who left the country because they were affected by incidences of rape or gang violence at their work place which affected them. Most of them were also disappointed with the society, characterized with high levels of insecurity; crime and racial tension which made them leave the country.

5.2.3.3 Aspirations/Empowerment

According to Hart (2016) human aspirations can be defined as people's deepest hopes and dreams. Results from this study show that migration for most migrants was to make their hopes a reality. Some parents migrated because they wanted to secure a better future for their children, something that they could not afford back home. Literature identifies aspirations as the reason for migration. This is seen in Gasper and Truong's (2010) study on the migration of young men from the hills of Nepal to the megalopolis of Mumbai, who left their home country because they wanted a place where they could get broader experiences, search for cultural and sexual freedom, thriving for their personal growth in an environment with less social constraints which was an important phase of growing as a man in the community.

Another study by Min-Harris (2010) confirms that most young people are excited to leave from their low standards of living to new settlements with big dreams and aspirations. Participants saw migration as an adventure to develop one's self and learn how to become independent. This claim is also supported by Makakala (2015) stating that living abroad is an opportunity for migrants to grow, which is instrumental in contributing to their personal development.

People's desire to travel out of the country was influenced by the fact that the country could not provide the opportunities to meet their dreams of building a career and providing employment opportunities for making more money. Robeyns and Conradie (2013) attest to this with the claim that, new aspirations are strongly connected to or influenced by our family, surroundings and social value system, cultural and spiritual background.

Improving wellbeing and physical development to meet aspirations is another important factor for migration. Migration is an opportunity for people to empower themselves and it is very important for human dignity as it gives people the opportunity to freely participate and take decisions that affects their lives such as making the decision to migrate which is an important contributor to attaining their goals. The real freedom to choose their place of destination and benefit will give them the opportunity to realize their capability which is part of human development and reaching the state of complete happiness (Sen, 1999). This study confirms to the capability approach's claim that aspiration is a factor for migration adding to the other conventional factors for migration.

Besides, migration for some was a type of empowerment in the sense that it is an expression of pride to families because of the benefits that comes with migration. Families see migrants as a source of strength to them on the basis that migrants will support them financially. This is similar to a study by Makakala (2015) where migration is seen as a fashionable act among Tanzanian migrants in the UK and migrants give financial

assistance to their families back home. Also, De Hass (2007) supports this by stating that international migrant household's received remittances from abroad which were two and a half times greater than non-migrant households. Migration has contributed to the financial viability of many people being able to support their families back home.

Migration for others is an opportunity to gain exposure and empowerment as well as getting new experiences at school, work and the new environment. This is in accordance to Lee's Push and Pull model which states that migration is an opportunity to gain exposure, learn new skills and cultures contributing to personal development (Lee, 1966).

5.2.3.4 Education

Education which is another form of empowerment motivated many young people to migrate. In this study most young people migrated to South Africa for studies. According to Kerr and Kerr (2011), many students from developing countries migrate to advanced countries for studies. The absence of certain equipment, courses, insufficient lecturers and no confidence in the education system back home pushed most participants to leave home. Literature acknowledges that education is one of the push factors for migration contributing to the recent growth in the number of students that have decided to migrate for studies. This is because emerging economies are unable to satisfy the demands of tertiary education (Makakala, 2015). Previous research by Kajiura, (2008) show that, some high profile universities abroad offer training programs to students mainly from developing countries, which is a pull factor that attracts many students to travel abroad and take advantage of these opportunities.

Most participants chose South Africa because certificates obtained in South Africa are internationally recognised and tuition in South African institutions are cheaper than European countries. This is similar to Tati's (2010) finding of francophone migrants in Western Cape who gave these same reasons as factors that influenced them to study in South Africa. In 2009, South Africa was rated the tenth best destination for foreign students who want to build their education career (Tati, 2010). According to participants, South

Africa has the best Universities in Africa and has all the equipment needed for field work. This position confirms Lee's push and pull theory and also the capability approach which states that, personal factors such as better education tend to influence people to migrate and explore more of their capabilities by migrating to areas with several opportunities.

5.2.3.5 Media

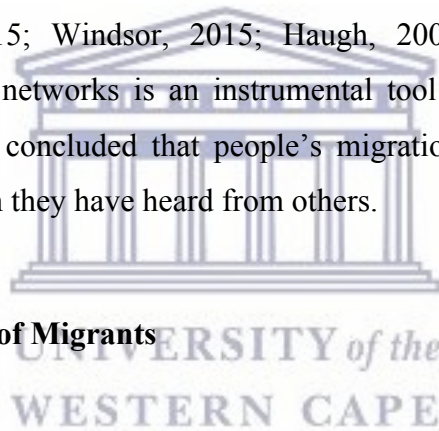
Media also played a role in influencing a few respondents in their migration decision. Things participants watched on TV, the stories they read on newspapers and researched about their host country, South Africa influenced them to travel. Information from the internet, TV, print news and pictures were identified as pull factors for migration. This is supported by Wood and King (2013) who depicts that, information conveyed by the destination countries either through TV, films and newspaper articles are important factors that motivated potential migrants to move to a particular destination. They cited Siew-Peng's study where the TV coverage on satellite TV on Hong Kong's handover to China influenced Hong Kong Chinese immigrants to UK. In the UK, highly skilled Tanzanians living in the UK who did not have a realistic impression of the UK based their migration decision strongly on perceptions and expectations based on TV programmes (Makakala, 2015). The way South Africa was portrayed via media after the apartheid regime and its emerging economic development was a pull factor for few participants.

5.2.3.6 Perceptions

Migrant's perceptions of Cape Town became a pull factor for their migration decision. Participants perceived that because of the white majority in Cape Town, there are opportunities for them and easy to get jobs equivalent to standards in Europe. However, results show that their actual experiences in Cape Town do not match their expectations. This confirms to Lee's affirmation that sometimes, it is perceptions and not so much the actual factors at origin and destination countries that influence migration (Lee, 1966).

5.2.3.7 Networks

Migrant networks strongly influence migration either through the influence of kin, friends, parents who act as key informants providing the necessary information about the host country (Boswell and Crisp, 2003). This is similar to results from this study as most respondents were influenced through networks in both host and home country. Parents encouraged their children to travel out of the country because they will be exposed to many more opportunities than in their home countries. Others were influenced by returning migrants and friends who strongly motivated them. Studies on Irish migrants in Dublin show the important role of networks in facilitating and maintaining migration through relationships with friends, relatives and fellow countrymen who relay information about the opportunities in host countries such as potential jobs and free accommodation (Nguyen, 2015; Windsor, 2015; Haugh, 2008). According to Haugh (2008), social capital through networks is an instrumental tool in individual's migration decision. Therefore, it can be concluded that people's migration decisions are based on trust, relying on the information they have heard from others.



5.3 Expectation/Experiences of Migrants

5.3.1 Education

Several studies indicate that education is a pull factor for international migration and it is one of the main reasons why many young people leave their home countries to travel abroad. This is the same with foreign nationals in Cape Town as findings from the study show that, more than half of the sample population wanted to pursue education upon arrival. The results indicated that, most of them who came to pursue studies, actually met their expectations. Similarly, findings by Tati (2010) of Francophone students in South Africa indicated that, most students who came for further studies actually succeeded, though they faced several challenges coping as students in SA. The fact that South Africa creates a favourable environment for students is a pull factor that has attracted many students into the country. This shows that South Africa's educational sector helps in

meeting the dreams of young people and according to the Capability Approach the agency which is the South African government, has provided an opportunity for young people to meet their capabilities helping them develop their human resource which is an effective tool for development.

Though most of them actually succeeded to go to school their actual experiences coping as students was not what they expected. This is because of their perception about school life in SA. They thought that things will be much easier for them for instance; getting a job, have a smooth blend between working and studying at the same time as well as acquire funding opportunities. Some who managed to work and pursue studies at the same time complained of low earnings that was not enough to fully support them through school, thus making life even more challenging for some of them. This finding is supported by previous research by Tati (2010), Van Tonder and Soontiens (2013) who attest that students have to do some form of work related research, tutor, work as student assistants, take on casual jobs (fully aware of the insecurities that comes with the jobs) just to make some money that will support their cost of living while studying since foreigners are not formally eligible to formal channels of financial support. According to Van Tonder and Soontiens (2013), most students ignore their present work conditions aiming at their degree which they look up to.

Immigrant students work under such conditions because channels are not open for them to get bursaries though some of them have all the qualifications for instance good results. Their inability to cope has led to some dropping out of school because they cannot cope while others spend longer periods pursuing their degrees. Lack of financial support constrains some students to find different ways of sponsoring themselves either through exploitative work conditions or self-employment (Tati, 2010). Despite these challenges, few of them were awarded scholarships which helped them to meet and even surpass their expectations.

Some other participants particularly from Congo that came expecting to enrol for a particular discipline were not given the opportunity because only a small percentage of foreigners are allowed to enrol into such courses, so they ended up doing something

else. This finding is confirmed by Tati's study explaining that, some francophone students could not continue with what they wanted to study because some academic institutions in South Africa offer few spaces for foreign students. In line with the capability approach, policies prevent a person to be free to do or achieve whatever values and goals as in the case of this study where medicine and other related courses, limits foreigners from becoming integral agents of change and meeting their capabilities (Sen, 1985).

Digressing to something else and spending longer time studying either because of financial or any other constraints ties up with Lee's push and pull model which states that some people move to an area of destination creating an over evaluation of the positive elements of their new area not taking into consideration negative situations that could arise (Lee, 1966). For instance, foreign nationals did not foresee the challenge of not having sufficient funding opportunities which has led to some of them dropping out of school and spending more time working, not having enough time to study as well as the challenge of documentation.

5.3.2 Employment after Graduation

Educated students are prospective skilled human capital especially after graduation. Results from this study show that all students or former students expected to get employment after graduation either in their home countries or in South Africa but most of them want employment in South Africa. However, these expectations for most has not been met because of the challenge of gaining employment in the country and consequently, most of them have to continue studying. This result contradicts findings from a study on Tanzanian migrants in the UK who after completed studies remained as skilled migrants and got employment after completing their studies. According to Hawthorne (2008 cited in Makakala, 2015, p.52), international students have developed into prioritised potential human capital resource, one that is suitable to most host country employers because they are young, they possess advanced host country language with professional training and other credentials that are highly acceptable.

Literature from previous studies shows that most students expect to get employment after graduation which increases the possibility of getting employment (Hugo, 2002; Gribble and Blackmore, 2012 cited in Makakala, 2015, p.51). In Cape Town, students' strong desire of getting employed after graduation still does not increase the possibility of getting a decent job which is different from the case with previous studies. Though most of them did not get employment after graduation as expected, some few met their expectations and got employed which according to them made it easy for them to attain other objectives.

Most participants that migrated for economic reasons saw education as a route to decent jobs which was a strong pull factor for migration. This confirms to Lee's push and pull theory as well as the Capability Approach that personal factors such as better education and getting employment tend to motivate people to explore more of their capabilities as they tend to migrate to areas where there are opportunities like the case of participants who wanted to study and later get decent jobs.

Respondents who are still busy with their first degree fear the future of unemployment upon completion and a majority of participants' attribute this to the changes in the migration policy which has even made things worse. This is similar to the case of Tanzanian migrants in the UK who now complain that the recent shift in the migration policy has reduced the possibility of post-study work visa that allowed international students in the UK to work for two years after obtaining a degree in the UK (Makakala, 2015).

In response to the challenge of foreign students getting employment after graduation, the most recent Green Paper addresses this and looks for ways in which the South African government can benefit from their man-power. The Green Paper proposes that the South African government should use visa and permitting strategically in order to retain international students in South Africa which is an important opportunity that many countries are exploiting (Green Paper, 2016). The researcher concludes that education is

human capital and if well managed it will result in many positive gains not only on the part of migrants alone but the host country as well.

According to the capability approach, expanding human capabilities by creating job opportunities gives foreigners the real freedom to realize their migration aspirations which is central to development (Sen, 1999). Sen gives two reasons why freedom is vital in development; firstly because of the intrinsic importance of human freedoms that directly increases the value and quality of people's life and also the instrumental value of freedoms that contributes to human and economic progress (Haas, 2014). In line with the Cape Town study, the intrinsic freedom for graduates to easily have access to the job market will increase the value and quality of their lives as well as contribute not only to the economic growth of the country but their happiness which is a fundamental tool for development. Their aspiration is not just going to school but getting employment after graduation which will add value to their well-being. Finding employment is a means to an end meaning that the job is a necessary means to live the life the way they want to live.

Haas (2014) depicts that according to Sen's capability approach, migration should not only be theorized as an instrumental-functional means to an end to improve people's ability to live the lives they have reason to value but as a necessary protecting factor to defend their rights and enhance wellbeing such as employment opportunities.

5.3.3 Unemployment

Apart from students seeking employment after graduation another group of migrants mainly those who came for greener pastures aspired to get decent jobs that will earn them lots of money. A number of them who had come with some qualifications expecting to get decent jobs did not have as expected because the reality of the society was different from what they expected. This is similar to the case of Iranians migrants in Australia who did not meet their expectations of high employment opportunities especially those who had higher qualifications before migrating. Their unmet expectation led to further uncertainty and stress which further exposed them to risk of psychological and low levels of well-being (Hosseini, 2015).

To deal with the reality of unemployment, participants resorted to looking for other survival alternatives for instance self-employment or picking up casual jobs like cleaning, working in restaurants, security and working as domestic servants. This is in line with Lee's (1966) push and pull model for migration stating that potential migrants might move for a certain set of reasons having different expectations and then later digress to something else because of the conditions in the new environment and this differs from person to person depending on the circumstances or the life cycle of migrants.

Van Tonder and Soontiens (2013) cites the case of South African migrants in Australia who had left well-paying jobs back home believing to get better jobs, faced difficulty getting decent jobs and the jobs available were waitresses, street vendors etc. which was far from their expectations. In Germany, immigrants are initially less likely to participate in the job market and more likely to be unemployed but as time progresses when they learn new skills unemployment reduces (Beyer, 2016). This is not the case with migrants in Cape Town because though most of them are equipped with the necessary skills and experiences, the rate of unemployment is still high. This claim is evident to the fact that some participants asserted that although they have lived in Cape Town for many years there is still no hope for employment and they think that here it is "survival of the fittest".

Providing opportunities for migrants will ease their adjustments and help them meet their objectives as well as contribute to economic growth. Capabilities are the real freedoms that shape people's destinies, so when capabilities are expanded the freedoms are positive and when people are open to opportunities it will help them have control over their own lives hence expanding their human capabilities and increasing the quality of their lives (Haas, 2014). Since most participants left their countries because of the unfavourable conditions such as unemployment, coming to South Africa and still facing the challenge of unemployment makes them more vulnerable and exposes them to victimization hence affecting their well-being and quality of their lives.

This study with support from other studies confirm that unemployment, lack of employment opportunities and underemployment is not peculiar to migrants in South Africa alone but in other parts of the world. Apart from employment being a source of income, it is very important in the lives of migrants because in the long run it will help them improve their wellbeing as well as become useful in society.

5.3.4 Xenophobia and Discrimination

Though xenophobia is not a new phenomenon amongst foreigners in South Africa, most migrants had no predictions about xenophobia before coming but expected a society characterised with the solidarity life style. This confirms with Lee's (1966) push and pull model of migration which depicts that, some people move to an area of destination, later understand that they may have had greater expectations creating an excessive evaluation of the positive elements of their new destination not thinking of the negative elements that they could come across. Participants had an over evaluation of South Africa like any other African country characterised with the solidarity lifestyle not taking into consideration the negative element of xenophobia.

Foreign nationals in Cape Town are exposed to different forms of xenophobic attacks and discrimination. One respondent cited the case of some adverts that deny foreigners from staying in certain areas. Another lady had her belongings thrown out of the house after she was given short notice by her landlord and when she reported the case at the police station, she was told that she cannot be helped because she is a foreigner. This finding is supported by Adjai (2010) who explained that Migrants in South Africa have lots of negative experiences from police officers. Zvomuya (2013 cited in Schippers, 2015, p.28) mentioned that in 1998 four Mozambicans were attacked and killed by police dogs during their training exercise and this incident was recorded by four police officers.

Other respondents experienced xenophobic attacks in school, at work, on the train, taxi and even on the road. There is widespread xenophobia in South Africa as these attacks continue to erupt in townships and informal settlements (Valji, 2003; Adjai, 2010; Madue, 2015;

Monkhe, 2015). Frustration amongst South Africans was highlighted in this study by few participants as the cause of xenophobic attacks. According to literature, the reasons some South Africans give as the cause for xenophobic attacks is that foreigners are threats to their safety due to the high rates of crime amongst foreigners and that they have come to steal their jobs and women (Shee 2008; Adjai, 2010 and Ladau, 2013). Adjai (2010) explains that in reality, migrants are not stealing jobs but making positive contributions to the economy of South Africa. According to Madue (2015), these attacks are frequent when citizens feel frustrated about the slow pace of service delivery and other related problems.

Xenophobia against foreigners is not only unique to South Africa but arise in other European countries. Strik (2015) notes that in Greece, migrants, asylum seekers and refugees have faced serious xenophobic attacks which include beating, stabbing, attacks on immigrants' residences, churches, shops and community centres and has led to increase criminality and exploitation of this group. In Hungary, xenophobic attitudes toward foreign nationals has been going on since 1992 and according to recent studies, there is an increasing refusal of immigrants into the country due to the rising levels of xenophobic attacks as of January 2016 compared to October 2015 (Simonovit and Bernat, 2016).

Most students cited cases of discrimination and segregation particularly where most bursaries are captioned "South Africans only". Discrimination is not only faced by foreign students but other groups of immigrants for instance previous studies done amongst Iranian immigrants in Australia highlight that, most immigrants have experienced high levels of discrimination mostly in the work place and particularly in relation to their nationality and religion exposing them to psychological problems such as trauma and depression (Hosseini, 2015). However, the author further posits that, the consequences of this could be damaging to social and personal relationships and trust as well as lead to social isolation because people live in fear.

Xenophobia violates human rights and according to the UN declaration of human rights this is unacceptable. Ruhs (2010) states that human rights are very relevant to human development therefore the rights of migrants should not be infringed either through xenophobia attacks or any other form of violence and discrimination. The capability approach being a moral framework, points that violence against human beings limits them from enjoying their freedom and disenables them from attaining their capabilities. Being a foreigner in its self is very challenging for most migrants and settling in an environment which is detrimental to their social and physical wellbeing keeps them in fear and also limits them from exploiting their potentials. Haas (2014) operationalises this through the concept of human capability and explains that human beings should live life the way they value to and improve their choices not being limited by any form of external factors. Conceptualising this to this study, external factors here refers to xenophobic attacks, insecurity and discrimination perpetuated by some citizens of the host country, should be prevented because of its negative impacts on migrants' personal development.

5.3.5 Crime and Insecurity

In terms of security and protection most migrants had a picture of a well-organized society where crime and violence will be insignificant but their actual experience is the alarming rate of crime and insecurity that they live with. Participants did not take into consideration the negative element of crime and insecurity as stated in the push and pull theory which has resulted in many living in fear. Majority of them have been victims of robbery attacks either in their shops, homes or on the road. Some cited cases of others who have been killed because of insecurity. This study confirms previous findings that migrants are exposed to crime and insecurity like the case of two Senegalese and one Mozambican that were attacked on a train in 1998 with several other cases of death crime that has been reported (Zvomuya, 2013 cited in Schippers, 2015, p.28). In addition, Landau (2013) depicts that in 2013, at least three major instances of violence against foreigners were reported every week. Fabricius (2014 cited in Schippers, 2015, p. 29) mentions that over 900 migrants have been killed because of their identity.

Fear of crime and insecurity is a societal problem in South Africa where even South African citizens themselves have been victims. Previous studies by Holtmann and Domingo (2008) and Pretorius (2008) show that South Africa over the last decades has and is still experiencing aggravated crime rates, murder, kidnapping, interpersonal crimes such as rape and domestic violence that has gripped the hearts of many with fear. According to these authors, South Africans are constantly exposed to crime and violence which could be either through victimization or extensive media reports.

5.4 Positive Experiences

5.4.1 Resilience

According to Merriam-Webster dictionary (2014) resilience is defined as the ability for one to become strong, healthy after an unpleasant happening. The challenges in migration can provide opportunities for growth and it is an important developmental process that helps to prevent depression (Hosseini, 2015). From the different experiences that migrants have encountered, findings show that most of them were not satisfied with their state of life in South Africa. However, majority of them said their challenging experiences have transformed into positive ones. For instance, through their experiences, they have learned to be independent, courageous, patient, tough and able to come up with diverse survival strategies. This outcome is similar to previous study by Hosseini (2015) on Iranian immigrants in Australia who maintained patience in the midst of trouble, developed self-coping strategies and the ability to interact with others positively through their social networking with family and friends that made them to be more resilient.

Similarly, internationally trained professional women from Iran, Israel and other countries studying in Canada, through their experiences witnessed a loss of their professional identity and social status thus preventing them from fitting in the new society. Conversely, this produced a positive effect on them as they developed confidence in themselves and became independent because they were not exposed to external social networks, hence inspiring them to rely on themselves (Fusova, 2014).

Apart from negative experiences translating to resilience amongst immigrants, some few respondents had some positive experiences and what they achieved was far beyond their expectations for instance some students received bursaries that encouraged them to study even further beyond their expectations. Migrants easily take advantage of opportunities and use them to their highest potential. Similarly, Samuels (2015) posits that immigrant adults in Cayman Island affirmed that the performance of teachers, use of technology, strength of the currency as well as the fact that some banks could issue credit cards to immigrant adult learners, permitted them to finance their studies. This has contributed highly to meeting their objectives and exceeding their expectations.

5.4.2 Exposure

Gaining exposure was also one of the push factors for migration. Most migrants wanted to be exposed to new cultures, new ways of life and different opportunities. All those who expected different forms of exposure in their new destination met their expectations and some few gained beyond their expectations. This study realised that the first thing migrants were exposed to was the different dynamics of life. Their interactions and experiences with people of different cultures helped them to learn how to successfully live and cope with people and because of this, they testify that they can now live in any society and still cope.

This outcome is similar to previous study by Hosseini (2015) of Iranian immigrants in Australia that through migrant's experiences they understood the Australian society and adopted coping behaviours to help them easily adapt and integrate in the society. Apart from this, others gained new skills, knowledge and educational advancements which is a unique resource for them (Hosseini, 2015). Literature supports that through migrant's experiences, they have learned new skills in the host countries that has transformed them into important political players and highly represented to take influential positions in both home and host countries (Rohrmoser and Wächter). Migrants are now involved in political projects contributing to the development of their home countries through

monetary and other forms of contributions (Rohrmoser and Wächter, 2008; Alonso, 2011; Gsir 2014; Cervan-Gil, 2016).

Some students in the Cape Town study have been opported to travel to different countries, create new networks while a few workers and students have been exposed to different work dynamics on their jobs. This finding is similar to Zerman's study as international students were exposed to different societies through their direct engagements through work and travel programs which most students considered as exceptional, perfect and a great opening for them (Zerman, 2014). One respondent was excited to be exposed to a new type of methodology which has made him carry out research with ease. This is consistent with a study by Lee and Green (2016) of black America students who studied in South Africa, who were taught new ways to conduct research which made research comfortable for them beyond the mechanics of research. Besides, they were engaged in part time internships and served as research assistants, facilitating learning to other students and giving them an opportunity to explore other things outside the US educational contexts (Lee and Green, 2016; Tati, 2010).

5.5 Effects of the New International Migration Policy on Migrants

The third objective looked at the different ways in which migrants have been affected by the recent migration policy.

5.5.1 Migrants Perception of the Policy

It is very important to understand perceptions because they help construct individual's conscious experience and affect the way they interact with people around them (Aliti, 2014). People's behaviours are centred on their perceptions of what reality is and not on reality itself (Aliti, 2014). Migrants in Cape Town have different perceptions about the new migration policy and most of these perceptions are negative. Some see the changes in the migration policy as structured xenophobia because laws are now used to victimize foreigners while others perceive the policy to be very restrictive, unfair towards foreign nationals and believe that the policy was designed to frustrate migrants.

Similarly, in Aliti's (2014) study, Swedish adult of higher education perceived that the immigration policy was restrictive towards immigrants creating segregation and making them negatively stereotyped. Moreover, others alleged that the Swedish immigration policy ignored the contributions immigrants add to the economy.

While immigrants have negative perceptions about the migration policy some government officials have negative perceptions about foreigners. Boynton's (2015) study shows that some officials from the government and the department of home affairs see migration as a threat to social and national identity while policy makers associate migrants with crime, corruption and see them as inherent threats to South Africa's territorial borders and human security. Thus, both migrants and South African officials have conflicting perceptions about each other making it difficult for them to cooperate hence influencing the way they see and relate with each other.

According to the Preamble of the Amendment Act (2011), the recent changes in the policy was meant to control and manage migration and not to frustrate foreign nationals as perceived by some of them. Despite the intention of the preamble, it is important to note that these foreigners base their perceptions on the different ways in which the policy has affected them. To support this assumption, Boynton's (2015) findings show that while the country has adopted more liberal and progressive policies since 1991, most of the country's policies remain protectionist, control-oriented and non-rights based towards foreigners.

Evidence of the restrictive nature of the policy is seen in Number 27 of the new regulation which states that migrants who overstay their visas that were formerly asked to pay a fine are now declared undesirable and could possibly be constrained from coming into South Africa for more than 5 years (Boynton, 2015). According to Elison (2014 cited in Boynton, 2015) this is undesirable and unlawful because the department does not give them the opportunity to extend their permits. The author further depicts that because of the restrictive laws, many immigrants have been forced to leave the country.

To further buttress on the restrictive nature of the migration policy, Rasool et al., (2012) depicts that, the restrictive nature of the policy has influenced the shortage of skills in the country, not being helpful to the issue of skill shortage in the country. With evidence from literature and this study, it is likely that South Africa has a restrictive migration policy.

5.5.2 Access to Adequate Information

Access to proper information and attention from administrative officials was a major issue of contention among migrants. Most participants complained that communication between them and officials was a serious challenge because different officials' give conflicting information when making inquiries about any subjects relating to their visas and permits. This conflicting

Information misguides them. Supporting this assertion, Bidandi and Wamundiya (2009) concurs that, DHA's policy of internal transfers or rotation of workers after every six months sometimes limits official's ability to effectively carry out their responsibilities. This is because before they get themselves acquainted with certain rules and policies governing the department, they get transferred and the new official that comes might not be well informed as a result causing inefficiency in service delivery and delays in adjudicating cases. However, despite migrants claim that they are misguided by some DHA officials and some migrants are ignorant about so many things regarding the migration policy.

5.5.3 Inconveniences

Most migrants who are asylum seekers complained that the new policy has not made things any better for them because they still have to travel long distances to renew their permits. This is confirmed by Reiss (2016) as immigrants acknowledged that the closure of the Cape Town branch as a refugee reception office now requires them to travel to ports of entry where they first claimed asylum to now renew their permits. Some participants have to travel for long distances, from Cape Town to Messina and Pretoria only to renew their permits. Besides, long distance is not the only challenge but the fact that asylum seekers and refugees face other challenges mainly financial challenges which is

priority. Deacon et al, (2014, p.19) supports this view by asserting that apart from the common challenges that foreign nationals face with the host population, migrants also face ‘migrant- specific vulnerabilities’, that comes by virtue of an individual haven migrated. The availability of only three refugee reception centers in the country to receive new applicants and the fact that asylum seekers have to go for renewal only in their ports of entry where they first claimed their permits is a major problem that has negatively affected this group of people (Reiss, 2016).

Another concern raised was the limited duration of time that is given when they go to renew asylum permits; some are given one month while others are given three months. Consequently, this has resulted to some becoming undocumented against their will because they cannot cover their cost of travelling. Khan (2007) and Deacon, et al., (2014) argue that having access to these offices is a major challenge amongst refugees and asylum seekers who always struggle to have access to them to the extent that some sleep outside waiting and sometimes are not attended to. They witness delay in the processing of their documents leading to vulnerability and subject to arrest and deportation (Khan, 2007 and Deacon et al., 2014).

According to them the shortage and ineffectiveness of sufficient staff members at the Refugee Reception Offices has immensely contributed to the harassment of foreign nationals and the effect of this is on the migrants who are often sent away preventing them from renewing their permits which becomes even more challenging for them due to the decree of the Immigration Act (1). This Act stipulates that “if a permit expires before the holder reports to the Refugee Reception Officer in order to apply for an asylum in terms of Section 21 of the Refugee Act, 1988 (Act 130 of 1988), the holder of the permit shall become an illegal foreigner” (Section 32.2). Consequently, these migrants spend more time struggling to renew their permits which exposes them to arrest from the police and other types of risk. Yet, migrants still face the challenge of trying to cope and survive under these unfavorable conditions.

Most non- asylum and refugee participants described how the introduction of VFS which is supposed to help facilitate the process of applying for permits, has come with so many inconveniences, making permits extensions and applications complex than before. According to findings, some participants identified that they have to spend so much time and money to get their documents processed. This is because some face delays receiving feedback after submitting their documents or loses documents after submission to VFS and sometimes they have to resubmit all over again making the procedures long and cumbersome. Due to this some of them decide to use agents to follow up for them which is costly and sometimes risky.

According to an article by Hagenmeier, Quinlan and Lansinkin published in the mail guardian newspaper (2015), it was highlighted that the current changes in the new immigration regulation has negatively affected the South African education sector because this sector has seen a sharp drop in international student numbers and concerns have been raised that students applying at different South African embassies are facing unequal treatment in the processing of visas and imposition of conditions. According to them the visa facilitation services appointed as the agent by the Department of Home Affairs, has become more challenging to obtain a study visa and many students have been unable to meet the new, stricter and most costly 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 (Mail and Guardian, 2015).

Besides, without a permit, migrants are at risk to have their bank accounts closed, lose jobs, miss exams and some others have issues with getting their salaries paid because their permits were not renewed. Most foreigners say the coming of the new system has worsened things as most of them prefer to directly deal with DHA to handle the processing of their documents than VFS.

5.5.4 Inability to change permits

Another concern that participants using asylum permits raised is the fact that the new policy does not allow them to move to any other permit like before. Most of these respondents

have been on asylum permits for many years even before the new policy was introduced and it was difficult for them to get a refugee status even after five years as stipulated by the 1988 Refugee Act. According to the 1998 Refugee Act, a five-year refugee permit may be issued to someone who has remained as an asylum seeker in South Africa for a period of five years continuously and they will have to be refugees for those five years after their asylum application has been granted and will be eligible for status as a permanent resident of South Africa (Smith, 2017).

Some others say coming of the new policy makes things worse because it limits them from so many opportunities. From the study, some participants have lived for more than 10 years and are still on asylum permit, so with the changes in the policy, they are not allowed to move to another permit and according to Section 15 of the 2011 Amendment, the asylum transit visa has been reduced from 14 days to 5 days, making asylum seekers more vulnerable to arrest and deportation (Kavuro, 2017). According to the former minister of DHA this is done because they have realised that the immigration legislation has been abused by so many people that has led to sticker laws on asylum seekers (Gigaba, 2014 cited in Boynton, 2015).

A participant using a work permit concerted to the fact that the new regulation does not allow him to change or renew his permit in South Africa. For him to do that he has to go to his country which is a challenge for him because he does not have enough money to sponsor his trip and the conditions back home is not favourable for to embark on that journey.

Apart from the asylum and work permit mentioned in the study, Boynton (2015) also states that according to the new regulation foreigners on visitor's visas can no longer change their status while in the country except in exceptional circumstances, in an effort to prevent these persons from overstaying or applying for work. According to Risse (2009) restrictive immigration policies are problematic because they discourage the development of human capabilities and these barriers limit human freedom (Risse, 2009). This withholds people's freedom to attain their capabilities and their ability to choose one

type of life over another which is a moral value that everyone has to enjoy. This aligns with the central argument of the capability approach which states that people can either achieve freedoms or fail to achieve them because of the social, economic, political constraints.

5.5.5 No hope for employment

Few respondents from Congo with the refugee status and green ID thought these documents will guarantee them employment. A number of them who have applied for jobs have not been able to get these jobs and according to them, when employers have a look at their ID's and notice that they are foreigners, they simply disqualify them. So they assume that the papers they are given have limited advantages and there is no difference between them and others that do not have these documents.

Besides, others said the coming of the new regulation has altered the expectations of most people who wanted to work. This is supported by evidence from the new policy which now requires a lot of documents making them to feel discouraged from even attempting to go through the long procedures. According to the new regulations application for work visa must be accompanied by certificates from the department of labour, stating among others that their salary and benefits are equal with those paid to South African citizens in similar positions. The Labour department would also have to take steps to ensure that the employer is registered with the Commission on Intellectual Property and Companies (Department of Home Affairs, 2016). These procedures amongst others are some of the reasons why participants do not envisage the immigration policy as helping them to easily integrate into the system because of the numerous requirements needed for applications.

Many more requirements are needed for applicants under the new regulation taking more time to apply than before as the new regulation now requires not only SAQA evaluation for every applicant's qualification, even for those without qualification. Now the department of labour is now required to issue a certificate confirming that despite a proper search, the applicant's employer was unable to find a South African citizen or

permanent resident with qualification and skills or experience equivalent for those of the applicant. Such certificates in the past took up to six months to obtain (Boynton, 2015).

The Critical Skills Work Visa has now replaced the out dated and complicated quota and exceptional skills permit. However, the issue with this type of permit is that any person applying should do so outside South Africa making it more challenging to hire foreigners due to the logistics and wait time. There is a concern that the current list does not possess a sufficient number of categories and persons who apply must have at least five years of experience and register with an accredited professional body/council/board that is recognised by SAQA (Boynton, 2015). Changes in the immigration Act have not addressed the growing skills shortage in South Africa despite the Immigration Act's commitment to recruit skilled foreigners; the law has not gone far enough to facilitate such immigration (Boynton, 2015).

In Sweden the immigration policy has enabled immigrants from different parts of the world to move to Sweden and work hence some Student from India and other countries have been granted work permits. This policy was applied in order for them to overcome any challenge that may arise in the future in the supply of labour and in order for the government to maintain a good supply of labour in the future. Swedish government decided to use labour immigration policy to overcome future challenges and improve the economic situation of the country (Enow, 2010).

The recent Green Paper reacted to the gaps of the migration policy and stated that the lack of a holistic approach of the immigration policy has led to policy gaps therefore suggesting different ways to address the reality of migration and put forward options that would help enable South Africa, Southern Africa and Africa as a whole to develop its own markets, industries and skills using to their advantage. According to the Green Paper it is neither desirable nor possible to stop or slow down international migration, what it argues is that international migration in general is favourable if it is managed in a way that is appropriate, secure and respectful of human rights. This is because international migration is part of what makes us human for we are by nature mobile and move in

search of safety or opportunities. Besides, people are also social beings and build complex societies that have rules defining who can belong or visit and under what conditions (Department of Home Affairs, 2016).

It should be noted that most participants of this study are made up of students, graduate and parents who have a vision for better education for their children and others who desire to pursue studies if they are given the opportunity. Interestingly, the Green Paper took special interest on promoting and retaining international students especially those who want to stay in the country because they see it as a human resource which South Africa can take advantage of. According to the Nation Development Plan (NDP), “all graduates from foreign countries should be granted 7-year work permits” and in line with the NDP, the Green Paper proposes that South Africa should use the visa and permitting regime to strategically retain international students in South Africa-post graduation (Department of Home Affairs, 2016).

According to the Green Paper (2016) retention of international students after graduation is an important an important opportunity that many countries are exploiting. This is in line with previous studies by Dzvimbo (2003) and Alonso (2011) in USA, Europe, Germany and France stating that the impact of better quality education and training opportunities offered to migrants abroad made them remain in these countries and the effect of this is significant contributions to social change and cultural interaction in concerned countries leading to different kinds of development in both sending and receiving countries. Germany, France and Norway have introduced regulations that allow foreign students to remain in the country after finishing their studies and obtain work permits as regarding their skills (Dzvimbo, 2003).

According to the Green Paper, if the international student leaves upon graduation, the return on that investment is lost to the host country. They argue that a number of countries grant residence visas and permits to international students (including South Africa students) after graduation as an incentive for attracting students to stay in the country. However, South Africa has not adopted a similar approach to attract students to stay

in the country post their graduation. In implementing this strategy effectively, a number of factors must be considered for instance students may not necessarily want to live in South Africa permanently but may want to gain work experience before returning to their countries which is similar to the case of Britain where the government designed a program called “High Skilled Migration Program” which allowed skilled workers to come to and work in the UK without any prior offer of employment to offer them with jobs and other services that will contribute to the growing of their economy (Dzvimbo, 2003). The Green Paper also notes that while many may look for salaried work, some are aspiring entrepreneurs who will look to start business in SA because of its attractive business environment and markets.

Due to the positive contributions of migrants to economic growth and development, the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development recognizes that international migration is a multi-dimensional reality of vital relevance for the development of countries of origin, transit and destination, which requires clear and ample responses. However, international cooperation has laid emphasis to ensure safe, orderly and regular migration involving full respect of human rights and the benevolent treatment of migrants and refugees (International Migration Report, 2015). According to Dreze and Sen (2002) the capability approach as a people-centred approach places humans as agents first. The critical role of social opportunity is to expand the domain of human agency and freedoms. How agency relates to others in society and within the space of expanding freedoms has an effect and influence on the available options and opportunities.

In order to increase the capabilities of the active work force, policy makers should give priority to the role of agency and how it influences their capabilities. This is because policy indicators are the central instrument to address and measure capabilities and are essential in the social transformation process. Well-defined social policy indicators are needed to create a safety net for vulnerable persons that are unable to access any form of government intervention. According to Hogwood and Gunn (1984) Social Policy indicators are active intervention strategy drawn from various disciplines to restore the equilibrium of livelihood, development and well-being of vulnerable persons within

society and regulate the interactions and activities between society, agencies, civil society and governmental institutions. Government as the agency to effect change plays a vital role in creating an enabling environment.

5.5.6 Children being victims

Results show that all the parents in this study believe that the new immigration policy has victimised their children and has also affected them somehow. In the Congolese focus group participants explained that, the fact that children are only given the unabridged birth certificate after birth leads to a number of challenges such as become undocumented which have prevented some of them from going to school. Another challenge is that some schools refuse to register children with the unabridged birth certificates asking for their permits while others face so much resistance before their children are enrolled. The new regulation affects some of them to access education though section 29 (1) of the Constitution enshrines and protects the rights to basic and further education for everyone stating that the state should make further education progressively available and accessible (South Africa Human Rights Commission Charter of Children's Basic Education Rights, 2012). Accessible according to the constitution means that the states should remove barriers, including discrimination to further education. Therefore, barriers such as the restrictions for a child to easily get admission and the long procedures to get them documented should be removed to be able to get more foreign children to easily get admission and go to school.

Some children are now undocumented because they do not have a visa or SA citizenship and according to the law a child can only become a citizen after 17 years which is a long time making things even more challenging. This is similar to the case of Italian immigrants where second generation foreigners can acquire the Italian citizenship only after 18 years of age and if they fail to apply for the Italian citizenship between the 18th and 19th year of age they have to follow the usual procedures reserved for migrants (Pagotto, 2012). This policy has been criticized by some researchers and 19 Italian civil societies which are collecting 50,000 signatures

necessary to introduce such bill in the Italian parliament claiming that policy does not give migrants and especially second generation migrants the possibility to concretely feel as part of the society and to fully develop themselves aiming to improve the Italian legislation citizenship.

Nevertheless, this is not the case with some European countries like the UK, Ireland, France and USA where children are given citizenship at birth and researchers found out that a child's best interests included the rights to grow up in its country of nationality and children's interests must be a primary consideration when making immigration decisions about their parents (Sawyer and Wray, 2010 and Pagotto, 2012). This is because if bad decisions are taken, it can affect the psychological development of a child which can later lead to a negative impact at a later stage in life. For instance, a female participant sees no reason why her child should be called a refugee given that the child was not part of what happen to the parents before migration, to her this is unfair because she doesn't want the same status for her child. A Cameroon participant with permanent residence said that presently, his child cannot benefit from his medical aid since she doesn't have a permit.

Some participants preferred the way things were done in the past since parent were only expected to pay the same repatriation guarantee for the child to get a visa which is not the case with the new policy. Being undocumented prevents children from going home to visit because if they go they will not be able to enter the country again.

In accordance to Sen's capability approach, migration should not only be theorized as an instrumental-functional means to an end to improve people's ability to live the lives they have reason to value but as a necessary protecting factor to defend their rights and enhance wellbeing (Haas, 2014). For children and immigrants to achieve their capability according to this approach, obstacles like laws and policies which restrict them and isolate them from the rest of the population should be removed in their lives so that they have more freedom to live the kind of life they choose to (Benería, 2007). Restrictive immigration policies are problematic because they discourage the development of human capabilities and these barriers limit human freedom (Risse, 2009).

According to Sen and Nussbaum, the process of expanding people's freedom and the ability to choose one type of life over others is a moral value that everyone has to enjoy.

5.5.7 Cost and need for requirements

The long procedures and the costly nature of visa application has been one of the main ways in which migrants have been affected by the policy. With regards to cost most migrants identified that with the new regulation the amount of money spent to compile documents is more costly than in the past. All students complained that the coming of the new system has made things worse for them because initially they spent R480 for visa renewal which is not the case now because the application fee is R1350 and there is no assurance if your permit is going to be out and in case it is rejected you have to pay another registration fee and also for postage fee.

Also, sometimes you are given one-year visa for a three-year program and you have to go and renew the following year which is a challenge for most student because they are not financially stable. According to Boynton (2015) the privatization of the visa processing system by the DHA to VFS Global was to combat corruption and backlogs of previous years and according to the new regulation persons applying for temporary and permanent residence permits in the Republic of South Africa must pay an expensive additional handling fee of R1350 and all temporary and permanent residence visas have to be made at one of the only nine VFS centres in the country.

However, the long procedure in processing documents was another issue of concern. Thinking that VFS as an intermediary would make things faster and more convenient was not the case as migrants thought. Some migrants have to spend money on argents to speed up the process because of the long procedures since the process is time consuming, ways them out financially, emotional and affects output. Most participants complained of the so many requirements needed for the facilitation of permits which is a call for concern. This similar to the case of Turkish migrants who needed an extensive set of documents as well the payment of a comparably large amount of money and this is confirmed to be because of the influx of Turks to Europe in search of jobs, the reason

behind the restrictive nature of the visa requirements. Interestingly in reaction to this, steps were taken to deal with this issue as several articles were published such as “visa exemption in Europe within 3-4 years” Turkey hopes for EU visa breakthrough this week” etc., towards visa liberation (Hölscher, 2012).

5.5.8 Access to free health care

Though most migrants have been negatively affected by the migration policy some attest that, the policy has been ideal in terms of health care. Some female respondents said that hospitals offered them free treatment and maternity care when they went to give birth and two others said they paid very little but the assistance they received could not be compared to their own countries because of their status (asylum permits and refugee). Others who had terminal diseases and had spent lots of money back home received free medication. This is contrary to the case in Europe where it is reported that undocumented migrants, asylum seekers and other vulnerable population are finding it increasingly difficult to obtain health care in Europe for reasons ranging from government policies to an inability to pay 100% of the costs (Margues, 2012).

In a comparative study to assess the access to preventive health care for undocumented migrants in Germany, Spain and Netherland findings reveal that despite the preventive health care being recognized as particularly important for undocumented migrants there were several shortcomings in the provision of preventive health care for undocumented migrants when evaluated in terms of immunization, education and information, regular screening programs and the promotion of underlying determinants of health (Flahaux, et al., 2016).

5.5.9 Support to students

Participants studying noted that because of their status the policy allows them to register as South Africa citizens not requiring medical aid and do not require upfront payment of tuition as other international students. This has given the opportunity for many migrants to further their education because most of them are not able to pay their

tuition in full. This is similar to the case amongst international students in the US who are supported by their government to provide a stable source financial support to give students in developing countries through scholarships to foreign student as an effective means of creating strong bonds between the United States and the future leadership of developing countries. They have also put in place policies that led to increased funding for the education sector which enabled the funding of foreign students through scholarships from the federal government and numerous agencies (Olson, 2016).

Students using study permits attest to the fact that during the strike that occurred in most Universities in South Africa their institution in collaboration with the policy makers supported them in terms of extending their permits. This was highly appreciated by most of them because it came in handy.

5.5.10 Protection for children

Some participants gave positive remarks about the clause in the policy that states that before a child travels both parents have to sign before the child is released is commended by migrants because this will help in preventing child trafficking which also adheres to the law that protects children's rights. Also, the fact that the policy is out to track down illegal migrants is appreciated by some migrants. The clause in the policy which ensures the safety and protection of children against traffickers is regarded by Dreze and Sen (2002) as an important policy indicator because in this case, it protects children's rights to safety. They argue that, this is central to addressing and measuring capabilities to create a safety net for vulnerable persons (children) which are unable to access any form of government assistance (Dreze and Sen, 2002).

5.6 Migrants Suggestions on the International Migration Policy

At the end of the interviews, participants were asked to give some recommendations that could improve policy as well as things that can be done to improve their lives and help them meet their expectations. Most of them recommended that the policy should be more relaxed so that everyone can benefit. This is in line with Enow (2010) who

depicted that policies should reduce obstacles for highly skilled migrants because they are of serious benefit to the economy. Some others emphasised that the policy should be favourable for students especially if they are willing to stay in the country and should not be looked at from one perspective because education broadens people's way of thinking. Consequently, the host country can benefit from them in one way or the other because they are assets and not a liability. This is similar to a recommendation by Akanwa (2015) who recommends that since international students are an essential part of the higher education system, higher education institution leaders must be committed to meeting their needs and expectations especially given the rising competition in the international market. This is because the challenge of meeting international students' academic, adjustment and social needs is crucial and must attract policy and strategic attention. Similarly, as mentioned above, the Green Paper recommends that adjustments should be made to retain international students because of their contributions which South Africa can take advantage of (Department of Home Affairs, 2016).

Moreover, participants recommended that opportunities should be created for foreign nationals so that they can be easily integrated into the society. This is because foreigners are peaceful people something which the South African government must take advantage of because of their background and expectations before coming; they are ready and willing to provide the manpower necessary to suit their expectations.

Besides, the SA government should have a two-way perspective of looking at things. One being that, if migrants have skills they should be encouraged to stay and their focus should not only be how SA is going to benefit from these foreigners but should consider their personal development too. This is because foreigners are contributing to the economy for instance they set up businesses by the road and do other things which are beneficial to SA, so they should look at it from the perspective of how can we contribute to their development. Hence, this will grow from personal development to national development.

This is similar to Hammerstad (2012) who suggested that the best way for the South African government to manage international migration that will be beneficial to both the host society and migrants is to rectify the Immigration Approach. Meaning that,

immigration should not only be treated as a matter of policing and immigration controlled by DHA but should consider different sectors at all levels of planning whether schooling, urban planning, agriculture, healthcare and foreign policy. The author further states that this is the only way that South Africa can achieve the best out of immigration where they will be able to tap into economic potential and at the same time remain true to their post-apartheid goal of African solidarity and integration with all other African countries. In addition, it is necessary to create better ways for legal immigration and work permits for migrants who can pay taxes and contribute freely to the development of the society without any fear of the host country (Hammerstad, 2012).

However, there is need for a wider international cooperation based on networks that can help and support the process of migration and migrants. The author further suggests that in order to build an adequate and efficient migratory policy, there is need for migrant sending countries to actively participate in the formulation and design of policies. This will help in addressing the migratory phenomenon since he believes that an efficient migratory policy should address the issue of migration well before people decide to migrate because migration is supposed to be planned (Alonso, 2011). Moreover, some participants suggested that, the government should strengthen laws that uproot crime and do not tolerate people that are not law abiding which should also ensure that the same rules apply to locals.

As for foreigners, they suggested that, they should know that they are in a foreign land and can't be treated in the same way as the citizens so what they should do in order to better their stay here in SA is to identify a gap and find where they can fit and one of the ways is through studies where they can improve themselves and eventually lead to many open doors. This is because the government is already having problems with their citizens so foreigners need to think out of the box.

The Deputy Minister, requested that policy makers should do their best to ensure that they have more information on issues related to refugees and migrants so that they could

draft a good instrument regulating the admission and stay of asylum seekers in the country (Kavuro, 2017).

5.7 Summary of Chapter

The above chapter has discussed results from the findings comparing it to previous studies. Topics were discussed according to the objectives of the study using different sub topics. Regarding the first objective on the determinants of international migration, from discussion it was realized that other researchers also identified economic factors as the main drivers for international migration especially among other African countries who escaped unemployment for a better life.

Besides economic reasons, other studies identified political and social factors as factors for migration. Wars and insecurity that characterized migration especially amongst Congolese is not particular to Congo alone but other African countries like Liberia, Ethiopia, Syria Somalia, Afghanistan, South Sudan just to name a few. This lines up with Lee's push and pull model which states that people leave their countries to go to other areas where they think life will be much better likening it to the case of Cameroonian and Congolese immigrants that have migrated to Cape Town escaping from the uncomfortable political situation in their countries.

Under social factors, several findings confirmed that migration is an opportunity for people to re-connect and work towards a common goal of providing a better life for their children. Education being one of the main reasons for migration was backed up by several findings indicating that many people migrate from developing countries abroad for better education. This position confirms to Lee's push and pulls theory with the capability approach stating that, personal factors such as better education tend to influence people to migrate and explore their capabilities. Several other studies supported the claim from the Cape Town study that, migrant networks strongly influence migration either through the influence of kin, friends, parents who act as key informants providing the necessary information about the host country.

Many other studies supported the fact that migrants have different experiences in line with the second objective which examines the living experiences of migrants. In some countries most migrants through their experiences meet their expectations though they struggle at the initial stage but as time progresses they are well integrated which is not the case amongst most immigrants in SA. However, despite the negative experiences and challenges, this turn out to have a positive impact amongst migrants as several other studies confirm that these experiences have made them to become independent, tough, courageous, patient, tough and able to come up with diverse survival strategies.

Results from some studies confirm with findings from the Cape Town study that most migrants are negatively affected by the migration policy. This speaks to the third objective which evaluates the effects of the current migration policy migrants. Nevertheless, this is contrary to some other studies where countries have instituted policies to support and provide opportunities for foreign nationals that have gone a long way to support their economy.

Though foreign nationals claim they have been negatively affected by the migration policy to a greater extent, they have been protected by the policy through access to healthcare which is not the case in other countries. The policy supports asylum seekers and refugees studying to pursue their career. The chapter concludes with suggestion to improve the migration policy. The next chapter – chapter 6 presents the concluding remarks of the study and provides recommendations to be taken up for further research.

CHAPTER SIX

6. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Introduction

The following conclusions are reached following the summarised discussion presented in the previous section.

6.2 Conclusion

The main purpose of this research was to investigate the push and pull factors of international migration. In line with this, the study explored the living experiences of migrants as well as the different ways in which migrants have been affected by the new international migration policy in SA. Using the push and pull theory with the capability approach, the research sought to find out what influences the influx of international migrants into South Africa, know their expectations/experiences and assesses how the migration policy has shaped the lives of foreign national through their experiences. 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. The researcher used a more holistic approach targeting different groups of migrants including refugees, asylum seekers, professionals, entrepreneurs, students and economic migrants among the Congolese and Cameroonians living in Cape Town.

This research established that economic factors are the strongest determinants of international migration amongst Cameroonian and Congolese migrants. Most of them leave in search of better economic opportunities such as employment and remuneration. Corresponding to the findings of this study, Dzivimbo (2003); The World Bank (2003); Makakala, (2015) noted that, limited job opportunities and unemployment are some of the push factors that contributes to migration especially among those with skills mainly in developing countries. This has caused them to migrate to other countries that can offer them better employment opportunities. In addition to the other conventional factors of migration this study found out that people migrated because they had

aspirations and also because they wanted to gain exposure which is not clearly highlighted in literature as some of the factors influencing migration. Drawing from Makakala (2015) study on highly skilled Tanzanians in the UK, aspirations was also identified as one of the reasons not widely discussed in literature as a factor that contributes to migration.

Moreover, findings from the study shows that the living experiences of most migrants is far from what they expected because of the reality of the society which is characterised by unemployment, insecurity and xenophobia. Though most of them did not meet their expectations many are not ready to give up but strive for a better life because the situation back in their home countries is not getting better. Through their different experiences and challenges, migrants have become resilient and develop different strategies on how they can cope and survive in South Africa. Bidwell, et al., (2014) provides a similar case of South African health practitioners in the UK who migrated to work and train in what they perceived to be first class health system but were dissatisfied with their experience. Rather than gaining new skills, most of them felt they had been de-skilled stating that, working conditions and opportunities in the UK did not give them the advantage compared to the Private Sector in South Africa (Bidwell, et al., 2014).

Also, the recent development in the migration policy has negatively affected migrants through the inconveniences caused such as the difficulty of finding employment, change of permit, high cost and long procedures in the compilation of documents and other inconveniences. Children too have been victims of the system. These have affected foreign nationals in such a way that some have become more vulnerable and in despair. Likewise, South African health personnel living in the UK attest that, with the new development in the UK policy which now focuses on improving retention within source countries and encourage return migrants, contributed to their post migration experiences as it prevented them from exploiting opportunities (Bidwell, et al., 2014).

Despite the fact that migrants, to a greater extent have been negatively affected by the migration policy, they applaud the policy's contributions towards health care, support to asylum and refugee students as well as other international students in times of crises. Besides, the clause that supports the protection of children from traffickers and the

intention of the policy to track down illegal migrants is also admired by foreigners. This corresponds to the capability approach argument that, structural opportunities should be created so that people can live in an environment where they can feel free to function and meet their capabilities (Alkire and Deneulin, 2009). Irrespective of the challenges migrants face, they do not ignore the support and contributions that South Africa has offered to them because life here for most of them is much better than in their home countries.

6.3 Recommendations

The findings have revealed that the current or new South Africa migration policy need to revisited as it rigid and affects the everyday life of migrations living in South Africa and Cape Town in particular. This policy can be revisited by adopting the following recommendations.

1. Since the government is a main stakeholder in every society, it is important for them to study the experiences of migrants to help design policies that speak to their needs or plight. Understand the challenges that these migrants face so that appropriate policy framework is developed especially one that empowers in terms of integration and participation in local affairs of the host community.
2. The government should come up with policies that recognise talents among migrant communities for the benefit of the country.
3. Policy makers should be able to draw a distinction of categories of migrants living in the country so that they can be able to utilize the skills of those that are educated and organise an alternative approach for those seen as a liability to the country's resources.
4. Government should be able to provide documents that allow migrants to easily travel as they have become part of the society which will encourage them to do business, study and do research without any challenges.

5. To deal with the issue of xenophobia, the government should use an integrated framework between civil societies, migrant and host communities, whereby providing supporting and learning activities as this will enable migrants and the host community to work together and contribute to the socio-economic development of the country.
6. Government should recognise those who have studied and lived for a longer period to be given automatic permanent residence as it would enable them play a bigger role in the social-economic development of South Africa.



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8. APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW SCHEDULES

- 1) Why did you decide to leave your country?
- 2) What motivated you to come to South Africa?
- 3) What were your expectations before traveling to South Africa?
- 4) What were your actual experiences?
- 5) What are the things you thought you will achieve before coming?
- 6) Have you attained any of your goals?
- 7) Are there any benefits or regrets?
- 8) What can you make of the recent migration policy?
- 9) Has the recent changes in the migration policy affected you? Please explain.
- 10) What in your opinion can be done to improve on the migration policy?

FOCUS GROUP GUIDE

- 1) What are the main reasons for leaving your country?
- 2) Why did you choose to come to South Africa?
- 3) What has life been like ever since you came to South Africa?
- 4) What were your expectations before coming to South Africa?
- 5) What are the challenges you have encountered as a migrant in South Africa?
- 6) Are there any benefits or regrets?
- 7) Are you aware of the migration policy?
- 8) How has this policy affected migrants?
- 9) What in your opinion can be done to improve on the migration policy?



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