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**INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION AND SOCIAL WELFARE POLICIES:
ASSESSING THE EFFECT OF GOVERNMENT GRANTS ON THE
LIVELIHOODS OF MIGRANTS IN CAPE TOWN, SOUTH AFRICA**

By

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DECLARATION

I, Jonas Nzabamwita, hereby declare that the PhD thesis “*International migration and social welfare policies: Assessing the effect of government grants on the livelihoods of migrants in Cape Town, South Africa*” is the outcome of my work under supervision, and it has not been submitted before for any degree, or examination in any university or institution, and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and duly acknowledged by means of referencing.

Jonas Nzabamwita

Signature: 

Date: 22nd August 2021.



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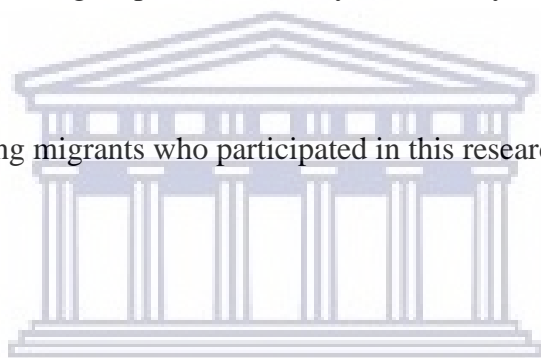
DEDICATIONS

I dedicate this work to my beloved and biological parents; my mother **Verediane Ntabakunzi** who instilled in me the values of perseverance, dedication and hard work; and my late father **Servilian Kalinganire** (deceased May 5, 2021), whose memories continue to inspire me and give me strengths.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

| | |
|--------|---|
| ACS | Adaptive Cluster Sampling |
| AIDS | Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome |
| ANC | African National Congress |
| AU | African Union |
| BIG | Basic Income Grant |
| CA | Capability Approach |
| CBOs | Community-Based Organisations |
| CCT | Conditional Cash Transfers |
| CDG | Care Dependency Grant |
| CoCT | City of Cape Town |
| CSG | Child Support Grant |
| DG | Disability Grant |
| DHA | Department of Home Affairs |
| DHET | Department of Higher Education and Training |
| DOL | Department of Labour |
| DSD | Department of Social Development |
| DTI | Department of Trade and Industry |
| EPWPs | Expanded Public Works Programmes |
| FBOs | Faith-Based Organisations |
| FCG | Foster Care Grant |
| FGD | Focus Group Discussion |
| GDP | Gross Domestic Product |
| GEAR | Growth Employment and Redistribution |
| GIA | Grant-in-Aid |
| HIV | Human Immunodeficiency Virus |
| ICESCR | International Covenant on Economic and Social and Cultural Rights |
| IFHR | International Federation for Human Rights |
| ILO | International Labour Organization |
| IOM | International Organization for Migration |
| IRM | Internal Reconsideration Mechanism |
| ISA | Inspectorate for Social Assistance |
| ISD | Institute for Social Development |

| | |
|----------|--|
| ITSAA | Independent Tribunal for Social Assistance Appeals |
| LEAP | Livelihood Empowerment Against Poverty |
| NDP | National Development Plan |
| NGOs | Non-Governmental Organisations |
| NSFAS | National Student Financial Aid Scheme |
| OAG | Old Age Grant |
| OAU | Organisation of African Unity |
| R | Rand (The currency of the Republic of South Africa) |
| RAF | Road Accident Fund |
| RDP | Reconstruction and Development Programme |
| RSA | Republic of South Africa |
| SA | South Africa |
| SARS | South African Revenue Service |
| SASSA | South African Social Security Agency |
| SLA | Sustainable Livelihood Approach |
| SLF | Sustainable Livelihood Framework |
| SRODG | Social Relief of Distress Grant |
| Stats SA | Statistics South Africa |
| UDHR | Universal Declaration of Human Rights |
| UIF | Unemployment Insurance Fund |
| UN | United Nations |
| UNICEF | United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund |
| UNHCR | United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees |
| UWC | University of the Western Cape |
| WVG | War Veterans' Grant |
| ZECT | Zimbabwe Emergency Cash Transfers |

ABSTRACT

South Africa is paradoxically an interesting case study. On the one hand, it is characterised by widespread and persistent poverty and extra-ordinary levels of unemployment. On the other hand, South Africa is quintessentially a migration destination country, ranking among countries with the highest number of migrants from other African countries. While it currently hosts more than three million international migrants, which represents approximately 4.2% of the country's entire population, nearly half of the South African black population live in poverty and grapple with income inequality, unemployment, food insecurity and hunger. Much like their South African counterparts, international migrants are not immune to the conundrum of poverty. Added to the poverty-related social challenges that confront the natives of South Africa, foreign nationals in South Africa endure the migration-specific risks, shocks, hardships, deprivation and vulnerabilities.

Social assistance grants are one of the South African government's instruments used to tackle poverty problems in the destitute, vulnerable and marginal households. At the onset, government grants were restricted only to the citizens of South Africa, but were later scaled up to include migrants with permanent residence. In 2012, the Minister of Social Development promulgated amendments to the legislation that permitted recognised refugees meeting the legislated criteria and other accompanying regulations as set out by the South African Social Security Agency (SASSA) to claim some social grants. Despite the changes and amendments to the legislation, both migrants and South African citizens still face predicaments when applying for and accessing social grants. Therefore, this study principally sought to find the answers to the following questions: Who are the migrant households that receive social grants in South Africa? What type of grants are awarded and how do they sustain livelihoods? What are the challenges and problems? What should be done to improve the situation?

This study is deep-rooted within the human rights-based approach and underpinned by Rawls' theory of social justice and the conceptual framework of sustainable livelihood. It used hybrid forms of quantitative and qualitative approaches. A total of 103 survey questionnaires were administered to the household-heads, selected by using an adaptive cluster sampling (ACS) method. Five representatives from non-governmental organisations (NGOs) that provide services to migrants were purposively selected and interviewed. A focus group discussion (FGD) was held with 12 selected members from the migrant households that receive social grants.

The findings of this study revealed that migrant beneficiaries of the social grants were from transient poor, or at-risk households, predominantly located in the informal settlements on the periphery of the City of Cape Town. The majority of the household members actively participated in the informal sector, through businesses and income-generating activities. Despite the participation rate in the informal economy, this study established that the migrant household income is erratic and unpredictable and the only stable and regular income is the one derived from social grants. With regards to the social grants, this study revealed that the households received the Old Age Grants (OAGs), Disability Grants (DGs), Care Dependency Grants (CDGs), as well as the Child Support Grants (CSGs), with the CSG having the highest uptake rate among the lowest income households.

Furthermore, this study established that food consumption and rent expenditure accounted for the biggest proportion of the household budget. Also, migrant social grant recipients in both informal and formal areas live on the edge due to lack of fixed capital and durable assets which can enable them to build a sustainable livelihood. This study discovered that refugee migrants are excluded from many government social services which are meant to target the poor, non-working and low-income households, including the Unemployment Insurance Fund (UIF), the Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP) and the National Student Financial Aid Scheme (NSFAS). Even while accessing social grants, besides the general challenges in the administration and delivery, migrant beneficiaries reported problems that included, an insufficient amount of the child support grants, inadequate communication by the South African Social Security Agency (SASSA), difficulties in renewing their documents, high bank charges, complicated application processes, negative SASSA staff attitudes, rejection and suspension of grants. Despite these challenges, this study demonstrates that social grants have short- and medium-term household livelihood protective effects of providing additional income, serving as start-up capital and investing in business ventures. They also have a long-term developmental livelihood promotive effect on access to education, healthcare, accommodation, water and energy.

The livelihood protective and promotive effects of social grants in the households led the researcher to recommend measures which could make social grants more effective and more accessible to the migrant population. These include, the introduction of the Basic Income Grant (BIG) to the 'missing middle'- unemployed, able-bodied migrants between 19 and 60 years of age, the extension of social grants to the most vulnerable group of asylum seekers and special permit holders; the removal of citizenship conditions on the War Veterans' Grant (WVG);

adjusting the amount of the Child Support Grant (CSG) to the level of a healthy food basket for an average household; bolstering communication messages and intensifying the training of SASSA officials; negotiating with banking institutions to remove transaction charges on social grants; linking social grants with other social services; bridging the divide between formal and informal social protection programmes; and using different means-testing and targeting methods.



KEYWORDS

- Grants
- Households
- International
- Livelihoods
- Migration
- Migrants
- Poverty
- Protection
- Security
- Social
- South Africa



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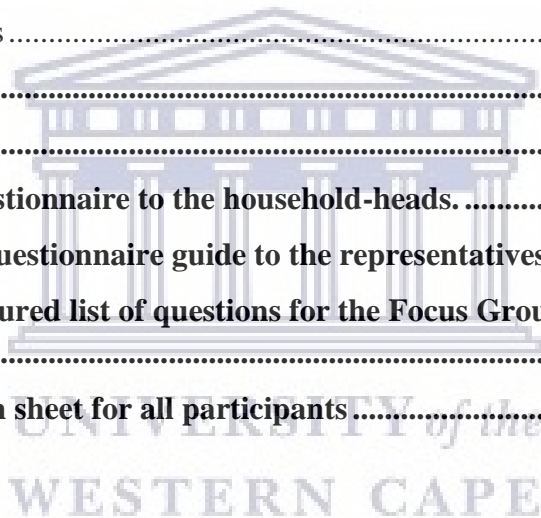
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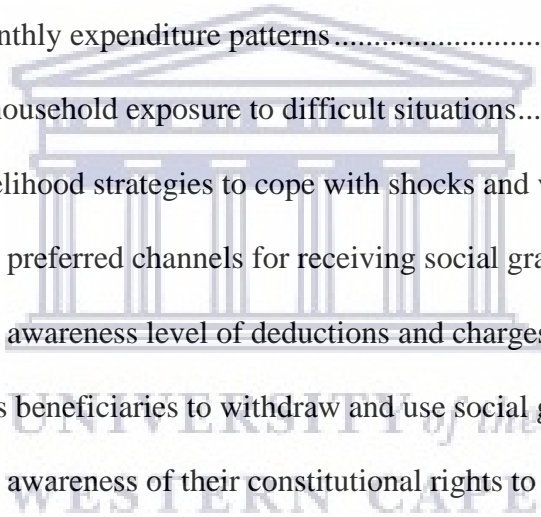


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CHAPTER ONE – GENERAL INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

“The increase in the number of cross-border migrants brings to the fore the question of social security because, in their current milieu, refugees and migrants require social assistance to adequately manage shocks and risks as well as vulnerability and poverty associated with migration (Deacon et al., 2015: 19)”.

1.1. Background to the study

Over the last decades, the issue of international migration has increasingly become a global phenomenon. In 2014 alone, an estimated 214 million people – nearly 3.4% of the world’s total population were living or working outside their countries of birth (Dupper, 2014; International Organization for Migration (IOM), 2019). Out of these, roughly 14 million are forced migrants or people in a protracted refugee situation, mostly from Third World countries (Flahaux & De Haas, 2014; IOM, 2019). According to the International Labour Organization (ILO) (2014) and De Haas et al. (2018) about 37% of international migrants have moved from developing to developed countries, while about 60% have moved between developed or between developing nations, and approximately 3% from developed to developing countries. On the whole, this global picture of human mobility represents a substantial increase in the stock of international migrants since, there were 75 million migrants in 1960 and, more recently 191 million in 2005, and future projections indicate that, if the growth continues at a similar pace, the total number of cross-border migrants will range between 235 and 415 million by 2050 (which is about 40% higher than current figures) (Sabates-Wheeler & Koettl, 2010; De Haas et al., 2018; IOM, 2019).

Against the above backdrop, the magnitude and patterns of international migration in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA), and in South Africa in particular, mirror that of the global trends. Bakewell (2011) and Nzabamwita (2018) observed that South Africa as the only middle-income country in Africa, which is resource-rich and an economic powerhouse of the region, has become the epicentre and terminus of international migration, i.e., as a migrant-sending and receiving nation as well as a transiting route to other regions. Although determining the exact number of migrants in South Africa has been extremely difficult, several studies such as those by the Africa Check (2016), Stupart (2016) and the World Bank (2018a) have arguably contested the accuracy of data and challenged the method used to record migration inflows by the South African Department of Home Affairs (DHA). Additionally, a triangulation of migration data from various sources revealed that more than three million migrants are

currently residing in South Africa, and this number is likely to steadily and considerably rise in the near future (Hiropoulos, 2017, World Bank, 2018a).

While the total figure of international migrants in South Africa comprises both documented and undocumented migrants, alongside refugees and asylum seekers, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) (2017) and the World Bank (2018a) in their global forced displacement reports estimated that by the end of 2016, the total number of people of concern (POC) in South Africa was 309,342. This made South Africa to be the single largest recipient of asylum applications in the world during the period between 2000 and 2006 (World Bank, 2018a). The country also accounted for a significant share of refugees flowing from the continent and even further afield (Segatti & Landau, 2011; World Bank, 2018a).

The large-scale and complex growth in the foreign population brings to the fore the question of their welfare and protection against poverty and vulnerability in the host country and the loss of economic opportunities in the countries of origin. Midgley (2010: 22) argued that cross-border migrants are over-represented among the poorest and the most vulnerable, even in higher-income countries. This is not surprising, as Sabates-Wheeler and Fieldman (2011: 6) affirmed that the stock of international migrants, particularly refugees, come from conflict and poverty-stricken countries. Their movement involves crossing treacherous terrains, and travelling across contiguous multiple borders, as well as navigating unknown and unfamiliar or hostile political environments which render them poor and vulnerable. Also, when transiting inhospitable borderlands and crossing porous international borderlines, migrants' livelihoods are destabilised as they are faced with the potential risk of increased stress, psychological and educational disruption, together with exploitative and discriminatory labour conditions. Furthermore, upon their arrival in the countries of destination, migrants encounter challenges related to institutional xenophobia and discrimination. Similarly, they are pushed into the pool of unemployment, and even those who are highly qualified and professionals are likely to end up doing the work that Bloom and Fieldman (2011: 54) and Moyce and Schenker (2018: 352) described as the three Ds: "demeaning or degrading, dirty and dangerous". Likewise, migrants, refugees and asylum seekers are socially vulnerable, and the marginalised group who lives in ultra-poverty. Moore (1990, as cited in Murray, 1996: 2) referred to them as a "group of underclass people", with no prospect, and little or no control over socio-economic order in the host nations.

Given the above challenges, Flahaux and De Haas (2014: 5) argued that, much like the citizens of the host countries who live below the poverty line, migrants are also confronted with the same conundrum of poverty, because migration and refugee-like circumstances create a specific vulnerability in the sense that, the newly-arrived migrants have separated from their communities and have no access to important social security systems in the countries of origin. In addition, they are faced with enormous challenges related to exclusion from welfare services, which is worsened by their concentration in the informal sectors of the economy. From this view, Deacon et al. (2015) reiterated that in the countries of destination, migrants generally require social security as their mobile life cycle necessitates provisioning, to adequately manage the risks, shocks, and poverty associated with migration. Therefore, it is vital for migrant-hosting nations with no or poorly developed social protection mechanisms to set up programmes that seek to protect non-citizens from persistent patterns of poverty, and other socio-economic shocks and risks that go along with migration (Sabates-Wheeler & Fieldman, 2011; Brickenstein, 2015).

1.2.Contextualisation of the study

Within the context of the global and complex rising number of cross-border migration, several countries have established, reviewed and incorporated different programmes and interventions to address the economic hardships and other socio-economic challenges related to the chronic poverty and exclusion of migrants in the social protection mainstreams (Swemmer, 2013). For instance, in low-income countries, state and non-state actors have formed partnerships with private, voluntary, humanitarian, and international donor organisations in designing and implementing various programmes with components that promote migrants' access to education, sanitation, health and nutrition and labour participation (Oliver, 2010).

Middle-income countries have also scaled up the state-managed unconditional and targeted programmes such as cash, in-kind and food transfers to prevent, manage and overcome risks and enhance migrants' social status, as well as securing their livelihoods and well-being (Brickenstein, 2015). In a similar vein, developed nations intensified practices and policies that seek to reduce social and economic risks, vulnerabilities and deprivations that lead to undignified lives in the marginalised migrant households and communities (Dodlova et al., 2016).

In South Africa in particular, the democratic government has adopted a diverse and broad array of programmes of non-contributory and unconditional cash transfers with the intentions of

alleviating poverty and contributing to the main income in the impoverished families (ensuring minimum living standards of the poor and destitute population group). In this respect, in 2012 the Department of Social Development (DSD), through the South African Social Security Agency (SASSA), extended its social assistance in the form of social grants to eligible refugees to serve as economic safety nets. Although Section 5 (2) of the Social Assistance Act 13 of 2004 (hereafter referred to as “Social Assistance Act”) technically restricts government grants to South African citizens, Brockerhoff (2013: 31) stressed that recognised refugees and migrants with permanent residence who meet the SASSA legislated criteria, are entitled to the Old Age Grant (OAG), Child Support Grant (CSG) and Disability Grant (DG). In addition, migrants and families who officially foster a child qualify to apply for the Foster Care Grant (FCG) as well as the Care Dependency Grant (CDG).

Furthermore, like their South African counterparts who find themselves in unforeseen circumstances, destitute migrants can claim the Social Relief of Distress Grant (SRODG) in case of natural disaster and other catastrophic situations (Makhema, 2009; Scalabrini Centre, 2020). In the context of the COVID-19 global pandemic, and following an urgent legal application and litigation launched by the Scalabrini Centre of Cape Town, the South African Minister of Social Development, Lindiwe Zulu responded to the High Court Judgement by amending the legislation and publishing changes which permitted asylum seekers and migrants with special dispensation permits who are not receiving an income during the National State of Disaster, to apply for the COVID-19 Social Relief of Distress Grant (COVID-19 SRODG) for a period of six months from May to October 2020 (Scalabrini Centre, 2020; Southern African Legal Information Institute (SAFLII), 2020).

The wide-scale rollout of government grants to foreign nationals in South Africa is in line with the South African Constitution of 1996 (hereafter referred to as “the South African Constitution”). Section 27 (1) (C) of the Bill of Rights “guarantees extensive socio-economic rights including access to social security to ‘everyone’ resident in the country, regardless of citizenship if they are unable to support themselves or their dependants” (RSA, 1996). More specifically, the provision of social grants to refugees is in accordance with the international human rights framework and obligations that the South African government has ratified. It is also in conformity to the Refugees Act 130 of 1998 (hereafter referred to as “the Refugees Act”) (RSA, 1998), which (if applied as it is written) has been hailed as South Africa’s best refugee protection framework and touted by many as one of the most progressive pieces of refugee legislation and social welfare in the world (Addaney & Quan, 2015; Deacon et al.,

2015). According to Addaney and Quan (2015: 78), this act provides that “refugees in South Africa are entitled to virtually the same rights as citizens, apart from some political rights”.

The South African constitution and other pieces of legislation guarantee international migrants wide-ranging social rights, including access to social welfare programmes in South Africa. However, when interpreted in the current and broader socio-economic and political environment, the realisation of progressive social protection policies of inclusion, and extension of refugees and migrants with permanent residence in the social welfare system is not guaranteed. Many challenges and several constraints have been cited to hamper the expansion and coverage of migrants in the grant system. The biggest challenge is that of financing government cash transfers. For example, in his budget speech presented to the Parliamentary Joint Sitting, the then Finance Minister, Pravin Gordhan (Gordhan, 2016) highlighted that the South African government was facing fiscal constraints and could not afford more spending on welfare programmes. He further cautioned that the realisation of constitutional rights of access to social assistance was subject to the availability of state resources and government spending priorities (Gordhan, 2016).

From an institution’s vintage point, Deacon et al. (2015: 15) asserted that “myriad of reasons related to institutional impediments, social inefficiency, and bureaucratic hurdles act individually or in tandem with fiscal constraints to obstruct the effective realisation of social welfare policies in South Africa”. Similarly, a plethora of challenges such as communication methods used by the SASSA and the type of documentation issued to migrants by the DHA in South Africa, exclude or prohibit migrants from accessing social grants.

The weaknesses and flaws in the South African social security system have been attributed to the fact that the current African National Congress (ANC)-led government inherited a social welfare system from the apartheid regime that is fragmented, inequitable, administratively inefficient and premised on racial segregation (Dekker, 2005; Brockerhoff, 2013), by which its architecture has been, and is still associated with negative comments and debates. According to Kapindu (2011: 5) “the South African welfare system suffers from serious deficiencies, where both migrants and citizens’ access to social grants is often mediated through the issues of fiscal concerns”. Likewise, Brockerhoff (2013: 5) stressed that “migrants’ access to state grants has largely been the result of exogenous forces such as constitutional court pronouncements and rulings, legal challenges and litigations”. In a similar view, Kapindu (2011) found that in balancing and addressing the complexities of short-term and long-term

migrants, many eligible individuals are precluded by the means-test, while others fall through the gaps. Also, vulnerable migrants are not sufficiently accounted for and many others are not covered in the scope of welfare (ACCESS, 2002). In addition, South Africa's social welfare system has been criticised for being prone to corruption (Brickenstein, 2015: 1).

Furthermore, numerous myths surrounding state-provided assistance and common negative claims, debates and perceptions associated with welfare cash transfers have been reported by various scholars such as (Potts, 2010; Wright et al., 2015; Handa et al., 2018; Roelen, 2019). The first claim is that, as a result of the need to meet immediate consumption needs, welfare transfers may lead to a dissipation effect in the households with little experience in receiving large lump sum payments (Slater & McCord, 2009). The second claim is that social grants are largely blamed for perpetuating dependency on the state and creating laziness, thwarting peoples' efforts to seek employment (Bertrand et al., 2003; Posel et al., 2006; Potts, 2010; Surender et al., 2010), and crowding out private markets and investments (Johannsmeier, 2007). The third claim, which is supported by historical anecdotal evidence reported by Khosa (2013) is that welfare grants are being misused on drugs and alcohol, spent on gambling and buying unnecessary luxury items as well as raising teenage fertility among young women.

In light of the afore-mentioned debates and arguments, negative comments and perceptions, claims and allegations, as well as the myths, this study set out to explore the South African social security system, in particular its pillar of social assistance grants and how it relates to international migration. The purpose of the study was to obtain baseline information on migrant households that comprise social grants beneficiaries to assess the effect of these grants on their livelihoods.

This study is underpinned by Rawls' social justice theoretical framework, and the analysis is anchored within the sustainable livelihood conceptual framework. It also used a hybrid of qualitative and quantitative approaches, and the measurements of key variables on migrant households and livelihoods were made throughout. To choose participants and increase the generalizability of findings, both probability and non-probability sampling techniques were utilised. Survey questionnaires were administered to collect qualitative and quantitative data from migrant households that receive social grants. In-depth interviews were conducted with the representatives from organisations that provide services to migrants, and a focus group discussion (FGD) with selected members from the migrant grant-recipient households was held to collect qualitative data.

To place the study into a wider context of social protection and a broader perspective of the migration framework in post-apartheid South Africa, reviewing of relevant literature formed a major part of this research. In relation to this, the researcher first traced the historical development of the social welfare policies in South Africa before and after the democratic dispensation of 1994. Thereafter the researcher carried out a review of the literature on the South African social protection system in general and its application to the citizens, and then proceeded by narrowing it down to the specific instruments of the social assistance component (prong of the social security) that applies to the context of migrants.

This chapter provided a snap-shot and contextualisation of the study. More specifically, it started with a context of international migration and social protection in general. In the subsequent sections of the chapter, the researcher presents: (i) the historical context of migration flows into South Africa; (ii) the situation of international migrants in South Africa; (iii) the rationale and significance of the study and; (iv) the problem statement, research question and aim, objectives as well as the hypothesis. The chapter concludes with an outline of the thesis.

1.3. The historical context of international migration flows into South Africa

Traditionally, South Africa has been a preferred destination of various categories of migrants from the continent and beyond. The nature and movement of these migrants into South Africa is intrinsically linked to several distinct periods. For instance, Giliomee and Mbenga (2007) and Oliver and Oliver (2017) remarked that in 1652 unofficial colonisers and sailors from the Western empires of Great Britain, France, Portugal, Germany, Spain, Netherlands, Italy, Belgium, United States of America and others roamed the African continent southwards, eventually settling in the southernmost parts of what is known as today's 'South Africa'. These imperialist settlers established the largest trading enterprises in South Africa, which attracted a huge wave of Indian migrants who entered as indentured labourers¹ to work in the sugar-cane plantations of the Natal colonies (Crush, 2000; Vahed & Waetjen, 2013).

Towards the end of seventeenth century, the British military rulers together with the Dutch administrators occupied South Africa and brought in thousands of Asian migrants due to their highly acclaimed work ethics. In the same period, scores of Chinese immigrants were imported

¹ A person on indentured service commonly known as 'indentured servant or indentured labourer (indentee)' is an employee hired to work within a system of unfree labour, but that particular person is bound by a clearly signed or forced contract (indenture) to render his or her services for a particular fixed period of time (Vahed & Waetjen, 2013).

as a subaltern class² to fill the labour gap in the Cape Colonies of South Africa (Xiao, 2016; Harris, 2017). In the subsequent periods, especially in the nineteenth century, the establishment of diamond and gold mines in Kimberly and on the Witwatersrand lured low-wage and low-skilled labour from Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Swaziland and Tanzania into South Africa's rich mining centres (Tsietsi, 1998; Adepoju, 2003; Makhema, 2009; Dinbabo & Nyasulu, 2015). Besides the use of inexpensive labour in the diamond- and goldfields, the supremacist white government also recruited migrants largely from South Africa's traditional labour-supplying countries for domestic service, work on commercial farms and in factories, and in the transportation as well as the construction sectors (Crush et al., 2005; Kok et al., 2006).

Throughout the colonial period, much of the migration into South Africa was entrenched along with labour exploitation, and these labour migrants remained on the South African soil even after the expiration of their employment contracts. From the mid-1960s onward, migration patterns that centred on labour came to an end, and the changing global geopolitical landscape brought in a new migration regime caused by colonial conquests, wars and conflict and economic meltdown. In light of this, the years between 1960 and 1980 heralded a massive influx of white migrants fleeing the black governments and escaping political uncertainty and hostility in the newly-independent African countries of Kenya, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe (Breytenbach, 1979; Adepoju, 2003; Peberdy, 2009). In addition, when the political climate became pale and worse in the Soviet Unions in the 1970s, a substantial number of Russians emigrated from Eastern European settlements to many countries including South Africa (Rubin, 2005; Sibisi, 2006).

In the wake of the 1976 period of low morale in Israel, and the 1976 Middle East general civil unrest, coupled with the rising anti-Semitism in Nazi Germany, there was an increase in the rate of East European Jewish population arriving and inhabiting South Africa (Peberdy, 1988; Frankental, 1998). Likewise, in the mid-1980s hundreds of thousands of people, mostly peasants, were forced to flee decades of civil war that ravaged many districts of Mozambique. Albeit not subject to protection under refugee laws by the apartheid government, but rather

² The term subaltern refers to a person of low ranking, marginalised and oppressed in a social, political and economic order. Subaltern class implies and represents a designated group of the population that is socially, politically and geographically outside of the hegemonic power structure of the colonial homeland. In the theories of subalternity and post-colonialism, the term 'subaltern' was used under duress to imply a person who can neither speak nor claim any right (Maggio, 2007).

treated as ‘visiting relatives’ or ‘self-settled refugees’, a sheer number of Mozambican refugees decided not to return home and remained in South Africa, inhabiting and establishing roots and families primarily in the rural borderlands of South Africa (Polzer, 2007; Crush & Williams, 2001).

Whilst imported cheap labourers became a keystone in the economic success and the bolstered industrial revolution and development of South Africa, on one side of the spectrum black foreigners were blocked from bringing their families and acquiring permanent residency permits. White migrants, on the other side, were encouraged and offered permanent residence and citizenship to boost the proportion of their population in South Africa (Peberdy & Crush, 2000).

Before the democratisation, the apartheid government passed protectionist, segregationist and nationalistic migration policies with a particular emphasis on tight border control security and restrictions on migrants considered to be having what was termed “undesirable characteristics³” (Wa Kabwe-Segatti & Landau, 2008: 46), but these racially divisive policies that favoured white immigration were later slowly abandoned.

When apartheid was officially abolished in 1994, South Africa re-entered a global economic and political sphere, and the new government, led by the African National Congress (ANC) felt obliged to repay a political debt to other countries for their role in the liberation struggle by granting amnesties and opening up its borders to refugees from Sub-Saharan Africa (Crush, 2000; Crush et al., 2005). The demise of apartheid policies together with amnesties sparked a large-scale flow of refugees and asylum seekers running away from the deepening political crisis in many African countries and even further afield (Adepoju, 2000; Makhema, 2009). Likewise, the booming economy in a democratic setting triggered a wide scale of clandestine cross-border movement of economic migrants from as far as other parts of Africa and Asia in the quest for a better life and other potential economic opportunities in South Africa (Mukasa, 2012).

While the pre-colonial South Africa was largely characterised by a range of settlers from Western powers and labour migrants from Africa and Asia, it is correct to deduce that the post-apartheid South Africa is predominantly characterised by a mixture of migration patterns

³ In upholding their consistent segregationist migration policies, the South African apartheid government categorised people according to their race, and very often African migrants constituted a racial group considered “migrants with undesirable characteristics” (Wa Kabwe-Segatti & Landau, 2008: 46).

bequeathed from the apartheid period, including labour in mining and workers in the service industries, juxtaposed with a contemporary form of migration associated with economic migrants fleeing from persistent economic collapse and deprivation, alongside refugees and asylum seekers forced to flee their countries of origin due to protracted political instability and persecution, as well as worsening human rights violation.

Amidst complex and multi-faceted forms of migration, the South African government struggles to provide adequate social services to its citizens (UNHCR, 2010b). The post-apartheid government also grapples with leveraging the provision of existing scarce services and resources between its citizens and foreign migrants. It is noteworthy that international migrants, particularly refugees, form part of a vulnerable sector of previously or historically disadvantaged group, i.e., those who were disfranchised and marginalised during the apartheid period (Crush & Williams, 2001; Crush et al., 2017). As outlined in the section below, the situation of many migrants is still direr as they are largely excluded in the provision of social services in South Africa (Jacobsen, 2002; 2004; 2006; Apalata et al., 2007; Dupper, 2014).

1.4. The situation of international migrants in South Africa

Post-apartheid South Africa has recorded steady and prosperous economic growth. However, the trickle-down effect of this economic success and growth in South Africa is inadequate (Pauw & Mncube, 2007; Devereux & Waidler, 2017; Majee et al., 2019; Dinbabo & Badewa, 2020). This is evidenced by the fact that the living conditions of the South African population did not remarkably improve, as a greater proportion of South Africans still battle with challenges related to poverty, inequality, unemployment and food insecurity (Agüero et al., 2007; Devereux & Waidler, 2017).

The stubbornly high phenomena of poverty and inequalities are not only restricted to South African citizens, but also are reflected in every day's socio-economic life of migrants, as a substantial number of migrants in South Africa live in precarious conditions, and even experience greater deprivation and vulnerability than they did in their home countries (Jacobsen, 2004; 2006). By far the largest number of foreign nationals who live below the poverty lines are refugees and asylum seekers who generally reside in the urban areas of South Africa's major cities (Landau et al., 2005; Jacobsen, 2006). Refugees in South African urban centres are generally exposed to hostility, discrimination and xenophobia as well as human rights violations (Betts & Kaytaz, 2009; Vigneswaran et al., 2010). This emanates from the government's liberal system of refugee open policy of self-reliance and self-settlement, under

which migrants coming to South Africa in search of asylum are not provided with humanitarian assistance. Instead, in terms of the self-resettlement approach, refugees, asylum seekers and their families are expected to self-integrate in the South African society, and basic services are provided in the same way as they are delivered to their South African counterparts (Palmary, 2002; Hungwe, 2013). The results are that urban migrants and citizens of South Africa are in constant and fierce competition in accessing scarce resources and insufficient public social services. Consequently, refugees are described by some South Africans as a burden on the state, economic vultures depleting the state resources and scrounging off South African tax-payers' money and asylum seekers are described as criminals out to steal jobs away from citizens (Greenburg & Polzer, 2008). Other descriptions such as “a tick which sucks the blood of a cow that it is attached on”, have been used to describe refugees (Kesting, 2009: 12), while analogies of “criminals undermining South Africa’s development” have been used when referring to poor and unskilled economic migrants (Maharaj, 2002: 50).

The negative perceptions and allegations that asylum seekers and refugees are a burden on the state who pose a threat and put a strain on the economy, and the portrayal of low-skilled migrants as people who steal jobs, flare up tensions and have triggered an on-going and constant conflict between foreigners and native-born South Africans. These perceptions have also created a fertile ground for insecurity, stigmatisation, discrimination and xenophobia, which has led to a situation whereby foreign nationals in South Africa are urban extreme poor and vulnerable population (Maharaj, 2002; Vearey, 2008).

Given the above, urban migrants in South Africa are without national protection and face a multitude of other hardships. The World Bank published a report in which it articulated that “migrants’ challenges include high rates of poverty and unemployment, poor service delivery of basic services such as water and sanitation, overcrowding, high crime rates, and drug as well as alcohol abuse” (World Bank, 2018a: 18). Along the same vein, migrants in South Africa face problems and challenges associated with access to other basic socio-economic services such as lack of shelter, and inadequate access to food, financial services, healthcare and education (Cavaglieri, 2005; Jacobsen, 2006). While hunger is widespread in South Africa, glaring evidence from studies by Apalata et al. (2007) and Sithole and Dinbabo (2016) showed that migrant households in South Africa are the hardest hit and face food insecurity where they continue to struggle without enough food for themselves and their families.

Concerning housing, non-nationals are not entitled to state housing nor housing subsidies. This often leaves migrants severely disadvantaged and exploited at the hands of private landlords and estate companies in the housing markets. On the one hand, in a city such as Johannesburg, migrant households and their families live in the inner-city in small and shared apartments with other families, or single men live together in over-crowded, and dangerous high-rise crumbling apartments with regular police harassment (Jacobsen, 2004; 2006; Clacherty, 2019). In Cape Town and other cities, on the other hand, due to apartheid's divisive policies coupled with pervasive poverty, migrant households pay exorbitant rental fees and they are forced to live in fear and mistrust of the locals, in unsanitary conditions in overburdened peri-urban informal settlements (Greenburg & Polzer, 2008).

Women and children refugees are particularly faring badly in terms of access to services, resources and protection. The International Federation for Human Rights (IFHR) (2008) and Palmary (2009) pointed out that women, particularly those who are employed in agriculture, domestic work, service industries and trade are exposed to exploitation, unfair labour practices and discrimination. Likewise, Amisi and Ballard (2005) and the International Federation for Human Rights (IFHR, 2008) reported that female labour migrants are subjected to many forms of socio-economic problems, including lack of communication, accompanied by gender-based violence, abuse and rape which result in the prevalence of sexually transmitted infections (STIs) and health-related risks such as the Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV) and Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome (AIDS). These appalling conditions in the labour market were further confirmed in the empirical study in which Hlatshwayo (2019) reported that Zimbabwean female labour migrants undergo trials and tribulations in their workplaces as they are employed in highly precarious work environments, characterised by starvation wages and poor working conditions that are accompanied by abuse and violence.

In relation to children, the situation of hundreds and potentially thousands of unaccompanied migrant minors in South Africa, resembles that of a humanitarian emergency (Palmary, 2009; United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF), 2009; Sloth-Nielsen & Ackermann, 2016). Scholars Willie and Mfubu (2016) and Sloth-Nielsen and Ackermann (2016) noted that after separating from both parents or their previous legal or customary primary caregivers and other relatives, migrant children in South Africa are the ones with the least legal protection as they are excluded from immigration systems or turned away from formal child protection systems and services because they do not have legal status. A particularly challenging issue for migrant children is that they are in a doubly vulnerable

situation (Palmary, 2009) because they require specialised care and placing them into foster care within South Africa is significantly impossible (Palmary, 2009; Willie & Mfubu, 2016). Similarly, due to the lack of documentation and asylum claim, and the limited resources, migrant children's access to basic health and education is extremely compromised (Palmary, 2009; Ackermann, 2017). What complicates the task of protecting migrant unaccompanied minors is that due to fear of arrest and mistrust, they avoid any contact with the authorities and their precariousness is often characterised by loitering and roaming around in the streets, sleeping around in the taxi ranks or in the bush, illness and fear of seeking medical care, doing odd jobs in the informal sector, where they are often and grossly exposed to violence, racism, abuse, and exploitation (UNICEF, 2009; Sloth-Nielsen & Ackermann, 2016).

Overall, the most dominant features of migrants' vulnerability in South Africa relate to specific challenges associated with their non-national status in accessing documentation and the labour market (Hungwe, 2013; Kavuro, 2015; Crush et al., 2017). Refugees and asylum seekers are the most affected because the South African Department of Home Affairs (DHA), which is primarily responsible for issuing documents, has been eroded by mismanagement, under-resources, rampant corruption and fraud as well as backlogs of unprocessed applications. These obstacles and many others prevent migrants from acquiring documents and make their employment extraordinarily difficult (Landau et al., 2005). Even when migrants are provided with documents, their permits together with their qualifications are not recognised by many potential employers (Crush et al., 2017). The situation is further exacerbated by South African discriminatory labour policies, which make it extremely difficult to hire foreign nationals, and exclusionary practices, which bar migrants from accessing jobs in the mainstream economy of South Africa.

Therefore, the situation of migrants in South Africa and their prospects to provide for themselves more sustainably is typically constrained by many issues including public hostility, institutional racism and xenophobia, which subject migrants to discrimination (Jacobsen, 2004). Similarly, barriers to migrant livelihoods mainly relate to a widespread exclusion from the labour market, administrative and legislative hurdles related to documentation, accompanied by an absence of material and financial support. Amidst these socio-economic challenges, migrants in South Africa are pushed into a necessity-based entrepreneurship (Jacobsen, 2004; Kalitanyi & Visser, 2010; Dinbabo et al., 2017) where to a larger extent, a wide portfolio of livelihood tactics of moving between burgeoning informal sectors are

employed to hedge against poverty and vulnerability that they experienced during and after immigration (Landau et al., 2005; Landau & Wa kabwe-Segatti, 2009).

In the informal sector, migrants in South Africa engage in several small-scale occupations to earn livelihoods and to increase their human security. Northcote (2015) identified informal broad categories of occupations that mostly prevail among international migrants in South Africa, notably casual or day labour, especially in construction and gardening for males and domestic work for females (Northcote, 2015). Migrants also engage in various other forms of trading and hawking, from roadside stalls and itinerant trading to more fixed establishments in the spaza-shops⁴, artisanship in the manufacturing of crafts such as beadwork, wires and metal works, woodcarvings and paintings, personal services in the lower economy such as hair-braiding and barbering (Kalitanyi & Visser, 2010). Also, migrants in South Africa have managed to establish a niche in the lower economic stratum where they are engaged in what they term the ‘care industry’ where they do parking attendance (car care), ‘uberizing’ and ‘tuk-tuking⁵’ as a means of survival or livelihoods (Ncube, 2017).

The most prominent migrant livelihood activities in the informal sector are carried out in South Africa’s streets (Northcote, 2015). Relying and depending much more on erratic income from street vending and performing other income-generating menial jobs as a primary livelihood strategy, results in international migrants being a vulnerable group because they suffer the consequences of this unfortunate situation (Schreier, 2006; Hungwe, 2013; Crush et al., 2017). Similarly, migrant entrepreneurs who operate their businesses on the streets are faced with overt anti-foreign migrant sentiments which are increasingly expressed in the policy practices (Hungwe, 2012; Crush et al., 2017). In some residential areas of South Africa, informal migrant traders experience a harsh and unforgiving life, as they are regarded as people occupying the lowest socio-economic echelons in society (Cross & Morales, 2007; Skinner, 2008). In addition, migrant street vendors have been labelled as ‘unworthy entrepreneurs’ by some South Africans (ILO, 2002), while refugee migrants have been identified as being chronically poor and worthy beneficiaries of hand-outs (ILO, 2002; Thompson & Grant, 2015).

⁴ The term spaza-shop is usually used to refer to an informal and convenient home-based grocery stores. These stores are often run by foreign nationals in many South African townships, and their purpose is to supply everyday small household items and to supplement or provide an income to the owner (Charman et al., 2011).

⁵ On the one hand, uberizing is a ride sourcing or ride sharing system that uses technology to connect the driver of the vehicle with the passenger for a specified amount of money (Henama & Sifalo, 2017). Tuk-tuking on the other hand, is an affordable door-to-door passenger transport system that generally uses a simple and three-wheeled motorised vehicle as a taxi in some urban areas of South Africa (Mbara, 2016).

While constraints that hinder migrant livelihoods in South Africa are well-documented, a strong body of evidence points to the fact that migrants' precarious plights and protracted situation are an illustration of the paradox of the discrimination and failure to attain the socio-economic rights of access to formal labour and documentation as well as other services, which are the driving force to pursuing livelihoods in the informal sector of South Africa. However, despite facing stark limitations and being excluded in a broad array of social services, qualifying migrants can apply for social grants. Hence, this study sought to examine the role of these grants in hedging against migrant household livelihood challenges.

1.5. Significance and rationale of the study

Many studies have been undertaken in the context of social welfare programmes in South Africa (see for example, Haarman, 2003; Makhema, 2009; Woolard et al., 2010; Dinbabo, 2011; Kapindu, 2011; Brockerhoff, 2013; Deacon et al., 2015), and an ever-expanding body of literature exists globally relating to social protection policies and international migration frameworks (Midgley, 2010; Sabates-Wheeler & Koettl, 2010; Sabates-Wheeler & Taylor, 2010; Bloom & Fieldman, 2011; Dupper, 2014). However, the area of social welfare policies is vast and very often characterised more by debates than agreements (Swemmer, 2013; Pennings, 2014). Also, despite the widening body of research and a plethora of literature, the studies conducted abroad focus typically or mostly on the portability and exportability of the benefits of labour migrants, while local studies on the grant system have predominantly dealt with citizens' perspectives, with a technical or economical viewpoint where the main concern was fiscal and the sustainability of welfare systems (Makino, 2004; Siegel & De Neubourg, 2011). This resulted in the current state of knowledge in the field of social welfare, consisting of narrow dimensions, stemming largely from economic and legal orientations (Craig & De Burca, 2011; Verschueren, 2012; Pennings, 2014). Furthermore, the effect of welfare policies and programmes on the various aspects of urban refugees' livelihoods has received scant attention. Likewise, to the researcher's knowledge there have been no other studies that looked critically at the impact transmission of social grants on the livelihoods of the people living with grant recipients in the migrant households. Therefore, in a different, more integrated and balanced approach to the afore-mentioned studies, in the socio-economic realms, this study sought to bridge the gap, while at the same time contributing to the on-going academic discourse in the domain of social protection. This study also aimed at influencing policy-makers and different stakeholders with the view to making social grants more effective and accessible to the migrant population in South Africa.

1.6. Problem statement, research question, hypothesis, aim and objectives

1.6.1. Problem statement

Social protection, especially South Africa's welfare system has been widely researched. The country has a fairly well-developed model of welfare for a developing nation, with one of the largest cash transfer systems in Africa (Makhema, 2009; Devereux, 2010; Kapindu, 2011; Mabungu et al., 2015). Approximately 16 million people, in 2013 alone, i.e., about 31% of the population of South Africa were registered and received social welfare grants (Brockerhoff, 2013; StatsSA, 2017; 2018b). This number of beneficiaries, according to Mabungu et al. (2014; 2015) and StatsSA (2017; 2018b) led to the South African government spending 3% of its gross domestic product (GDP) on welfare grants.

The overall patterns of social grants expenditure as a percentage of South Africa's GDP remained stable in the 2013/14 financial year, and it was predicted to increase slightly from 3.2% to 3.4% in the next financial years (Gordhan, 2016). Out of the total number of beneficiaries registered for social grants, refugees and migrants with permanent residence still constitute a small fraction. In fact, the data clearly indicates that in terms of social grants that are applicable to foreign-born migrants, refugee children are accorded these grants in smaller numbers than their South African counterparts (Africa Check, 2018). For instance, based on the figures from the Census of 2011 and the Community Survey of 2016, the Manager for Strategic Monitoring at the South African Social Security Service, Stanley Malange highlighted that in the fourth quarter of the financial year 2015/2016, a total of only 44,552 international migrant children benefitted from children-targeted grants (i.e., 28,677 with permanent residence and 15,875 with refugee status). That represented a tiny fraction of 3% of the total grantees of state child grants, in comparison to the 57% of the South African child population under the age of 19 (i.e., a total of more than one million) who accessed social grants prescribed for children (Africa Check, 2016).

Social welfare programmes, and social assistance grants in particular, play a key and significant role in mitigating the short-term impact of poverty, i.e., reducing its depth, incidences and severity and alleviating inequality among South Africans (Devereux, 2010; Sabates-Wheeler & Koettl, 2010; Woolard et al., 2010; Brockerhoff, 2013). They also increase household expenditure and improve the well-being of members of the most vulnerable and poor households (Farrington & Slater, 2006; Hailu & Soares, 2008).

It has also been established that refugees' access to social services depends on whether they settle in camps in the host nations, so that their basic needs can be addressed and taken care of by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and other humanitarian organisations (Makhema, 2009; UNHCR, 2012a; 2012b). South Africa's case is an exception in the sense that in its formal policies, the government does not confine refugees to camps (Khan, 2007; Makhema, 2009). This means that migrants and refugees as well as asylum seekers are allowed to freely self-settle anywhere in the country, where they compete with native citizens and internal migrants in accessing the scarce resources and insufficient social services provided by the state.

Furthermore, migrants, especially forced refugees and registered asylum seekers are in a precarious situation where they are faced with many forms of discrimination and exclusion, and the poor economic migrants are exposed to treacherous living conditions in the South African cities (Greenburg & Polzer, 2008; Palmary, 2009; Vigneswaran et al., 2010; Maniragena & Hallard, 2015; World Bank, 2018a). To overcome the plight of the poor and vulnerable migrants, the South African government came to their rescue by extending welfare grants to eligible refugees and permanent resident migrants. However, despite the South African government's generosity of grants to non-citizens, the situation of migrants and their children's access to social grants in South Africa is still described as a "bleak reality" (Africa Check, 2016; 2018). Also, relatively little is known about the profile of migrant households that comprise social grant beneficiaries and the micro-economic outcomes of social grants for migrants have not been studied. In addition, there is still much that needs to be understood in terms of the function of social grants in tackling the multiple aspects of poverty in migrant households. Thus, this study aimed at exploring and evaluating the effect of social assistance programmes in migrant households and to identify challenges that they face in accessing social grants.

1.6.2. Research question

Within the broader context of the above-articulated research problem, in the process of linking government assistance grants with migrant households' livelihoods, the general research question to be answered is:

- What are the socio-economic conditions of urban migrant households that receive social grants in South Africa and to what extent do these grants affect their livelihoods?

1.6.3. Research hypothesis

As far as research is concerned, the hypothesis is a short and basic statement of what is to be tested (Babbie & Mouton, 2001a; Mouton, 2001; 2006). It is essentially about the composition of some dependent and independent variables to be empirically verified and their relationships tested and established (Kothari, 2004; Bless et al., 2006). In simple terms, the hypothesis is a tentative claim about the connection between two or more variables – a testable prediction of what the researcher expects to see (likely to happen at the end of the study) (Willemse, 2009; Creswell, 2009; 2014). This study is about assessing the extent to which social welfare programmes contribute to the socio-economic development in migrant households. In the process, the researcher predicts that there is a direct relationship between social grants and migrants' livelihood strategies, activities and outcomes. Therefore, during this study the following broad hypothetical statements were formulated and empirically tested:

- H₀ – Null hypothesis: Social welfare programmes, and social grants in particular, have no positive and significant impact on the livelihood outcomes of migrant grant-receiving households in South Africa.
- H₁ – Alternative hypothesis: Social welfare programmes, and social assistance grants in particular, have a positive and significant impact on the livelihood outcomes of migrant grant-receiving households in South Africa.

1.6.4. Aim of the study

The main aim of this study was to review the literature on the South African social security landscape, more specifically to investigate the salient features of the social assistance grant system that applies to international migrants. In doing so, the study sought to gather information on the urban migrant households that receive government grants, to assess how these grants affect migrant livelihood systems. The study also attempted to evaluate the challenges which migrants face in accessing social grants with the view to providing suggestions and proposing an informed policy recommendation which enhances the effectiveness of social grants and improves accessibility to social welfare programmes in the migrant population of South Africa.

1.6.5. Specific objectives of the study

Stemming from the aim of the study as outlined above, this study also sought to achieve the following specific and subsidiary objectives:

- To investigate the instruments of South Africa's social assistance system that apply to the international migrants.
- To evaluate the socio-economic conditions of migrant households that receive social grants, their livelihood and coping strategies.
- To probe the manner in which social assistance grants affect migrant household livelihoods systems.
- To assess the challenges and constraints which migrants face when accessing social grants in South Africa.
- To examine other social security mechanisms that are in place for migrants in South Africa and to determine those that are implemented by the migrant-supporting organisations.
- To provide suggestions and recommendations as well as alternative policy options that can enhance the effectiveness of social grants and improve migrants' accessibility to government assistance in South Africa.

1.7. Organisation of thesis chapters

This study is about exploring the connection between social welfare policies and international migration; it specifically sought to assess the spill-over effect of social grants in urban migrant households comprising grant beneficiaries in South Africa. The organisation of this study consists of the following eight chapters:

Chapter One, which serves as an introductory chapter, reflects the generic picture of the whole research. It provides background information and contextualisation of the study. Chapter one therefore provides a situational overview of social protection policies and international migration in general. This chapter also sheds light on the brief history of the movement of migrants in South Africa as well as their current situation and livelihoods. Furthermore, chapter one sets out the research problem and question, hypotheses, aim and objectives as well the significance and justification for carrying out the current study together with the layout out of the thesis chapters.

Chapter Two explores the conceptual and theoretical frameworks underpinning the study. The chapter starts by providing detailed definitions and explanations as well as contextual frameworks of the constructs of international migration, households and poverty. Chapter two also provides different perspectives on the Rawls' Theory of Justice and its application in the

provision of social assistance to immigrants. This chapter further discusses the Sustainable Livelihood Approach as a parallel theoretical framework used to assess the effect of social grants on the migrant livelihoods.

Chapter Three provides a literature review and puts social welfare policies into perspective. It also examines the socio-economic conditions under which social welfare policies exist. The chapter starts by providing an understanding of poverty, deprivation and vulnerability. In addition, chapter three presents an overview of the South African social welfare system, i.e., a detailed description of the South African welfare system from its historical development, its pillars (with a particular focus on the social assistance scheme), to its structure and related challenges. Furthermore, this chapter presents a comprehensive review of the empirical studies of the international and local experience on the effect of government transfers, and identifies the gap in the literature which informed the current study.

Chapter Four locates international migration in the social welfare system, where typologies of migration and welfare are discussed. The chapter also provides information on local and international legislative and policy instruments, conventions and declarations, as well as protocols governing social welfare provision to immigrants. Chapter four further discusses the imperative and obligations that the South African government has in the provision of social assistance to international migrants, through the policy documents and legislation such as the South African Constitution of 1996 and the Refugees Act 130 of 1998.

Chapter Five focuses on the research design and methodological approaches and processes utilised to achieve the aim and objectives of the study. The chapter also provides details of the sampling techniques employed and how the sample population was selected. In addition, it shows how key variables relevant to the study were operationalised, along with information of how survey questionnaires were administered, and how interviews and focus group discussions were conducted. Furthermore, chapter five highlights the challenges encountered during the fieldwork and how issues relating to ethical considerations were managed.

Chapter Six presents the empirical findings from the quantitative research method of the study. This chapter provides a detailed analysis and interpretation of the quantitative results on the characteristics of the households that receive social grants and discuss the results from survey questionnaires in relation to the theoretical and conceptual framework of the study. Further to

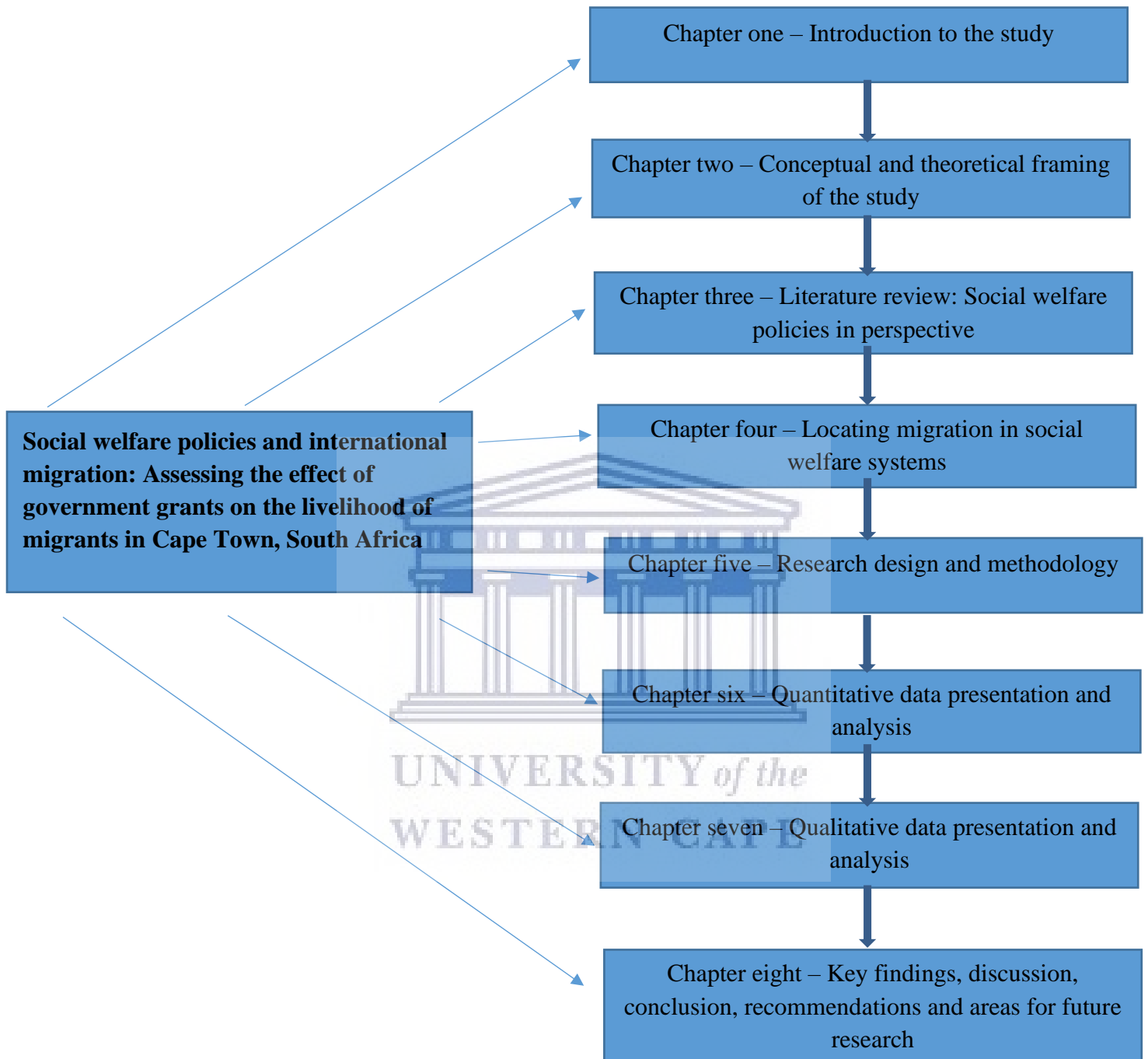
this, in this chapter, the hypotheses of the study are tested and validated and all the empirical results are compared to the information collected from the literature.

Chapter Seven presents the empirical findings which emanate from the qualitative research method of the study. It provides a detailed analysis, interpretation and discussion of the opinions and views of the heads of the households that receive government grants, key informants from NGOs that provide support and services to migrants and the focus group members. Similar to chapter six, in chapter seven the evidence and themes emerging from the qualitative findings are also cross-linked with the theory and information gathered from the different literature sources.

Chapter Eight provides the summary of key findings and the conclusion. In the conclusion to the study, the researcher makes suggestions and policy recommendations on how international migrants' access to social grants can be improved in South Africa. Chapter eight also identifies and recommends areas of future research in the field of international migration and social welfare policies.



Figure 1. 1. Outline and logical sequence of the chapters comprising this thesis



Source: Author's own compilation (2019)

CHAPTER TWO – CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL FRAMING OF THE STUDY

2.1. Chapter overview

Different theories, models, frameworks and approaches as well as arguments and perspectives have been advanced and contributed to the understanding of the state role and obligation in providing welfare assistance. This study sought to assess the effect of social welfare programmes in promoting livelihoods in migrant grant-receiving households. The aim of this chapter is to present the conceptual and theoretical framework that underpins the study. To build a logical conceptual connection of the study, the first section provides detailed explanations and clarifications on the constructs of migration, households and poverty as well as vulnerability, together with the contextual frameworks of these concepts.

To provide a grounding foundation, the second part of the chapter expounds on the theoretical framework, specifically Rawls' theory of justice and the sustainable livelihood framework (SLF). It starts with a discussion of Rawls' theory of justice to explain the rights of migrants to welfare services, and the various aspects that pertain to the provision of social services. In this part, the chapter traces and indicates the main tenets of the theory, its critiques and relevance as well as its specific applications to the provision of welfare services to international migrants. In presenting the livelihood framework, the section elaborates on the Sustainable Livelihood Approach (SLA), highlighting the assets that are possession of the poor, their livelihoods and adaptive strategies as well as their coping mechanisms. In order to conceptualise the relationship between welfare and livelihoods in the framework of social grants, the second section of the chapter outlines the factors that influence and determine migrants' livelihoods in the context of vulnerability.

2.2. Conceptual framework of the study

Conceptualisation is a fundamental process in scientific research. It is a process of breaking and converting ideas of research into a coherent and common meaning. Through this process, the researcher frames the meaning of concepts in a way that common understanding and agreements are reached among users (Babbie & Mouton, 2001b; Creswell, 2003; 2009). This would avoid potential conflict which might arise later on the interpretations and measurements. In social welfare, the conceptual framework for the study of international migration and livelihood draws mainly on two categories of migrants – forced migrants, i.e., refugees and asylum seekers and economic migrants, and how they organise themselves in their households

to overcome poverty and vulnerabilities (Nyaoro, 2010). Thus, international migration, households, poverty and vulnerability formed the basis of the framework of this study and are conceptualised next.

2.2.1. International migration

The term 'migration' is a multidimensional and difficult concept to define as, depending on the context, it can apply to the movement of both human beings and animals (Hristoski & Sotiroski, 2012; King, 2012a). Some of the aspects of the definition of human migration which one can potentially use to answer specific research questions in a welfare domain, pertain to the views of Kok (1999), Kok et al. (2006) and Perruchoud (2004), that approach migration against the time thresholds and space and distance involved. In this approach, migration is viewed as a process involving a movement, either across international boundaries, or within a state for different reasons. Drawing on this definition, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR, 2010a) postulated that for international migration to take place, a prospective migrant should have at least crossed a political border or another country's spatial unit with intentions of taking up semi-permanent or permanent residence in a country other than his or her country of birth. In this context, Parkins (2010) and Mukasa (2012) observed that motives for migration vary and the migratory movement is either 'voluntary' or 'forced'.

At one end of the spectrum, in forced migration, unforeseen circumstances compel people to flee and leave their habitual homelands against their free will. Usually, the reasons for forced migration range from persecution, human rights violations, repression, conflict and wars to natural and human-made disasters and environmental hazards (UNHCR, 2010a; Mukasa, 2012). On the other hand, in voluntary migration there is no aspect of force, nor does it involve the entire nation. Instead, it is a cross-border movement spurred by economic reasons, whereby families or individuals of a particular community within the state, raise their own funds to finance the cost of migrating to another country. The implication is that voluntary migrants happen to be well informed about the situation of their destination countries, and they are usually able and willing to migrate in search of better livelihoods (Parkins, 2010). Scholars such as King and Skeldon (2010) and King (2012a; 2012b) argued that migration takes place in two streams of emigration and immigration flows. While the former refers to the process of relocating from home country to another country, the latter is used when referring to the process of coming to a foreign country for permanent settling (King, 2012b).

2.2.1.1. Type of migrants

Further to the bi-directional movement of migrants, the meaning of international migration has been deconstructed by the scholars of human mobility, such as King and Skeldon (2010) and King (2012a; 2012b), and based on what is commonly referred to as ‘dualities, binaries, dichotomies and dyads of migration’ these scholars formulated a continuum or typology of migration consisting of: temporary versus permanent; regular and irregular; legal and illegal or clandestine; economic and political migrants. Therefore, not considering the length of stay, composition and cause, the approach adopted in this study is similar to the one that was put forward by King and Skeldon (2010) and Skeldon (2017) in their typology of migration in which the two core types of international migrants were categorised into **forced migrants**, i.e., refugees and asylum seekers and economic migrants i.e., **voluntary migrants**.

While the movement of asylum seekers and refugees is deep-rooted into the socio-political conditions in their countries of origin that push them to flee to another country (UNHCR, 2010a), the movement of economic migrants is generally triggered by the pull-demand factors prevailing in the destination countries (Massey, 1988). In this respect, both refugees and asylum seekers seek protection in the host countries. Phillips (2010) and Glynn (2011) refer to an asylum seeker as a person who has left his country of origin for purposes of seeking the recognition and protection of another country, yet that person’s claim for asylum and recognition for refugee status is still to be determined. Contrary to an asylum seeker, a refugee on the other hand, as defined by Glynn (2011) and Delgado-Wise et al. (2013), is someone who has been displaced as the result of wars, conflicts, violence, political instabilities, social catastrophes, and instability, whose claim for refugee status has been approved and accepted, and that person is usually recognised under the 1951 Refugee Convention.⁶ The convention defines a refugee as,

... any person who, owing to fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside his home country, and owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of

⁶ The United Nations Convention of 1951 and its protocol adopted in 1967 is discussed in detail in chapter four of this thesis. However, it suffices to note that, the Refugee Convention is the centerpiece of international refugee protection today. It is grounded in Article 14 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights that recognises the rights of a person to seek asylum from persecution in another country (Hathaway & Foster, 2015).

that country (Article 1, UN Refugee Convention of 1951) as quoted from Glynn (2011: 7).

With regards to the documentation of forced migrants in South Africa, when an asylum seeker lodges an application for recognition of refugee status at the designated Refugee Reception Office (RRO), under the Refugees Act, that person is issued with a Section 22 permit (hereafter referred to as asylum seeker permit or visa), which allows him or her to sojourn temporarily in the Republic of South Africa for up to six months (with no limited number of renewals) while the process of refugee determination is in progress (Acheampong, 2018). The asylum seeker visa holder has the rights to work and study in the country. Once the application is approved, a person is granted a Section 24 permit (written recognition of refugee status), which is renewable upon expiration, and recognised refugees can further apply a Refugee Identity Card, which is commonly referred to as a “Maroon ID” (Acheampong, 2018; Ekambaram, 2018).

A formally recognised refugee who has continuously lived in the Republic of South Africa and complied with certain requirements may apply to be certified as an ‘indefinite refugee’ and issued with certification in accordance with Section 27, under the Immigration Act (No. 13 of 2002). That person can apply for an immigration permit or a permanent residence permit (RSA, 2002). Notwithstanding the distinction of document and legality of their stay, Sana & Massey (2005) and the UNHCR (2012b) reported that when in the destination country, international migrants tend to live in the form of communal composition and setting – a phenomenon known as the ‘household’.

2.2.2. Household

The concept of household is often used in multi-topic surveys, and some confusion exists about its meaning. Scholars such as Constantin and Gregory (2006) and Beaman and Dillon (2011) remarked that numerous practices and efforts with intentions to provide a standardised definition of the household have been intensified, and yet there is still no clarity of what types of definitions or which intersections of keywords are to be included in the definition. The impetus for the standardisation of the definition of household is because its alternative and complexity in the type of household may result in different household compositions, which in turn has the potential implication of altering, increasing or decreasing consumption and production.

In general terms, studies such as Bender (1967), Becker (1991), Edmonds et al. (2001), and the UNHCR (2012b) refer to a household as an economic unit whose members possess certain economic and social ties, that propel members of the household to participate together in the productive activities and the decisions or behaviour of one member affect the rest of the household. This definition was complemented by Constantin and Gregory (2006) and De Haan (2000), who argued that a household consists of a group of people related or not who normally live together and are presumed to eat meals from a common kitchen or single pot and granary unless circumstances prevent them from doing so.

Willekens (2010) and the UNHCR (2012b) added to the definition by proclaiming that a household is a person or group of people occupying a common dwelling unit or part of it, who share resources, contribute to a common household economy, and who rely on the income from that economy for at least the greater part of their essential needs and expenditures. This resource-sharing definition of a household is premised on the unitary model, where a household is considered as both a consumption and production structure. This model assumes that household members behave altruistically, and that their utility is maximised when resources are pooled together (income diversified) for the purpose of smoothing consumption and insuring against future shocks and hardships (Becker, 1991; Edmonds et al., 2001).

When broadened, the definition of household accommodates all household members who contribute to family income. This income contribution results in a situation whereby in many western and modern societies, the concept of family and household are often erroneously considered as synonymous by pundits and policy-makers (UNHCR, 2012b). Nevertheless, the distinction is that a household is a co-residence group that carries domestic functions, while a family carries a consanguineal relationship which implies an affinal and fundamental kinship relationship (Bender, 1967; Beaman & Dillon, 2011). A co-residence and sharing resources, as two criteria that define a household, entail that a household may consist of a single family, several extended families, or many families of unrelated persons, such as tenants (Keilman, 1988; Willekens, 2010). Family, on the other hand, is usually referred to as 'kin', and it is a particular type of household, consisting of related or tied together individuals, either by marriage, blood, adoption, or consensual union in a social housing unit, which might be a house, apartment, mobile rooms, a group of rooms, or a single room in a separate living quarter (Bongaarts, 1987; Willekens, 2010).

In South Africa, the concept of household relates to the geographical location (geo-spatial) and the type of location (geo-types). Based on their structure and composition, Daniels et al. (2013: 5) identified four types of households, namely: “two from rural geo-types, i.e., rural formal and rural tribal and two from urban geo-types, i.e., urban formal and urban informal”. While rural household types in a traditional perspective are based around the so-called ‘nuclear family’ and refer to those who live in the same house, who may or may not make up a family (UNHCR, 2012b), many studies argue that in urban modern settings, household members do not necessarily have to stay under one roof (see for example, Bergh & Theron, 2010; Casimir & Tobi, 2011; UNHCR, 2012b).

In the case of members not staying together in a modern household setting, they are required to acknowledge the authority of one person as head of the household and that person usually takes responsibility for the rest of the household members. Bongaarts (1987) and Beaman and Dillon (2011) observed that beside the head of household, an ordinary household comprises spouse(s), children and relatives as well as other persons who might be unrelated. Also, in polygamous households where all the spouses do not live together in the same home as their husbands, each of the spouses living elsewhere will be listed as a separate household with the persons they live with and the spouse is usually the head of that household (Keilman, 1988; Muyanga et al., 2002). In addition, a tenant who does not take his meals at the place of his or her residence is considered as a separate household. Furthermore, in a group of unmarried people living together where everyone has his or her own means of livelihood, each member of the group will form his or her own separate household (Bongaarts, 1987; Willekens, 2010; Beaman & Dillon, 2011).

In the context of migration, households do not deviate much from the norms, beside the fact that household members might not necessarily be from the same country. Sana and Massey (2005) and the UNHCR (2012b) described migrant households as a coalition, or group of players or individuals committed by choice, who enter into an implicit contractual agreement to act as one unit to maximise utility through the diversification of its allocation of labour and income. This group of people share resources, expenditures and activities on a more or less regular basis, and contracts between household members are often enforced by altruism (Stark & Lucas, 1988; Casimir & Tobi, 2011). In terms of composition, in migrant households the conventional nuclear family is not rigorously adhered to, and the physical presence, as well as the strict residency rule are relaxed. However, to a lesser extent, the residence rule and criterion

is used to establish household membership and to reflect resource sharing. According to Posel et al. (2006: 836), “an individual household member is required to be resident in the household for most of the year”.

The use of the broad residency rule in migration would allow for migrant household membership of individuals, even if they have been living elsewhere. Imposing a residency requirement (though not permanent) has the advantages of avoiding double-counting – as migrants can be members of more than one household and they may be counted twice in a survey (Sharp & Spiegel, 1990; Townsend, 1997; Hosegood & Timaeus, 2001). Amidst several and sometimes complex definitions, for the purpose of harmonising the concept of household, in this study a migrant household as a unit of analysis is approached from a broader perspective by which a systematic socio-economic view takes preference. Therefore, the construct of household comprises dimensions and characteristics of common dwelling, housekeeping, sharing resources and activities including intersection of some other aspects such as residency requirement, and high level of interaction and co-mingling (Casimir & Tobi, 2011: 489).

2.2.2.1. Typology of households

Households are generally categorised based on the classical typology of composition or structure, production and consumption. With regards to structure, in a classification that used migration as a livelihood strategy, De Haan (2000: 11) identified nuclear, fluid and extended as the three “ideal types” of household structures (Figure 2.1). De Vos (1995) and Sana and Massey (2005) posited that a nuclear household consists of few members who develop an effective livelihood strategy that straddles rural and urban areas, and is commonly found in both areas with higher population density and relatively higher degree of commercialisation. A fluid household entails more members, where everything is shared, including labour and food, and the notion of household as residential unit is irrelevant and multiple forms of co-habitation are the norm rather than the exception, and matrilineality is combined with male out-migration. (Hammel & Lazlett, 1974). An extended household comprises members who have traditionally organised themselves in complex, extended family-related arrangements by patrilineal kinship, headed by the oldest male member (De Haan, 2000).

Using various forms and dynamics which take income, location and composition into consideration, Slater (2007: 19) analysed different sources of risks and vulnerability that prevail in many households and suggest three types of households, namely, “ultra-poor

household, poor household and transient household”. An ultra-poor or extremely poor household includes a sub-group of households categorised as destitute households. They are usually larger with a high dependency ratio (Muyanga et al., 2002). The ultra-poor households are often characterised by lack of productive assets and many members in the ultra-poor households depend on the informal sector for wages, are less educated and are affected by or vulnerable to chronic illness and diseases such as HIV/AIDS (Muyanga et al., 2002). In addition, the extremely poor households have no means of income, or very limited support. Such groups commonly entail elderly, terminally-ill, or people with disability with little social and family support (Slater, 2007; Slater & Tsoka, 2007).

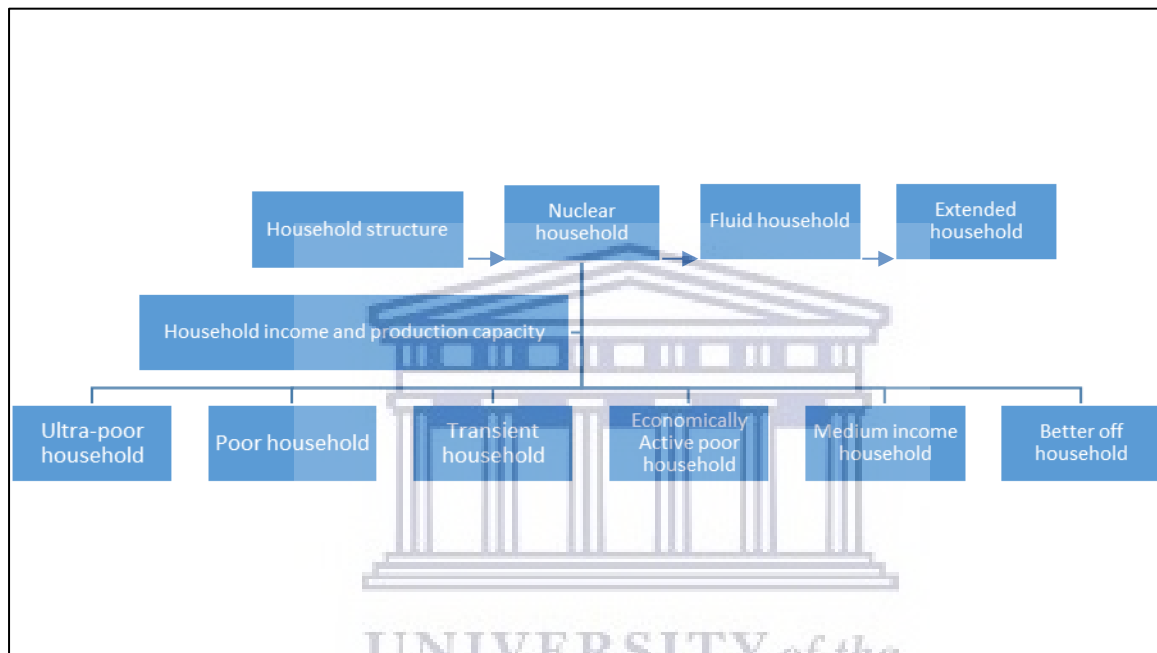
Poor households may have some assets, but they are still exceedingly exposed to further impoverishment, because poor households are generally net food consumers who rely heavily on agriculture and fishing for survival (Muyanga et al., 2002). Resultantly, their food security and production are severely and adversely affected by lack of input. Additionally, the price volatility of staple foods and basic commodities often has a devastating long-term effect on their well-being and livelihoods. (Slater, 2007; Slater & Tsoka, 2007). Transient poor households, or households at risk, consist of poor people living above the poverty line, but who are susceptible to shocks and stresses. Transient poor households may move in and out of poverty, and can be easily identified by incorporating dynamics, dimensions and components which utilise the major characteristics of poverty analysis and other measures of household exposure to vulnerability and shocks (Muyanga et al, 2002; Slater, 2007).

Apart from poor households, the UNHCR (2012b: 42) suggested a continuum of categories of households comprising the “economically active poor households and medium income households at the lower end and the better-off households at the higher end of the spectrum”. In an economically active poor households, the main income is provided through the sale of labour, complemented with few household assets. There are many numbers of economically active members in this type of household, with no long-term coping mechanisms in periods of hardships (UNHCR, 2012a). A medium income household is diverse and with somewhat regular income sources, and the ability to borrow or lend small amounts of money. Members of the medium income households have their own, or have access to productive assets, possess skills and equipment, and in some cases receive remittances (UNHCR, 2012a).

Contrary to economically active and medium income households, members of the better-off households are able to afford anything they want in the community (Muyanga et al, 2002).

They have a higher public profile, and employ other members of the community. In addition, better-off households have a productive asset base and skills with extensive social and economic networks that link them with immediate community and locality, as well as an outside world (UNHCR, 2012a). From the foregoing, as displayed in Figure 2.1 below, households are heterogeneous in terms of structure, composition, and consumption, and further complicated by poverty and vulnerability.

Figure 2. 1. Typology of households based on structure and income



Source: Author's own compilation based on Muyanga et al. (2002); Slater (2007); UNHCR (2012b)

2.2.3. Poverty

The term 'poverty' in the social welfare paradigm has captured a great deal of attention from analysts, policy-makers, development practitioners and academics and when taken in a broader context, a wide range of definitions with different measurements have proliferated. In one definition, Blank (2003) and Bradshaw (2006) refer to poverty as a social disease, by which the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA, 2003) articulated that like any other disease, poverty attacks a person as a whole, not only materially, but also morally, eating away his or her dignity and drives that person to a state of total despair. From this perspective, the World Bank (2000) and Naidoo (2007) asserted that to be poor includes other expressions such as deficiency, inferiority, scantiness, feebleness and leanness, and more. In other words, to be

poor means to be hungry, and to lack material resources to ensure positive livelihood outcomes and social services that are essential for one's well-being.

Poverty is depicted as a multi-dimensional concept encompassing many other important aspects of well-being, such as a person's lack of capability to fully function (Sen, 1992; 1999b) According to Sen (1999a) and Haughton and Khandker (2009) this lack of capability may entail among other things, lack of education, housing, shelter and food; poor health, and inadequate income. The element of income in poverty encapsulates the economic definition where Kitabo (2000) and Dinbabo (2011) refer to poverty as an absence or shortage of income for a person's survival or a situation whereby an individual, household or community do not have enough income to afford and maintain a satisfactory living standard.

Moving beyond income to include other socio-economic dimensions such as the lack of opportunity, the lack of access to assets and credits, and exclusion, the United Nations proffered a multidimensional definition of poverty at the World Summit on Social Development as follows:

Poverty has various and several manifestations, including lack of income and productive resources sufficient to ensure sustainable livelihoods; hunger and malnutrition; ill health; limited or lack of access to education and other basic services; increased morbidity and mortality from illness; homelessness and inadequate housing; unsafe environments; and social discrimination and exclusion. It is also characterised by a lack of participation in decision-making and in civil, social and cultural life (UN, 2009: 14).

Moreover, in conceptualising poverty, Ellis (2003: 5) listed other strands that intersect with the definition of poverty, notably "risks, shocks, deprivation and vulnerability". Taking the notion of the poverty strands further, studies by the World Bank (2000) and Dinbabo (2011) describe poverty as a deprivation of well-being. While **Deprivation** is defined as a lack of material conditions and services generally held to be essential to the development of a person's full potential, as the result of unjust processes through which that person's dignity, voice, and rights are denied, or their existence threatened, **Vulnerability** is referred to as a person's inability to cope with existing or possible threats in the environment (Devereux, 2011; Dinbabo, 2011).

Although poverty and vulnerability overlap over time and can be merged with each other, on one end of the spectrum, poverty describes a state with respect to an absolute or relative norm such as poverty line. On the other end, vulnerability is a conceptualisation used to describe and

identify the section of the population that is disadvantaged, at risk and excluded, or in need. According to the Department of Social Development (DSD, 2006), a vulnerable group is without social protection, exposed to all kinds of social ills, and various other forms of poverty. The key characteristics of a vulnerable population, according to the (DSD, 2006), include the lack of visible social support, homelessness, living or being exposed to conflicts and violent settings as well as dysfunctional and disorganised families.

In practice, vulnerability conveys the graphic image of poverty, and denotes proneness to sudden and catastrophic fall in the level of livelihood – usually not having access to enough food for survival, conditions that Ellis (2003: 5) termed “living on the edge” or sudden loss of ability to survive and thrive. As illustrated in Table 2.3, vulnerability is constructed as pervasive uncertainty comprising shocks, seasonality and trends and risk sequences which are mainly related to job insecurity, food insecurity and climatic shocks such as floods and droughts, for urban households, and personal shocks of chronic illness such as HIV and AIDS as well as tuberculosis (TB), accidents, and death, for poor rural households (Cannon et al., 2003).

2.2.3.1. Types of poverty – manifestations and measurements

Given the multi-faceted definitions of poverty and various categories of households discussed in preceding sections, Devereux (2002: 661) distinguishes between “chronic, transitory and dependency” as the three different causes or types of poverty which are intricately linked to the type of households and that have a great effect on household consumption and production (see Table 2.1).

- **Chronic poverty** is often associated with low productivity, largely due to unemployment or underemployment in the household (Devereux, 2002). The main characteristics of chronic poverty are the lack of long-term investment in human and capital assets, demographical composition of the household and residence location (Jalan & Ravallion, 1998; McKay & Lawson, 2002).
- **Transitory poverty** is usually due to vulnerability, temporary shocks and an inability of the household to cope with such shocks that adversely affect family income or individual circumstances (Jalan & Ravallion, 1998). Hulme and Shepherd (2003) further added that the components of transitory poverty are in inter-temporal variability in consumption levels, while Machado and Ribas (2007) established that the most pertinent factors that contribute to the transience of poverty include family size,

fluctuation and seasonality of economic activities, migration and events in the life cycle.

- **Dependency poverty** arises from personal characteristics that render an individual unable or incapable to earn an independent living or income. On this basis, Devereux (2002) and Francis (2006) emphasised that dependency households are incapable to generate adequate returns from their own labour because of personal characteristics such old age, mental and physical disabilities of household members.

Table 2. 1. Types of household poverty and their causes

| Household poverty types | Characteristics and causes |
|-------------------------|---|
| Chronic poverty | Low productivity; under- or unemployment; lack of investment in human and capital assets. |
| Transitory poverty | Inability to cope with shocks and risks; temporal variability in consumption level; fluctuation and seasonality of economic activities; family size; migration; and events in one's life cycle. |
| Dependency poverty | Idiosyncratic characteristics; lack of capability to generate an income and inability to utilise one's labour due to old age and disability. |

Author' own compilation based on Devereux (2002: 661)

Poverty fluctuates according to time and a range of approaches as well as analytical tools from different disciplines including monetary or indirect, capability and livelihood, as well as multiple deprivation approaches that have been proposed as the most possible and effective ways to measure household poverty (Jalan & Ravallion, 1998; World Bank, 2000; Coudouel, et al., 2002). In a *monetary or indirect approach*, poverty is measured in respect to only financial matters, more specifically in terms of individual, family or household income and expenditure, in order to ascertain the actual living standards and ability to meet the basic needs (World Bank, 2000; Dinbabo, 2011). In principle, when applying the indirect approach, measurement of the indicators of poverty are estimated mainly using pre-determined financial income and when the amount falls below the official thresholds, that person, family or household is considered 'poor'. In the case of South Africa, the agreed poverty line is R547 (food extreme poverty line in 2015 food prices) per person/per month, and the income below that specific poverty line is inadequate to meet and fulfil the basic needs such as food, clothing and shelter (StatsSA, 2018b: 13).

Based on the monetary approach, other methods have been identified as effective ways of measuring poverty, including absolute and relative poverty measures. Foster (1998) and Coudouel et al. (2002) referred to an *absolute poverty approach* as a method which uses a specific fixed line to determine the amount of money that an individual or household would require for survival across specific time frames (usually extended period of times). In contrast to absolute poverty, the *relative poverty approach* describes and assesses the poverty level of a group by comparing it with other individuals, families, households, communities or societies in the same context (Atkinson 1991; Foster, 1998). In other words, the concept of relative poverty is used when particular groups, such as migrants, or people residing in certain areas, are poor in relation to the economic status of other members of the society, or people falling below the prevailing living standards in a societal context (World Bank, 2000).

Rather than using income as a poverty indicator, a *capability approach (CA)* establishes the development of human potential and competence of individuals and households (Sen, 1998; Alkire, 2002). In essence, the CA places specific emphasis on non-monetary, non-financial aspects of well-being. This means that in assessing poverty, the CA considers the resources and their diverse values in the promotion of human functioning. According to Sen (1980; 1998) and Alkire (2002), instead of measuring poverty by level of income, in the CA one would rather calculate how much a person can achieve with that income to function fully and effectively.

The complex phenomenon of poverty rendered both income measures and capability approach ineffective as they have been critiqued for glossing over the poverty context. To overcome the shortcomings of the traditional definitions and measurement approaches to poverty, scholars such as Mabughi and Selim (2006), Barnes et al. (2007), and Noble et al. (2007) suggested a *multiple deprivation approach*, which measures poverty using broad dimensions of deprivation. The multiple deprivation model combines absolute and relative concepts of poverty, and its essence is to assess poverty through the lens of eight aspects or dimensions of deprivation that include health, material, human capital, social capital, living environment, adequate care, physical safety, and social abuse (Barnes et al., 2007; Noble et al., 2007; Dinbabo, 2011).

Between the capability and multiple deprivation approaches, scholars such as Ellis (2003), Prowse (2008), and Scoones (2009) put forward a livelihood analysis as the way of measuring poverty. The *livelihood approach* as discussed more fully in Section 2.3 and identifies the importance of people's assets, capabilities and entitlements. Additionally, the livelihood

measures move beyond the traditional and conventional income-centric methods to appreciating a plethora of constraints that impinge on people and prevent them from constructing their livelihoods in a more sustainable manner (Carter & May, 1999; Erenstein, 2011). When livelihood measures of poverty are taken into the migration context, the study of migrant households becomes more complicated, thus necessitating to be underpinned by a strong theoretical framework.

2.3. Theoretical framework of the study

Theorisation is an important aspect of this research process, as it is the foundational phase by which the knowledge of the research is constructed on (Babbie & Mouton, 2001a; Creswell, 2003; 2009; 2014). In social policies, many theoretical models and modalities have been advanced to provide a perspective on the design of the social welfare interventions and on the state role and obligations on the distribution of social welfare benefits to the less advantaged and marginalised members of society, including international migrants (Sana & Massey, 2005; Dinbabo, 2011; UNHCR, 2012b; Nzabamwita, 2018). Historical injustices of the past, high levels of poverty and inequality that characterise South African society, coupled with migrant vulnerability, have a great impact on migrant livelihoods. Hence, the combination of Rawls' theory of justice and the livelihood approach provides an analytical frame by which the effect of social welfare grants on migrant livelihoods is assessed.

2.3.1. John Rawls' theory of social justice

John Rawls' original and primary texts of the theory of justice were first published in 1971 (Rawls, 1971). These texts were later revised and incorporated some new philosophical arguments which led to a comprehensive theory that dominated the world of welfare benefit distributions (Rawls, 1993; 1997; 1999). Subsequent to the revised publication, Rawls' theory of justice was further reconstructed by a number of other scholars, such as Nozick (1973; 1974), Wolff (1977), Canovan (1999), Gorvitz (2001), Sarkar (2006), and Follesdal (2014). According to Wolff (1977), the reconstructed theory of justice, or 'Rawlsian' theory, as it is commonly referred to, is a moral, political, and philosophical high order abstracted and generalised theory espoused and predicated in the tradition of social contract and social obligation as presented by Rousseau (1978) and Locke (1988).

When developing the theory of justice, Rawls (1971) initially drew widely from and engaged extensively with other normative theories such as Kantian duty-based deontological and consequentialist teleological ethics theories (Kant, 1965). Rawls also drew on the relative

deprivation theory (Samuel, 1940; 1955), and the social comparison processes theory (Festinger, 1954) to provide an analytical framework that explains the significance of a society assumed to consist of free and equal persons, of political and personal liberties, of equal opportunity, and cooperative arrangements that benefit the more and the less advantaged members of the society.

The fundamental principle of Rawls' theory of justice is to increase an understanding of how society is and how it should be in allocating its resources and wealth (Rawls, 1971). To this end, the Rawlsian theory's practical goal is to provide a coherent theoretical foundation that may help to resolve the deep conflict between community members, and provide a response to the question of how a just society should regulate the distribution of benefits and burdens for its members' welfare (Sarkar, 2006; Follesdal, 2014; Surovtsev & Syrov, 2015). From a resource allocation and distribution vantage point, Rawls presented a liberal and egalitarian theoretical concept as an alternative to the doctrines of utilitarianism and intuitionism which were dominant among economists, philosophers and political thinkers (Gorvitz, 2001; Dinbabo, 2011).

In Rawls' view, utilitarianism is the principle of utility that delivers the greatest happiness and benefits to the greatest number of people. Based on this, Rawls (1971; 1997; 1999) contended that the tradition of utilitarianism stresses the principle of welfare maximisation, where one should act in order to achieve as large an expected utility as possible, considering all other stakeholders. When understood in terms of happiness or satisfaction of interests, Follesdal (2014) and Brewster et al. (2008) concurred that the only thing that matters in utilitarianism is that in the distribution of welfare benefits, it may be appropriate to let someone suffer if necessary, to promote the overall welfare. Although Rawls (1971; 1993) argued that utilitarianism is applicable to the theory of justice, nonetheless he denied its principle by claiming that, each individual has certain rights that should not be sacrificed, simply for others to obtain more benefits. Further to that, Rawls (1971; 1999) asserted that justice must convey rights equally for all people and injustice towards any particular group of individuals is justifiable, only if this injustice is necessary to prevent an even greater harm or injustice to society.

Rawls' theory of justice also provides an underpinning for a bureaucratic welfare state (Halpin, 1997; Bix, 2003). According to Barr (1998; 2011) and Begg et al. (2015), a welfare state promotes social justice that protects the vulnerable, invests in human and social capital through

performing three distinctive redistributive functions, namely: robin-hood function, piggy bank function, and social investment function. In **robin-hood function**, a welfare state uses its institutions and mechanisms to redistribute the wealth and resources from the better-off members of society to those faced with material and other deprivations or subjugated to social risks (Barr, 1998; 2001). In this role, the state delivers poverty relief, provides social housing, redistributes income and reduces social exclusion. Furthermore, in robin-hood function, the government regulates labour markets and ensures fair deals for the working class (Atkinson, 1995; Hill, 1998).

In contrast to the robin-hood role, in the **piggy bank function**, welfare state reacts to market failures and improves an individual's economic efficiency through which it enables its people to insure themselves against social hardship and secure their income from welfare over their period of lifetime (Barr, 1998; 2001). As far as the **social investment function** is concerned, the welfare state commits resources for wider societal developments and long-term sustainability of people's livelihoods (Kenworthy, 1999; Barr, 1998; 2001). In a broader macro-economic view, the social investment role considers an integral component in which a welfare state acts as a stabilising force against the effects of socio-economic disruptions, both at individual (micro), household (meso) and national (macro) levels (Esping-Andersen, 1990; Kenworthy, 2004; Begg et al., 2015).

In light of justice, the welfare state upholds principles and broad values such as fairness, equity and equality, objectivity and impartiality, as well as rightness and mercy. The fairness value system is a moral norm that guides the welfare state, and includes a schema or a system of law in which every person living in a country or nation-state is treated equally and with dignity (Dinbabo, 2011; Surovtsev & Syrov, 2015). Rawls used the conception of fairness to reinforce his normative view under which fairness is used as a proxy criterion for the distribution of welfare benefits. The virtue of fairness then invoked Rawls to advance another theory called *Justice as fairness*, of which its primary objective is to develop principles that govern a modern social order (Rawls, 1971; 1999). Although Rawls (1971; 1997) argued that in a modern society justice and fairness are not identical, he stressed that the virtue of fairness is the basic moral norm of social institutions, which stands beside other *prima facie*⁷ duties and properties such as fidelity and gratitude, liberty and equality.

⁷ *Prima facie* is a Latin expression, usually meaning 'at first encounter or at first appearance'. It refers to something accepted as correct unless proved otherwise. In normative ethics, the concept 'prima facie duty' is the

In justice as fairness theory, Rawls analysed the function of society, and reasoned that without being unjust, social institutions may be antiquated, inefficient, and degrading, among other things (Rawls, 1971; Haksar, 1972). Rawls then outlined fair conditions under which people are treated equally, namely: (i) creating a community in which everybody lives in peace and harmony, and resources are distributed to all members of society; (ii) affording the provision of food, clothing and dwellings to people in order maintain an acceptable living standard of that particular community; (iii) guaranteeing the right to each person in order to have the most extensive basic liberty, equal to the liberty of others, and making sure that social and economic positions are divided to everyone's advantage and open to all (Dogan, 2010).

Rawls also remarked that the state has a legitimate power that it can exercise certain principles for a just society that citizens should be expected to support (Follesdal, 2014). The main idea of these principles is that political and civil rights must be protected, and that all individuals with the same abilities and efforts must be guaranteed equal opportunity to achieve different positions. Rawls' (1971) justification for his argument was that it is right for the state to redistribute wealth in order to uplift the poor and disadvantaged (Gorvitz, 2001; Sarkar, 2006). The notion of uplifting the poor largely stemmed from Rawls' beliefs that society is a fair system of cooperation over time, from one generation to the next. In societal cooperation, Rawls was chiefly concerned with the conception of justice, which is about the relationship between members of an association within political boundaries, i.e., relations of citizens within the basic structures of society in the modern nation-state, as opposed to 'cosmopolitan justice', which is understood as an economic association with the global community (Dogan, 2010).

Cosmopolitan principles claim that national borders have no moral significance in society, and this principle holds that one's duties for justice to others extend beyond geographical and political boundaries (Dogan, 2010). On the basis of cosmopolitan justice, Rawls formulated the *Law of peoples*, in which he argued that in the international arena, people ought to have equal rights to the most extensive total system of equal liberties. In a broader sense, Rawls argued that the system is legitimate when it gives a clear indication on how rights and benefits are distributed among people. This is what Rawls termed as *distributive justice*. According to Nozick (1973; 1974) distributive justice is about setting down rules that individuals should follow when acquiring and transferring resources and benefits. Its aim is not to achieve any

most binding duty (obligatory), that one should not ignore, unless there are other fairly and presumptuous reasons favouring overriding or trumping it (Snare, 1974).

particular outcome in the distribution, but rather to ensure that the process of distribution is fair.

In distributive justice, Rawls' focus was on the distribution consequences and distribution requirements of the basic institutions of society. He also used the concept of fairness from the perspective that people are free and equal, and the expression of their freedom often involves how they perceive the process and outcomes of the resource allocation from the two moral compasses of procedural justice and distributive justice. According to Brewster et al. (2008) distributive justice is mainly concerned with the fair distribution of benefits and burdens through societal institutions, while procedural justice focuses on the outcome of that distribution. Therefore, in distributive justice, both process and outcome must be fair for people to believe that the outcome received is fair (Maiese, 2003). Therefore, the notion of justice as fairness must be expressed in terms of distributive justice, which in turn is linked to the process that involves ethical decision-making principles connected to procedure and results or outcomes achieved (Maiese, 2003; Brewster et al., 2008).

In view of procedures and outcomes, democracy, the public legal and political order must ensure political equality, which hold that people must be treated the same and their needs and preferences given equal considerations in the political sphere. This means that among other things, political institutions ought to distribute political standing equally to all citizens, if not doing so would result in producing worse off political outcomes (Wall, 2007; Dogan, 2010). The equality in this context requires that "everyone has the same status under law" (Wall, 2007: 420). However, Rawls remarked that minorities' formal equal civil rights are insufficient to prevent discrimination, as the inadequate legal protection and limited economic and political opportunities always keep the minority oppressed (Rawls, 1993; 1997). As such, their demand for greater economic and social equality threatened the majority's prosperity and freedom (Wall, 2007).

On the question of when citizens can alter the resource allocation status-quo within state authorities, Rawls maintained that in the distributive justice principles, citizens have moral obligations to alter and affect the way in which social basic institutions distribute certain benefits of primary goods between individuals. On this, Rawls (1993) proposed that specific distribution requirements for the societal institutions as a whole must generally comply with three principles: (i) **the principle of liberty** – in which everyone has the same inalienable right to a satisfying set of equal basic rights, that is consistent with everyone else's corresponding

set of rights; these may include civil and political rights, such as voting rights, freedom of speech and religion and the right to equal protection under the law; (ii) **the principle of equal opportunity** – which links the existing social and economic disparities to social positions, jobs and careers, which are equally accessible to all with the same ability and willingness to use the abilities; and (iii) **the difference principle** – in which social and economic inequalities are justifiable, only if and insofar they benefit the least advantaged members of society (Rawls, 1993; Follesdal, 2014).

On the question of inequality, distributive justice is not to be confused with an all-inclusive vision of a good society, as there may well be inequalities which one considers just, but which nevertheless one wishes to do away with (Haksar, 1972). In this regard, Rawls implied inequalities that are necessary in order to maximise the advantages of the worst off. Likewise, on distributive justice, Rawls claims that one's place of birth, social status and family influence are matters of luck that should not unduly influence the extent of benefits one receives in life. Thus, Rawls maintained that the job of distributive justice is to limit external influence in such a way that goods might be distributed more fairly to everyone's advantage (Rawls, 1993; 1997).

2.3.1.1. Critiques against Rawls' theory of justice

Just like any other theories, Rawls' theory of justice has been a subject of scholarly and lively debates among philosophers, economists and political scientists (Nozick, 1973; 1974; Wolff, 1977; Locke, 1988; Sen, 1998; 2008). Immediately after its publication, in a systematic review of Rawlsian theory, Wolff (1977) and Valverde (1999) argued that Rawls' theory of justice is vague, malleable, axiomatic, elusive, and difficult to define because justice exists in its peculiar way. Derrida (1992; 1997) deconstructed the theory of justice and observed that its malleability and complexities arise from difficulties of interpretation and implementation of rights, laws, policies and strategies on the one hand, and the conflicting theories, philosophical thoughts, and judicial opinions, on the other.

Nozick (1973; 1974) objected to the theory of justice using a liberal stylised theory of justice as an entitlement. According to Biung-Ghi & Moreno-Terneroy (2017), by emphasising an entitlement, Nozick (1973; 1974) presented polar theory of distributive justice grounded in one of the fundamental axioms of political philosophy in which he introduced a private ownership as the basis for entitlement. Nozick's (1973; 1974) core argument is that justice consists of respecting individuals' rights, particularly the right to self-ownership and the freedom to decide how to use one's property. This means that economic inequalities need not be considered unjust

nor be rectified to the benefit of the disadvantaged. Nozick (1973; 1974) and Ju et al. (2017) stressed that justice corresponds to the respect of individuals' rights, which are more important than an agreement reached in Rawls' original position.

In conformity to Nozick's theory of entitlement, Elkins (2007) disputed Rawlsian methodology and its application of justice principles of cosmopolitanism, which calls for the redistribution of economic resources without taking cognisance of national borders or geographical boundaries of sovereign states. In rejecting cosmopolitanism, social philosophers Nozick (1973; 1974) and Canovan (1999) held the view that the Rawlsian principle is only applicable to, or should be limited to the citizens or residents of a given society within a country, not beyond its border.

Likewise, Nozick (1973; 1974) raised an axiomatic argument against Rawls that, the principle of justice ought not to be applied to all situations, or focus on social institutions and ignore other practices that distinguish between private and public goods of a nation state. While conceding that wealthy societies do have minimal obligations towards those whose resources and levels of material wealth are insufficient to allow them to become well ordered. Nozick (1974) and Canovan (1999) argued that Rawlsian principles are inapplicable internationally, because besides being morally and truly improper in using attributes such as a person's nationality, gender, and ethnicity when determining redistributive shares, these principles failed to embrace the idea that proper global redistribution of economic resources should be agreed upon among different states.

In critiquing Rawls' theory of justice, Sen (1992; 1999b) and Alkire (2002) advanced an argument that some 'demanding' citizens – such vulnerable people like old people and those with disabilities – have specialised needs, and must have more benefits in order to achieve the same opportunities to act. In line with Sen's criticism, Canovan (1999) and Follesdal (2014) argued that citizens' needs vary according to conditions and situations such as longevity, climate, employment, and so on, in ways which have not been captured by Rawls' theory.

Furthermore, Sen (1999a; 1999b) criticised the Rawlsian theory's focus on social primary goods as "fetishistic".⁸ According to Sen (1992; 1998) and Follesdal (2014), social goods are understood as expressing social benefits, but Rawls ignores the essential relationship between

⁸ Fetishism relates to a strong and excessive adoration and belief about something. It refers to having much interest in something, activity or part of it to the extent that one overlooks other relevant aspects of it (Dant, 1996).

individuals and goods. Since primary goods are considered to be means to achieve something, rather than focusing on the equal distribution of these goods in terms of funds or income as propagated in Rawls' theory of justice, Sen believes that one should focus mainly on the equal distribution of what these means are for, namely functions and possibilities, which translate into what Sen (1980; 1992) termed "achieving functioning and capabilities". Similarly, in response to justice as fairness, Sen reasoned that individuals' claims should not be evaluated on the basis of what resources or primary goods they use, but based on what features and freedoms they actually have to reach their full potential – to live a life that they value and attain their full functioning (Sen, 1980; 1984; 1999b; Alkire, 2002).

2.3.1.2. Relevance of Rawls' theory of justice in migrants' welfare

Despite criticism levelled against the theory of justice as outlined in the previous section, it is relevant in the field of social welfare policy and development. According to Gorvitz (2001) Surovtsev and Syrov (2015) Rawls' theory provides a powerful tool and instrument for illuminating social problems. It also provides a framework that explains the significance of political and personal liberties, of equal opportunity, and of co-operative arrangements that benefit the more and the less advantaged members of society, i.e., they provide the basis through which welfare benefits should be distributed. Likewise, the theory of distributive justice is appropriate and applicable when analysing the fairness of the process of distributing social welfare benefits, especially social grants, to migrants in South Africa. In this regard, it helps to examine the standards, procedures, models and rules that have been put in place by the South African government when implementing the social welfare policies and poverty reduction strategies in the migrant population.

The theory of justice, when positioned within the rights-based approach to development and the livelihood framework, can provide possible prospects for the evaluation of social assistance programmes. It also helps to understand the realisation of human rights for refugees and migrants. In addition, it helps to conceptualise development and human rights as inalienable and inseparable that must be enjoyed by all, especially the poorest and the most vulnerable strata of society (Boesen & Martin, 2007). In a similar vein, scholars such as Dinbabo (2011) and Surovtsev and Syrov (2015) are of the view that the theory of justice is well positioned to illustrate the main characteristics of welfare principles. This study maintains that the theory of justice and the theory of distributive justice can shed light on South African welfare policies and their application to migrants. Therefore, using the parameters of the theory of justice within the sustainable livelihood framework (discussed below), one would argue that the government

of South Africa has a moral responsibility to create systems that cater for the welfare of all poor groups, including the provision of sustainable livelihoods to the destitute international migrants and refugees.

2.3.2. Sustainable Livelihood Framework (SLF)

The Sustainable Livelihood Framework (SLF) is not a new concept in the development lexicon. This concept is usually based around household livelihood security and the context which formed the core of the Sustainable Livelihood Approach (SLA) that was developed by Chambers (1991) and Chambers and Conway (1992) in response to increasing poverty and vulnerability as well as the growing global impact on climate change and other natural hazards and calamities that threatened people's livelihoods in the 21st century. The SLA gained prominence in the humanitarian setting and was largely implemented by international development agencies such as OXFAM, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the World Bank, and CARE International (Ashley & Carney, 1999; Ellis, 2003). It was further integrated into the development programme of the United Kingdom's Department for International Development (DFID) (Mdee, 2002; Carney, 2003).

The SLA originated from economic literature and can be traced back from a normative idea in the work of Chambers and Conway (Chambers, 1991; Chambers & Conway, 1992) on equity, capabilities and sustainability, which in turn was practically and strongly influenced by the writings of Amartya Sen on freedoms and capabilities (Sen, 1980; 1984; 1992). From the perspective of equity, capabilities and sustainability, a working definition of livelihood was developed and proposed as follows:

A livelihood comprises people, their capabilities, and activities required for a means of living including food, income and assets. Capability is both an end and means to livelihood. A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stress and shocks, maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets, and provide sustainable livelihood opportunities for the next generation; and which contributes net benefits to other livelihoods at the local and global levels in the long and short term (Chambers & Conway, 1992: 6; Ashley & Carney, 1999: 6-7).

An Advisory Panel of the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) also put forward an integrating definition of the sustainable livelihood security, in which livelihood was defined as:

An adequate stock and flow of food and cash to meet the basic needs. Security refers to secure ownership of or access to resources and income-generating activities, including reserves and assets to offset risks, ease shocks and meet contingencies. Sustainable refers to the maintenance and enhancement of resource productivities on a long-term basis. A household may be enabled to gain sustainable livelihood security in many ways – through ownership of assets and stable employment with adequate remunerations or through various repertoires of activities (WCED, 1978: 2-5, as cited in Chambers & Conway, 1992: 5).

In view of the above definitions, sustainable livelihoods incorporate issues of much broader debates on the relationships between poverty and the environment. From environmental and poverty interaction standpoints, various other definitions were proffered, such as the one that refers to livelihood as a way through which people get things done and how they do those things (Bebbington, 1999). In another definition, livelihood was denoted as, how different people in different places live (Scoones, 1998; Ashley & Carney, 1999). Chambers (1991) and Chambers and Conway (1992) explained a livelihood as, a means of gaining a living or a combination of the resources used alongside the activities and interactions undertaken in order to live. Out of these definitions, Chambers and Conway (1992) and Carney (2003) asserted that a livelihood is sustainable, if one can cope and recover from stresses and shocks, be able to maintain and enhance capabilities and assets without undermining the natural resources.

In relation to coping and recovering from stress, the SLF deals with the dynamic dimensions of poverty. Its central features are to link poverty reduction strategies, sustainability of the interventions and empowerment process, i.e., community participation, people's empowerment, and good governance (Chambers, 1991; Ashley & Carney, 1999). It includes the vulnerability context which refers to the manner in which poor individuals, households and communities deploy resources or assets to recover from shocks, trends and seasonal changes or to sustain themselves and maintain their well-being under harsh and changing conditions and environments (Bebbington, 1999; Norton & Foster, 2001).

2.3.2.1. Livelihood assets and resources

At the core of the SLF, there is a typology of assets that poor people can draw upon to construct and contrive their living. Livelihood assets entail tangible and intangible resources such as claims and access commanded by the households. Chambers (1991) and Chambers and Conway (1992) established a portfolio of livelihood assets or resources consisting of human,

social, natural and financial assets or capital (Table 2.3) that poor people and vulnerable households usually use or deploy to pursue different livelihood strategies and achieve their livelihood outcomes and objectives.

- **Human capital** is the building block for achieving livelihood outcomes and includes education, skills and knowledge, experience and creativity, health and labour ability (Bebbington, 1999; Ellis, 2003). In a nutshell, human capital is the amount and quality of labour that is available at household level, and this capital varies and depends on factors such as household ratio, i.e., the number of those working to the number of dependants, household members' skills level, their leadership potential and health status (Chambers, 1999; Carney, 2003).
- **Social capital** captures the idea of the resources that people draw upon to pursue their livelihood objectives. These entail, among other things: networks and connections that increase people's trust and ability to work together and expand their access to wider institutions such as government departments, civic and cultural organisations (Ashley & Carney, 1999; Ellis, 2003). It also includes relationships, reciprocity and support as well as membership of more formalised groups, which enhance and promote adherence to the rules, norms and practices that are commonly acceptable. Within social capital, Chambers (1991) and Carney (2003) identified political capital, which is the ability to use one's power to advance a political or economic position or agenda and to use this power to influence government officials and community elites to divert the distribution of resources away from the poor.
- **Natural capital** pertains to the natural or environmental resources from which livelihoods are derived (Chambers & Conway, 1992). The natural capital is made up of intangible public goods ranging from clean air, and biodiversity, to factors that are used in production, such as land (Ashley & Carney, 1999; Ellis, 2003). In urban settings, Chambers (1999) and Scoones (1998; 2009) observed that the key natural resources would likely be those that affect the quality of life, such as water, forests, and biodiversity.
- **Physical capital** refers to the infrastructure and physical environment that support people's livelihoods and enable them to meet their basic needs and be more productive (Ashley & Carney, 1999). Physical resources comprise, houses, cars, tools and equipment, as well as infrastructure components such as transportation, shelter and

buildings, water supply and sanitation, information and communication infrastructure, and different technologies (Chambers & Conway, 1992; Bebbington, 1999).

- **Financial capital** includes wages and salaries, pensions, savings, social grants, remittances, debts, cash flows, and stocks (Ashley & Carney, 1999). Financial resources contribute to household production and consumption, and as such are crucial livelihood assets that are needed in people's daily lives (Carney, 2003; Ellis, 2003). Scholars such as Farrington et al. (1999) and Scoones (2009) argued that the availability of financial resources influences people's ability and choice to improve their livelihood strategies, such as expanding businesses, reducing food insecurity, and living in more decent houses and safe accommodation. For that reason, financial resources are unique liquid assets in the sense that they can be easily converted into other types of capital in the pursuit of livelihood strategies.

2.3.2.2. Livelihood coping strategies

Livelihood strategies are the combinations of activities that people undertake to achieve their livelihood goals and outcomes. These include productive activities, investment strategies and reproductive choices. The livelihood choice of a household is determined by the number of assets at its disposal and the extent to which the use of those assets is constrained by the prevailing social, institutional and organisational environment of transforming structures and processes. In an every-day's household setting, wealth and poverty is determined by what people do for a living (livelihood strategies) and what they own (livelihood assets). In tracking people's choices, Farrington et al. (1999) and the UNHCR (2012a) identified coping and adapting as the two dynamic strategies through which refugees combine several activities to meet their changing needs and respond to external shocks, stress and civil strife.

Regarding **coping strategies**, households employ short-term responses to specific shocks by deciding to pursue income-earning or -generating activities to supplement a lost income (UNHCR, 2012a; 2012b). While the most common livelihood coping strategies in a number of developing countries revolve around casual employment and illegal activities, Schultze-Kraft (2018) found that in times of distress, some household members might go to extreme lengths, by adopting negative strategies, such prostitution, drug peddling or taking a child out of school, or moving him or her into informal and irregular labour markets. On short-term strategies, scholars such as Corbett (1988), De Waal (1989), Agarwal (1989), Chen (1991), and Beck

(1989) identified one or a mixture of the following as coping strategies that poor individuals, households, and groups of communities use to cope in case of shock, stress and vulnerabilities:

- **Stinting:** resorting or shifting to lower quality food or reducing current consumption;
- **Hoarding:** accumulating and storing food and many assets;
- **Protecting:** preserving asset base for recovery to re-establish livelihoods;
- **Depleting:** drawing from household stored food, pledging or selling off assets;
- **Diversifying:** seeking other new sources of food and income, as well as engaging in new work activities, especially in off-seasons or low economic periods – recession;
- **Claiming:** making claims or borrowing from neighbours and kins/relatives, community, non-governmental organisations, as well as claiming benefits from the state; begging and appealing for goodwill and political action;
- **Moving:** dispersing some family members and livestock, and resorting to migration.

In contrast to coping strategies, in the **adaptive strategies**, households usually employ long-term behavioural changes in response to shocks or stress. According to the UNHCR (2012a; 2012b) the most common example is the way people adapt to changing climate conditions, by optimising the mix of various activities. In ranking wealth, Scoones (1998; 2009) found that people opt to use one or a cluster of agricultural intensification or extensification, income diversification and migration as the three main clusters of adaptive livelihood strategies or options that people may use in pursuit of long-term livelihood strategies to respond to shocks.

- **Agricultural intensification** – a household seeks to make a better living by producing enough and various foods for the whole household, through increasing productivity in place where inputs such as land are scarce (Scoones, 1998; UNHCR, 2012a). This method is used to strengthen and grow the relationship between capital-led inputs and labour-led policies based on labour processes and social resources (Scoones, 1998; 2009).
- **Income diversification** – livelihood risks are managed through investing in different activities and a proportion of the income generated is used to deal with the engagement in many forms of accumulation and reinvestment. Diversifying income is aimed at coping with temporary adversity or more permanent adaptation of livelihood activities (De Haan, 2000; Ellis, 2003). This is done when other options are failing to provide or cope with a livelihood by developing a wide income-earning portfolio to cover all types of shocks or stress (Scoones, 1998; 2009).

- **Migration** – the number of people that the household must sustain is reduced by sending away some members to another country (De Haan, 2000; Sana & Massey, 2005). Although migration is often seen as problematic and the consequence of ruptures of environmental disaster, economic exploitation, or political, civil tensions and violence, its positive aspect is that it creates opportunities for migrants to earn an income that is sent back to their families in the form of remittances (Scoones, 1998; Mdee, 2002; Waddington, 2002; Ellis, 2003). Remittances increase consumption in migrants' countries of origin. For this purpose, Skeldon (1997) and Ellis (2003) argued that the proceeds from remittances are often used in the households to build a strong resource base, enabling them to diversify the portfolio of activities and to improve the conditions of the household and its capacity and flexibility to respond to external shocks.

In pursuing both adaptive and coping strategies, people are generally constrained with or enabled by the transforming structures and processes, which comprise the institutions, policies and processes as well as legislation that affect livelihood strategies (see Table 2.3). According to Hobley and Shields (2001), these constraints or enablers entail socio-economic factors that can encourage or discourage the poor in the pursuit of various livelihoods outcomes. In as much as enhancing poor people's capabilities to improve their livelihoods is concerned, Turton (2000) stressed that the key challenge is about how the resources could be combined, substituted and switched to achieve sustainable livelihoods. In this regard, Scoones (1998) and Frankenberger et al. (2002) suggested a set of issues and activities poor people consider for the successful achievement of livelihoods outcomes and strategies. These include: sequencing, substitution, clustering, access, trade-off, and trends.

- **Sequencing** – selecting livelihood resources on the basis of their importance in achieving livelihood strategies and aligning the resources with the household dynamics and context;
- **Substitution** – replacing or removing livelihood resources which do not have bigger impact on achieving livelihood strategies;
- **Clustering** – intertwining or combining livelihood assets associated with certain groups of people or a particular livelihood strategy;

- **Access** – putting policies and processes in place, making institutional arrangements and making them easily accessible for people to pursue their livelihood strategies and outcomes;
- **Trade-off** – choosing a portfolio of resources that particularly enhances the achievement of livelihood strategies and outcomes; and
- **Trends** – looking at how different capital assets are being used and accumulated and how resources are created and utilised by people in the pursuit of development and livelihood outcomes.

2.3.2.3. Critiques of the operationalisation of SLF

Despite having been favoured and adopted by many in the development and welfare discourse, the SLF has received numerous criticisms and a number of studies and institutions dealing with the livelihood framework have raised several concerns. For instance, the fact that this framework shares several similarities with other approaches such as the Participatory Appraisal Approach and the Capability Approach, prompted scholars such as (Farrington et al., 1999; Ashley & Carney, 1999; Mdee, 2002; Ellis, 2003; Carney, 2003) to question whether it is not a merely an extension of participatory methods or an old practice being re-modelled in order to fit and suit the current changing environment. Farrington et al. (1999) and Clarke and Carney (2008) conceded that the SLF is complex, time-consuming, superficial and broad. Farrington et al. (1999) and Carney (2003) went as far as expressing concerns that the SLF does not have clear guidelines and definitions of the poor, since the guidelines of the SLA were developed in the First World countries, this contradicts its main principle of being ‘people centred’, rather making it a ‘top-down intervention’. From this view, Clarke & Carney (2008) argued that although the SLF may help to understand the poor and identify their issues and problems, it does not entirely reach the ‘poorest of the poor, nor change them, because people are not part of this framework, and are not visible in it.

The SLA was also criticised for its methodological flaws. Scholars such as Farrington et al. (1999) and Carney (2003) postulated that the methodological application of the SLA ignores the influence that power relations and politics might have on people’s livelihood outcomes. This led Beall (1997) and Ellis (2003) to argue that while the framework helps development practitioners to focus on policies, processes and institutions, it does not explicitly state the political dimensions of these structures, nor recognise the intra-household dynamics that exist in the families of the poor. In a similar view, Ashley and Carney (1999) and Carney (2003)

criticised the SLA for underplaying the importance of critical factors in the households, such as paying little attention to integrating the four key dimensions of sustainability – economic, institutional, social, and environmental.

Furthermore, the SLA was critiqued for being extractive for overlooking the effect of the functioning of the market structure in its analysis and not prioritising or entertaining the impact that the private sector has on livelihood strategies. On the role of the market, Ashley and Carney (1999) and Carney (2003) argued that those who subscribe to the SLA, fail to take into account the fact that diverse livelihoods stem from a range of activities. Also, the cost of acquiring and substituting assets as well as the price of labour are critical in helping poor people meet their consumption needs, as the private sector can either work better or worsen people's factors of production, potentially increasing their vulnerability.

2.3.2.4. Relevance of the SLA in migration studies

Notwithstanding the critiques levelled against it, the SLA is a potential tool that one can use in migration studies. Firstly, the SLA allows for cross-fertilisation, synergy of methods and programme planning among various stakeholders (Department for International Development (DfID), 1999; UNHCR, 2012a). This makes the SLA applicable to different contexts and situations due to its flexibility, and ability to cater for those living in extreme poverty, outside the mainstream of the labour market and utilise them as an entry point for policy-making (Waddington, 2002; Scoones, 2009).

Secondly, the fact that livelihood has to do with choices, i.e., ways and means that empower poor people like migrants to make a living, and its most widely accepted definition stems from freedom and capabilities (Sen, 1984; 1992; 1998), which comprises assets (both materials and social resources) as well as activities required for sustainable living (Carney, 1998; Ellis, 2003), it can potentially show how resources of the poor migrants are to be managed or combined effectively and efficiently. The SLA is also a possible tool to ascertain what choices migrants make in their households to reduce poverty and mitigate the impact of vulnerability as well as how to create opportunities which contribute to sustainable livelihood of the household in the short- or long-term.

Thirdly, the SLA's main principle is based on the interventions, methods, means or instruments employed by individuals in the households to survive (Ashley & Carney, 1999; Scoones, 2009). By focusing on resilient people in a holistic manner, something that other approaches or theories did not do, the SLA can therefore be extrapolated to include an assessment of migrant

households' resources and how social grants help when coping and recovering from vulnerability, economic shocks, conflict and stress and their capabilities in the countries of immigration.

In relation to the above arguments, in this study livelihood is viewed through the lens of migration and the rationale behind the use of the SLF comes from the fact that the author of this research believes that it provides the in-depth analysis and checklists to explore the role of social grants in migrant households. In principle, the SLF is used to do the profiling of migrant households that receive social grants; to identify their livelihood resources and coping as well as adaptive strategies; to understand their poverty and vulnerability situation; to develop a more meaningful poverty reduction strategy; and ultimately to provide insights into how civil societies, migrant-supporting organisations, the Department of Social Development (DSD), the South African government and other relevant stakeholders should work together to improve migrant livelihoods through the provision of social grants.

2.3.2.5. Determinants of migrant livelihoods: Analytical framework

In general context, numerous determinants of livelihoods have been suggested (e.g., Blau & Duncan, 1967; Lentz & Laband, 1990; Chambers & Conway, 1992; Moser, 1996; De Haan, 2000). For instance, Chambers and Conway (1992: 6) stressed that, "many livelihoods are largely and accidentally pre-determined at a person's birth". According to these scholars, these sorts of livelihoods are potentially ascribed to people in rural areas or children born into a situation whereby they are assigned different social and economic roles such as potters, shepherds, traders, mechanics or construction workers.

Gender is another social and pervasive determinant of livelihood activities. Several studies such as, Blau and Duncan (1967), Lentz and Laband (1990), Bergh and Theron (2010) reported that girl children tend to ascribe to their female parents' activities such as embroidery, crocheting, while boy children's occupations and their socio-economic achievements are drawn from paternal capital resource activities, and to a greater extent attributed to or influenced by their fathers' aspirations and occupations, cultural resources and networks of inheritance in following in their fathers' footsteps.

Additionally, inheritance is another livelihood determinant. Scholars such as Lentz and Laband (1990) and Blomquist et al. (2016) argued that people in the family ascribe to the professions and occupations of their parents, grandparents, and great-grandparents. The implication is that, inscriptively people may be born, socialised or apprenticed into an inherited livelihood activity,

e.g., a cultivator who bequeathed a land with tools, a pastoralist with animals, a shopkeeper with a shop and stock. By default, these kinds of intergenerational links and inheritance may in turn create new households with people of the same occupation (Blomquist et al., 2016).

In contrast to the afore-mentioned livelihood determinants, in the context of migration, livelihoods are complex, and are generally less singular and less pre-determined among the migrant population. Outside the environment of institutional humanitarian assistance, scholars such as (Moser, 1996; De Haan, 2000; Mdee, 2002) have argued that just like other poor people in difficult and desperate situations, when negotiating their livelihood outcomes, migrants become rational economic agents who behave like tactical and strategic managers in a way that, when constructing their livelihoods, migrants always make rational choices, mobilise different resources, improvise their livelihoods and adopt livelihood strategies following a degree of desperation. In this regard, the fact that they migrated to a safer or more advanced economy to exploit new opportunities, what migrants do is largely determined by social, economic, ecological and political environments that they find themselves in, in their current milieu (Beall, 1997; De Haan, 2000; Waddington, 2002).

Using the situation of migrants in their countries of destination, Sabates-Wheeler and Waite (2003: 3) and Sabates-Wheeler and Fieldman (2010: 11) considered temporal stages of spatial dis-location associated with the migration process – from transit point to the final destination, and they formulated a typology of migration and vulnerability (depicted in Table 2.2) in which all aspects of risks and vulnerability that determine and affect migrant livelihoods in their efforts to thrive and survive in foreign environments, were clustered into three groupings, including spatial or environmental, socio-cultural and socio-political.

- **Spatial or environmental** factors consist of both the remoteness and exclusion from welfare programmes and services as well geographical isolation (Kothari, 2002; Sabates-Wheeler & Waite, 2003).
- **Socio-cultural** factors are related to different values and customs that often act as deterrents of migrants' participation in the labour market and hamper their search for employment (Sabates-Wheeler & Waite, 2003; Sabates-Wheeler, 2019).
- **Socio-political** factors pertain to institutional and administrative constraints that prevent migrants from participating in the political life or lack of commitments by the host government or exclusion in the legal activities (Sabates-Wheeler & Waite, 2003; Sabates-Wheeler, 2019).

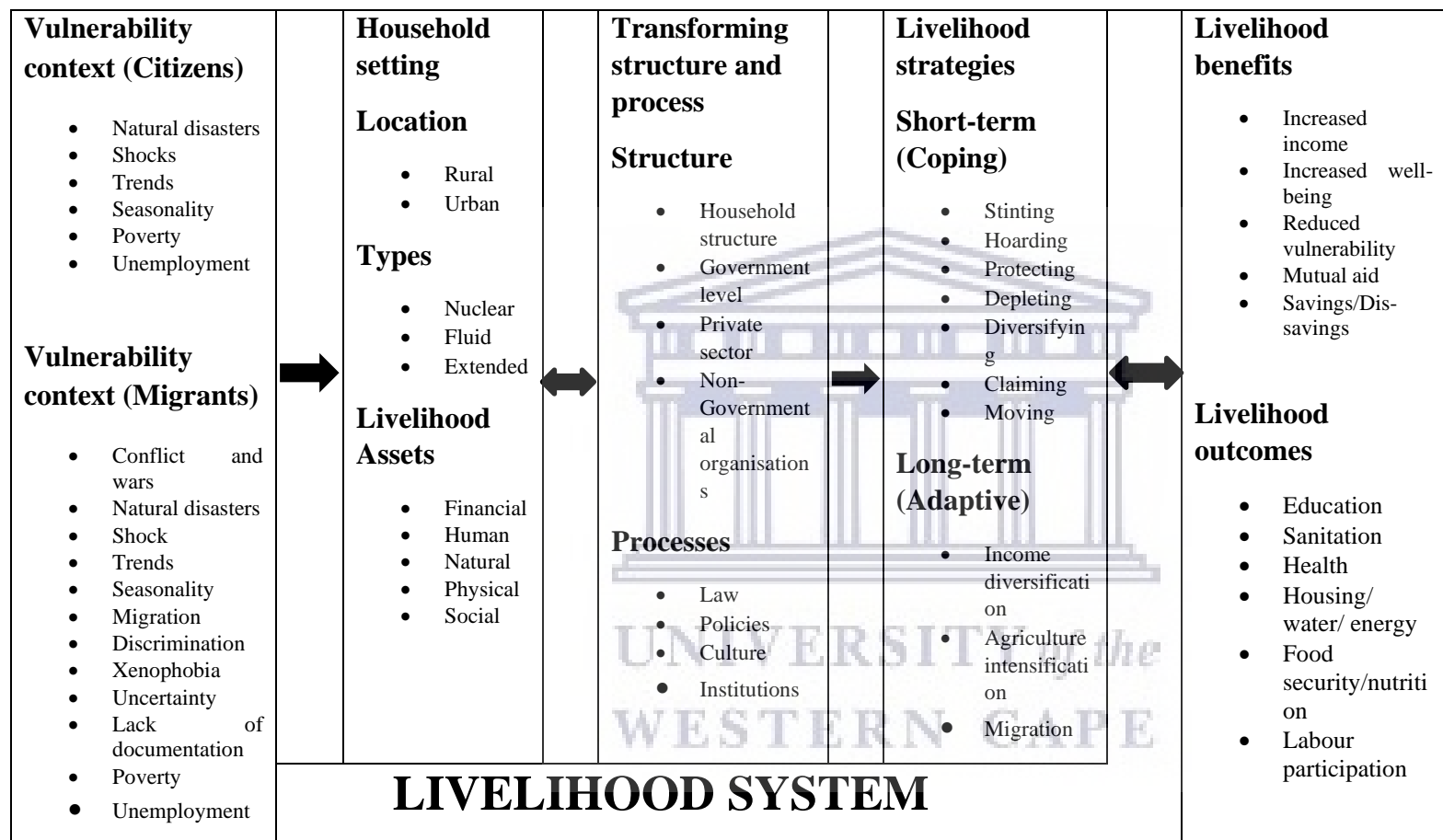
Table 2. 2. Migration-specific risks, vulnerabilities and their determinants

| Risks and vulnerabilities | Determinants of risks and vulnerabilities in migration |
|---------------------------|---|
| Spatial or environmental | Environmental hazards; movement restrictions; unfamiliarity with the surroundings; increase in gender-based violence and in health risks such as HIV/AIDS; unemployment or dirty, dangerous and demeaning jobs; problems in accessing adequate housing and ghettoisation; lack of knowledge about existing opportunities. |
| Socio-political | Lack of legal representation and protection; uncertainty in interacting with government agencies and departments; discrimination in accessing government services and exclusion from livelihood-promoting opportunities; gender and/or citizens' bias in legislation; restrictions in political activities. |
| Socio-cultural | Xenophobia, social discrimination based on ethnicity, legal status, gender and age; social perceptions of 'poor, opportunist'; stigmatisation in access to services; language and cultural barriers. |

Source: Author's own compilation based on Sabates-Wheeler (2019: 8) and Sabates-Wheeler and Waite (2003: 14).

Amidst the above-heightened vulnerabilities and exclusionary migration processes, accompanied by migrant-specific and intensified risks together with other problems, as alluded to throughout this thesis, migrants' socio-economic conditions might [not] differ from those of citizens, as their vulnerability context in combination with other externalities frame the causes of migrant livelihoods. This implies that at their destination, the migrant population has to employ a portfolio of few resources at their disposal to increase their opportunities and eke out livelihoods in a challenging foreign environment. Therefore, based on information from the literature, the author of this study formulated a conceptual and analytical system model of sustainable livelihood under which the effect of social grants on migrant households is assessed. As depicted in Table 2.3, this model fundamentally incorporates many aspects of the vulnerability context in the households of both citizens and migrants. These include: household settings and resources, together with the livelihood transformation structure and processes; household livelihood coping and adaptive strategies as well as livelihood benefits and livelihood outcomes of access to labour, education, housing, healthcare, food security and nutrition.

Table 2. 3. Livelihood conceptual system model incorporating citizens and migrants



Source: Author's own compilation based on Chambers and Conway (1992:6), Ashley and Carney (1999: 7).

2.4. Chapter summary

This chapter provided the conceptual and theoretical framework underpinning the study. In the first part of the chapter, the constructs of international migration, household, poverty, and vulnerability were put into perspective. In its multi-dimensions, the term of international migration was defined as people crossing political boundaries for various reasons. In elucidating the concept of 'migration' the two binaries of migration were identified, namely: forced migration consisting of refugees and asylum seekers and voluntary migration comprising of economic migrants.

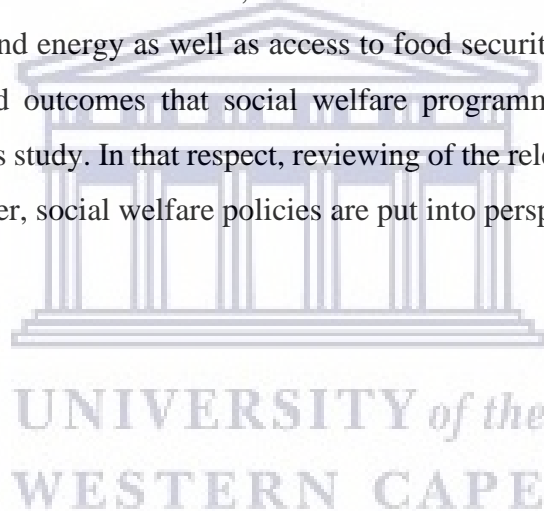
To complement the conceptual framework, the concept of household was explained. Amidst many complexities and contestations, the concept of household was expounded and defined on the basis of a consumption and production structure, in which a household was defined as an economic unit where people who live under one roof pool resources together to smoothen consumption and insure against future shocks and hardships. In the context of migration, the study established that co-residence is not a pre-condition, but rather that a broad definition is adopted where a household is referred to as a coalition of people committed by choice and entering into implicit contractual agreement for the purpose of maximising utility through diversification of income (Sana & Massey, 2005). In addition, based on geo-types, four types of households were identified, namely: rural formal and rural tribal, for rural areas, and urban formal and urban informal, for urban areas. Furthermore, using many criteria, including income and production, transient, ultra-poor, better-off and economically active households were identified. Based on composition and structure, households were classified as nuclear, fluid and extended.

Similar to the household, the construct of poverty, together with its intersecting strands of vulnerability, risks, shocks and deprivation, were unpacked. In its multi-dimensions, the three types of poverty, namely chronic, transitory and dependency were shown to be the ones prevalent in households. As a way of measurement, monetary, absolute and relative, capability, multiple deprivation as well as livelihood approaches were identified as the most effective methods to measure poverty.

In the second part of the chapter, the theoretical framework of the study was presented, where Rawls' theory of social justice and the Sustainable Livelihood Approach were discussed. In tracing the fundamental principles of Rawls' justice theory, it provided an understanding of the principle of fairness which would guide the South African government in the distribution of

welfare benefits to the most vulnerable members of the population, including international migrants.

Similar to Rawls' theory of justice, the Sustainable Livelihood Framework (SLF) shed light on the poor population's resources and livelihood strategies and outcomes. It also provided an understanding of how they cope with trends, shocks and vulnerability. In the context of migration, the SLF explained that the three aspects of vulnerability by which environmental, socio-cultural and socio-political factors in the country of immigration determine or affect migrants' efforts to achieve their sustainable livelihoods. Based on the discussion of the principles and components of the SLF, the chapter ended with a formulation of a conceptual system model incorporating several aspects of livelihoods for the citizens and migrants alike in which increased income, improved well-being, access to resources and accumulation of assets were identified as livelihood benefits, while access to labour, education and health, access to housing, water and energy as well as access to food security and nutrition are some of the potential livelihood outcomes that social welfare programmes such as government grants, are evaluated in this study. In that respect, reviewing of the relevant literature continues and in the following chapter, social welfare policies are put into perspective.



CHAPTER THREE – LITERATURE REVIEW: SOCIAL WELFARE POLICIES IN PERSPECTIVE

“Social welfare, social security, social protection and social assistance, no matter what concept is used, these denote a set of interventions designed to either reduce poverty and vulnerability, to mitigate people’s exposure to risks, to enhance their capacity, or to protect against hazards, and interruptions as well as the loss of income (Jerónimo et al., 2014: 2)”.

3.1. Chapter overview

Social welfare policies exist in a broader context of social security, and in a country like South Africa where the level of poverty, inequality and unemployment is astonishingly high, social safety net grants are one of the major instruments of a social security system used to pull people out of poverty and reduce inequality as well as protect them against shock, vulnerability and deprivation. Since this study sought to explore the social welfare grants that apply to the international migrants, it is therefore imperative to review various and relevant literature on the South African social security system to gain an understanding of the context in which the social grants exist. To do that, the first part of the chapter attempts to provide an understanding of the framework for social welfare policies.

The second part of the chapter provides an overview and description of the South African social security system, its historical development and dynamics. It also outlines the components of social protection in South Africa, with a particular emphasis on the social assistance instruments that pertain to international migrants as well as eligibility criteria and their challenges. The last section of the chapter gives a comprehensive review of the literature on the empirical research conducted around welfare initiatives at both local and global levels. In essence, the aim of the chapter is to provide a broad knowledge on the issues of social protection with a particular reference to social assistance, to identify gaps and flaws in the literature for the purpose of informing the direction of the current study.

3.2. The framework of social welfare policies

Social welfare policies are a series of collective efforts and interventions put in place by the state and other institutions to protect the well-being of their citizens or society through a variety of programmes and initiatives (Patel, 2005; Department of Social Development (DSD, 2011). Scholars such as Ntebe (1994) and Gates (1980) argued that social welfare policies are designed to empower people to meet their social needs and prevent them from falling into a

state of utter destitution, hopelessness, homelessness, shocks and vulnerability. For these reasons, the essence of social welfare policies is to redistribute resources with the purpose of empowering the disadvantaged individuals, poor and marginalised groups as well as unemployed communities, through social welfare programmes geared towards improving access to social services in health, housing and education (DSD, 2011).

In the simplest terms, social welfare is referred to as “conditions of people’s well-being when their social problems and challenges have been satisfactorily managed and social needs met and social opportunities have been created to meet all their needs” (DSD, 2011: 4). On the one hand, social welfare services consist of a broad system of programmes intended to promote social development, social justice, social functioning, and transfers to maintain the well-being of people through the provision of different social services (Ulriksen & Plagerson, 2016). Social services, on the other hand, are services provided to address the social needs of the people and create opportunities that enable communities, individuals or groups of people to reach or realise their full potential (DSD, 2011; Plagerson & Ulriksen, 2015).

The provision of social welfare services in South Africa is a comprehensive and integrated system of social programmes deep-rooted in the cooperation and partnership between government, civil society organisations, informal networks and the private sector, which either provide facilities and finances or deliver these services (Plagerson & Ulriksen, 2015; Ulriksen & Plagerson, 2016). However, the social welfare function in South Africa is assumed by the national DSD which is also responsible for the drafting of welfare policies, while the delivery of complementary social services is split across various government departments which are supported by the provincial departments mandated to oversee the implementation of social welfare services (Patel, 2005; DSD, 2011).

The current social welfare policy implementation in South Africa rests on the residual welfare model of interventions, in which a great emphasis is placed on individualism and the main services provided as safety nets to the population who have no other source of income or those who are left out of the labour market (Ntebe, 1994; Dinbabo, 2011). The implication of this is that the South African welfare residual model operates within the assumptions that, people have the ability to govern themselves and handle their rights and affairs in a mature and responsible manner. In other words, the residual model assumes that people can take care of their welfare needs, and the government and private welfare machinery will only intervene when their ability to provide for themselves has been depleted (Midgley, 2001; Spicker, 2005).

Within the residual welfare model, the principal element of the South African social welfare system is:

... that every person is responsible for his or her own welfare and social adjustment, and that of his or her family as well as of the community. Only when a citizen fails to sustain his or her independence, then the state in cooperation with the private sector together with the NGOs can intervene by providing social assistance (Ntebe, 1994: 43).

Similarly, in the residual welfare model, a number of studies such as, (Devereux, 2002; Farrington & Slater, 2006; Barrientos & Hulme, 2008; Deacon et al., 2015) identified a number of mechanisms and strategies that are applied in developing countries when providing social welfare assistance. These include both cash-based and in-kind transfers, such as fee waivers for education and health; school feeding systems; social grants to the poor and highly vulnerable population such as people with disability, elderly, orphans or substance abusers; cash or in-kind transfers such as food stamps and family allowances (Devereux, 2002; Farrington & Slater, 2006); temporary livelihood support and subsidies, emergency relief and energy-life lines, as well as discounted food prices in times of crisis (Asian Development Bank (ADB), 2013; Deacon et al., 2015); and matching funds to safeguard or prevent short-term adverse effects of policy reforms (Barrientos & Hulme, 2008).

From the above list, one is correct to say that cash-based approaches are predominant in social welfare assistance programmes and that cash-transfer is the main component of social safety nets. This is because, despite a mix, longstanding criticisms and potential concerns, as raised in chapter one of this thesis, Farrington and Slater (2006) and Devereux (2002; 2010) argued that cash is less expensive to deliver, very versatile and fungible in such a way that it gives a lot of options to the beneficiaries to decide on how and what they would spend their money on. In a similar vein, Ulriksen and Plagerson (2016) and Plagerson and Ulriksen (2015) further established that cash-transfer programmes deliver significant benefits, in the sense that cash has a knock-on effect on stimulating economic activities on both the supply and demand sides. Therefore, due to the preference and dominance of financial benefits, coupled with a frequent use of cash in social welfare service provision, cash-transfer-based systems to the poor and vulnerable are increasingly likened to social protection and social security (DSD, 2011; Jerónimo et al., 2014; Ulriksen & Plagerson, 2016).

3.3. Social security

The concepts of social security and social protection have evolved over many years and are utilised in many inconsistent ways throughout the world. The use of these terms differs widely across countries and international aid organisations, but in many contexts the concepts of social security, social protection and social welfare are largely and interchangeably used to refer to,

a set of policies, programmes and interventions that are designed to reduce poverty and vulnerability through promoting efficient labour markets, diminishing or mitigating people's exposure to risks, and enhancing their capacity to protect against hazards, and interruptions as well as the loss of income (Devereux, 2010; ILO, 2010; Jerónimo et al., 2014).

Despite confusion of the concepts, social protection has a broader meaning and characteristics than social security. On the one hand, literature such as the (International Labour Organization (ILO), 2010; Asian Development Bank (ADB), 2013; Devereux, 2010) defined **social protection** as an integral part of social development and one of the three pillars of poverty reduction strategies that aims at assisting people to break the cycle of poverty that exposes them to income insecurity and social deprivation, and enhances the quality of growth by investing human capital, increasing productivity and reducing citizens' vulnerability to risks. **Social security**, on the other hand, is referred to as public and private initiatives that seek to provide income and consumption transfers to the poor, provide protection against livelihood risks and shocks to the vulnerable, and enhance the social rights and status of the marginalised population (Devereux, 2010; Devereux & Nzabamwita, 2018).

Social security includes interventions that provide social equity and empowerment as well as increasing power balances in society. In doing so, Sabates-Wheeler & Waite (2003) and Devereux (2010) argued that social security has four basic and distinctive functions, namely, ensuring social equity and inclusion and empowering various groups and individuals (**transformative**); helping to avert deprivation (**preventive**); improving people's real capability and income (**promotive**); and providing relief from poverty and deprivation (**protective**). In these functions, social security forms part of the social protection framework, which provides potential mechanisms that enable the ultra-poor, labour-constrained and incapacitated households to address poverty and vulnerability (Slater & McCord, 2009; Devereux, 2010).

3.4. Social security in South Africa

3.4.1. Historical context of social security in South Africa

3.4.1.1. Pre-1992

The South African social security system underwent considerable series of policy reforms which culminated in moving away from a discriminatory to a more inclusive society, and each reform is inherently linked to specific government social development objectives. For instance, during the apartheid period, the South African social security framework's main objective was to create a welfare system for whites only and to protect them against various contingencies. This was done by means of social insurance organised by the state and funded through specified employer and employee contributions, and social assistance by means of non-contributory social grants either in cash or in-kind transfers provided by the state to the poor white families (Van der Berg, 1997; Van der Berg et al., 2010).

Albeit not prescribed by legislation, but by convention, the first pension fund to represent social insurance was established in the apartheid South Africa in 1882 to target low-skilled white workers (Van der Berg, 1997). Thereafter, as the result of the industrial revolution, white skilled employees were granted occupational retirement insurance which was introduced as one of the many compulsory occupational insurance schemes (Van der Berg et al., 2010). As far as social protection was concerned, the system of social assistance emerged to give broader coverage to white children and old people, without any direct coverage extended to the most vulnerable people in society (i.e., those who are out of the labour market due to illness, especially people living with disabilities, commonly referred to as the 'the most deserving poor' (Brockerhoff, 2013). In sum, as observed by Devereux (2007) and Van der Berg et al. (2010), during the apartheid era the primary objective of social assistance was to win hearts and minds of the certain group of population by providing exclusive pro-poor relief in the advent of industrialisation and urbanisation and the opening of mines.

In the apartheid context, the norms of excluding people of colour⁹ remained in place, but numerous racially differentiated social assistance initiatives in the form of grants were introduced between 1910 and 1950. These grants included, *inter alia*, military pensions in 1919, social pensions in 1928, disability grants and blindness grants in 1936 and 1937 respectively, war veteran grants in 1941, and family allowances for large, extended and poor

⁹ During the apartheid era in South Africa, people were segregated and classified according to their skin colour and the native black population were referred to as Bantu, while the Coloureds, Asians and Indians were often referred to as people of colour (Wa Kabwe-Segatti & Landau, 2008).

families in 1947 (Van der Berg, 1997; Van der Berg et al., 2010). Despite the coverage that remained very low, in 1950 the apartheid regime developed a welfare system of significant and different standards that covered different races in terms of the value of the social grants and the type of benefits that could be accessed by different parts of the population (Van der Berg et al., 2010; Brockerhoff, 2013). In this system, the responsibility for social welfare for black Africans and the coloured population was moved from the Social Welfare Department to the Bantu¹⁰ Administration and Coloured Affairs Departments respectively, while an additional department was introduced to deal with the affairs of the Indian members of the population.

Furthermore, during apartheid, state expenditure on welfare helped the government to maintain and strengthen its support and dominance among the white population. Nevertheless, around the late 1970 and 1980s, there was a tendency to move towards equalising the social assistance benefits among different racial groups (Brockerhoff, 2013). In this instance, the government committed itself to eliminating racial discrimination. In 1990 substantial progress was made to the extent that the benefits and access to social assistance programmes were extended to include African, Coloured and Indian South Africans, and the welfare system of cash transfers started to change in the early 1990s (Agüero et al., 2007). Although racial discrimination was removed, until 1994 the structure of the South African social welfare system was still largely dominated by the means-tested and the non-contributory old age and disability pensions, mainly for the white population group.

3.4.1.2. Post-1992

In 1994, when apartheid was abolished, the ANC-led government's main priority was to fully redress the inequality and discrimination of the past through the expansion of social security to all needy South Africans. To achieve this objective, a number of deliberations, reports and policy documents pertaining to welfare were drafted. These included, the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) in 1994 (Gray, 2006); the Growth, Employment and Redistribution programme (GEAR) in 1996; the Lund Committee Report in 1997; the Taylor Committee Report in 2000; the White Paper for Social Welfare in 1997 (Brockerhoff, 2013; Brickenstein, 2015); and the National Development Plan (NDP) in 2010 (DSD, 2011; 2012).

The RDP's approach was people-centred and its driving motive was growth through redistribution. The RDP spelled out how people would be granted access to social services, and

¹⁰ On the basis of denying them political rights, the indigenous black population of South Africa was officially called "Bantu", a term related to the languages that are widely spoken in many parts of Africa (Vandeyar, 2010).

its main objective was to stimulate the economy to significantly improve service delivery and social spending in the hope that it would reduce inequality, marginalisation, poverty and unemployment (Van der Berg, 1997; Van der Berg et al., 2010). The RDP partly focused on the expansion of cash transfers as a redistributive mechanism. It also contained guidelines on the way to redress the imbalances and discrimination of the past (Brockerhoff, 2013). Although the RDP did not address specific issues, such as the number of beneficiaries to be targeted by the welfare programme, Visser (2004) and the DSD (2011; 2012) contended that some of the RDP's primary goals were to meet the basic needs of people who constituted the homeless, landless black, and lower-class workers.

When the South African government experienced economic turmoil and a currency crisis, the government implemented fiscal austerity measures. As the result, it adopted the GEAR to reassure the domestic and international investors that conservative macro-economic policies were pursued (Gray, 2006; Brickenstein, 2015). The emphasis of GEAR was on cutting government budgets without compromising its ability to provide social services through a growth strategy that embraced the importance of the market forces in solving social problems (Lombard, 2008; Brockerhoff, 2013). On that basis, the GEAR marked the beginning of the period that private organisations started to implement corporate social responsibility by investing in uplifting the lives of the poor and working class. That was done through the provision of contributory insurance, leaving the government to use cash transfers as something that could help to alleviate poverty and deliver on its constitutional mandate and obligation about social security (Lombard, 2008; DSD, 2012).

With ideas reflected in the GEAR and contained in the RDP, the South African government adopted the White Paper on Social Welfare in 1997. This document formed the basis of discussions arising from different sectors of the South African society (Van der Berg, 1997; Brickenstein, 2015). Its central focus was to create a society with a strong social protection system that would support people in their endeavours to improve personal positions, to participate in economic activities, to create human capacities and to contribute to the forthcoming periods of development through social welfare programmes (DSD, 2012; Brockerhoff, 2013). The White Paper laid out the government's developmental approach. It called upon the government to desist and refrain from exhausting the economy by pulling resources from productive activities to fund social welfare services, but to rather focus on ensuring that social welfare policies contribute to the long-term sustainable development of the country and its people. It further recognised that a developmental state can only be created

through flagship programmes targeting the unemployed, women, the elderly, and children under five to ensure that they have every chance to reduce socio-economic problems that they faced in the past (Gray, 2006; Brockerhoff, 2013).

The glossary to the new White Paper on Social Welfare listed some of the contingencies for social protection, which included old age, disability, child and family care, poverty relief, unemployment, ill health, maternity support, child rearing, and widowhood (Oliver, 2010; Brickenstein, 2015). It further incorporated government commitments to establishing social protection policies and legislation. In essence, despite the traces of racial discrimination in the old system of social protection, Brockerhoff (2013) and Brickenstein (2015) observed that the drafting of the White Paper on Social Protection marked the first attempt by the ANC-led government to reform and overhaul the social security system. This document gave rise to the establishment of a committee, headed by Professor Francie Lund, namely the Lund Committee on Child and Family Support in 1997, to examine the distribution of welfare benefits, whose access and distribution were still extremely inequitable and heavily skewed along racial lines (Lund, 2008).

The Lund Committee recommended that the State Maintenance Grant (SMG) be phased out and be replaced with a flat-rate Child Support Grant (CSG), which was eventually launched in 1998 (Van der Berg et al., 2010). To contain the cost of the new programmes, the committee suggested that the child-eligibility age be adjusted to 18 years depending on the uptake (Lund, 2008; Brockerhoff, 2013). Being under the influence of the GEAR, the Lund Committee had to strike a balance between awarding the grants of low value to a large number of children or awarding high value grants to fewer children. As a mechanism, the committee maintained that social welfare policy should not focus much more on job creation as a way of improving living conditions, but rather focus on helping people to meet certain needs as a way of empowering them to help themselves (Lund, 2008). The Lund Committee then proposed that the new child support grants be provided with a 'soft condition' of immunisation and enrolment into school (Brockerhoff, 2013). Another proposal by this committee was that the grant payment should be transferred exclusively into the child caregiver's bank account (Brockerhoff, 2013).

3.4.1.3. Post-2000

By 2000, the ANC-led South African government set up a ministerial committee, namely the Taylor Committee into a Social Security System for South Africa. This committee was chaired by Professor Vivian Taylor, who also served as a special advisor to the Minister of Social

Development. The committee conducted comprehensive inquiries into social security in South Africa and proposed the creation and centralisation of the administration of social assistance into one umbrella organisation, called the South African Social Security Agency (SASSA), which was cast into law in 2004 (DSD, 2012; Brockerhoff, 2013). In addition, the Taylor Committee asserted that ‘social protection’ is better suited than the other concepts such as ‘social security’ or ‘social insurance’, which are more ‘employment centred’ (Taylor, 2002; Patel, 2005). The underlying motive for this proposal was to provide the basic means to all the people living in the country, to effectively enable them to have a better social and economic life, and in turn to empower them and to contribute to the social and economic development of the country (Taylor, 2002; Brockerhoff, 2013).

In 2004, the social assistance system was restructured and the Social Assistance Act No. 13 of 2004 (hereafter referred to as ‘Social Assistance Act’) was passed to consolidate all legislation and processes governing social assistance (DSD, 2006; 2011; 2012). This act codified the rights to all grants provided in South Africa. Although the Social Assistance Act did not provide much in terms of restructuring and expansion of social grants, the DSD (2011) and Brockerhoff (2013) noted that it made provision for the establishment of the SASSA as a national central agency responsible for all aspects of the government’s social assistance system, i.e., the administration, management and payment of social assistance grants in South Africa, which was previously administered by provincial Social Development departments and financed by provincial legislature. After its establishment, the SASSA was given a mandate of regulating the payment and delivery of social grants, and improving efficiency and service delivery, especially coordinating and raising administrative standards through the consolidation and standardisation of contracts (Van der Berg et al., 2010; DSD, 2011).

To consolidate the institutional and administrative framework for social security, the Social Assistance Act made provision for the establishment of an independent body, namely the Inspectorate for Social Assistance (ISA), whose responsibility is, to ensure the integrity of the system, assess and investigate financial misconduct as well as combat leakage and fraud in the administration of social grants (DSD, 2006; Plagerson & Ulriksen, 2015). As the result of severe delays, backlogs and litigations in the social assistance applications, in 2008 the Independent Tribunal for Social Assistance Appeals (ITSAA) was introduced to adjudicate the cases of applicants whose applications were rejected (Reddy & Sokomani, 2008; DSD, 2011). In 2012 the Internal Reconsideration Mechanism (IRM) was instituted to allow the disgruntled and aggrieved beneficiaries or applicants to request SASSA to reconsider and review any

decisions which they might be unhappy with (such as rejections of applications, reduction and deductions on grants payment) (Reddy & Sokomani, 2008). Another initiative was the introduction of Special Investigations Units of the social pension system (SOPSEN) by the DSD to conduct regular audits (Reddy & Sokomani, 2008).

To ensure smooth payments, the social grant delivery system was overhauled in 2010 and the SASSA implemented a new payment model that shifted from the manual payment method to an automation and digitisation system. In this system, the SASSA also entered into partnerships with different entities – giving beneficiaries options of choosing to receive their social grants either through a direct transfer into a commercial bank account of choice, merchants in large retail stores across South Africa, Postbank of the South African Post Office (SAPO) and its countrywide outlets, many more designated cash points across the country, or using the SASSA Mastercard that allows grant beneficiaries to transact widely in the country (Fanta et al., 2017). The partnership with various stakeholders eliminated unnecessary interruptions in the grant payment process and brought about other benefits, including beneficiaries accessing their grants anytime during the month anywhere in South Africa, and a reduction in corruption and fraud due to the introduction of an electronic banking system (Neves et al., 2009; DSD, 2012).

Another significant milestone in the South African social welfare provision landscape was the removal of the requirement of South African citizenship, to access some government grants (Mpedi & Smit, 2011; Deacon et al., 2015). According to Section 5 (2) of the Social Assistance Act 13 of 2004, one of the eligibility criteria for accessing social assistance benefits is South African citizenship (Nyeti et al., 2007; Brockerhoff, 2013). However, following sustained advocacy from migrant organisations, mobilisation, campaigns, pressure from civil society organisations, lobbying from rights groups, coupled with litigation and the subsequent court ruling and pronouncement that the rights to social assistance applies to all who live in South Africa, in 2012 the Minister of Social Development promulgated an amendment to Section 5 (2) of the Social Assistance Act which prevented certain categories of foreign nationals from accessing social grants in South Africa (Deacon et al., 2015; Scalabrini Centre, 2020).

In terms of the amended legislation, documented and recognised refugees, i.e., refugees who have been granted formal refugee status by the South African Department of Home Affairs, and foreign nationals who hold permanent residence status in South Africa, meeting the legislated criteria as set out in the Social Assistance Act 13 of 2004 and other accompanying regulations, became eligible for all social grants provided by the South African government,

except the War Veterans Grant (Deacon et al., 2015; RSA, 2019a; 2019b). The removal of citizenship as an eligibility criterion to claim some social grants was a ground-breaking achievement for the NGOs advocating for the inclusion of migrants in the social assistance scheme, which is one of the two pillars of the South African social security system, discussed below.

3.5. Pillars of the South African social security system

The social security system in South Africa is a two-pillar system consisting of social insurance schemes, re-distributed through insurances, and social assistance programmes distributed through government grants (Nyeti et al., 2007; Devereux, 2010; Brockerhoff, 2013).

3.5.1. Social insurance scheme

The insurance prong of social security systems comprises contributory and state-managed funds that provide conditional income support that is not concerned with alleviating poverty, but providing compensation for pre-defined risks or events (Brockerhoff, 2013; Deacon et al., 2015). The three main insurance funds of the South African social security system are: the Unemployment Insurance Fund (UIF), that protects contributing low-skilled workers against the risks of unemployment, maternity, illness, and death; the Workman's Compensation Fund, which provides medical care and benefits to workers who become ill, injured, or disabled whilst at work; and the Road Accident Fund (RAF), which provides compensation for the loss of income, as well as funeral costs and medical support to road accident victims (Van der Berg et al., 2010; Woolard et al., 2010).

Social insurances also encompass a number of occupational insurance and pension schemes which are voluntary, non-mandatory savings and insurance funds, such as pension and retirement schemes that are state-regulated, but provided by the private companies to protect employees and their dependants against possible loss or reduction of income (Van der Berg, 1997; Van der Berg et al., 2010). The occupational insurance applies to the vulnerable working population in the form of social pensions in old age or at retirement age, paid to low-skilled and low-income workers in the formal sector during contingencies. These contingencies include pension and medical benefits, maternity leave, death, illness and disability, occupational injury, and other family benefits (Barker, 2007). In the insurance and pension schemes, both employer and employee make contributions to the fund on an agreed percentage, which is usually tied to the worker's wage (Van der Berg, 1997; Visser, 2004).

3.5.2. Social assistance scheme

While social insurance schemes are generally contributory and target people participating in the labour market, the social assistance system, which is the essence of this study, is tax-financed programmes of social transfers used as an alternative set of initiatives targeted to the neediest, outside the labour market. When stated differently, social assistance provides protection to people who would not qualify for insurance payment or those who would receive inadequate benefits from private insurance (Sabates-Wheeler & Waite, 2003; Devereux, 2010).

Social assistance, often referred to as ‘safety nets’, are programmes that primarily enhance social welfare, by directly reducing poverty and providing temporary relief in times of destitution (Farrington & Slater, 2006; Brockerhoff, 2013). The implication of this is that social relief programmes form a large part of the South African social assistance system. According to Nyeti et al. (2007) and Rahman et al. (2011), social relief entails short-term measures and initiatives undertaken by the government or private institutions and organisations to assist people during crises that may have affected their families or rendered communities unable to meet their most basic needs.

3.5.2.1. Instruments of social assistance

The current government of South Africa distributes a wide range of non-contributory, unconditional and targeted social grants covering the poorest and most vulnerable members of society, using various instruments, of which three target children, namely: Child Support Grant (CSG); Foster Care Grant (FCG); and Care Dependency Grant (CDG). The other grants target the adult population, namely: Old age Grant (OAG); Disability Grant (DG); War Veterans Grant (WVG); Grant-in-Aid (GIA); and Social Relief of Distress Grant (SRODG) (Brockerhoff, 2013; RSA, 2019a; 2019b).

- **The Child Support Grant (CSG)** is an amount of cash usually provided to the primary caregivers of children (usually the mother) aged between birth to 18 years. The objective of the CSG is to provide support to poor households in meeting the cost of raising children, influencing birth rates, relieving child poverty, and redistributing income (Triegaardt, 2006; Nyeti et al., 2007). In terms of the eligibility rule, as Table 3.1 indicates, the caregiver or the child should be a resident of South Africa or a recognised refugee at the time of application; the child must be under the age of 18; and the financial status or the monthly financial income of the applicant and his or her spouse(s) must be less than R4,000 and R8,000 respectively (RSA, 2019a; 2019b).

- **The Care Dependency Grant (CDG)** consists of an amount of cash dispensed to the caregivers or parents of children under the age of 18 who suffer from mental and physical disability and are in permanent home care (Beukes et al., 2017).
- **The Foster Child Grant (FCG)** is the money provided for the purpose of assisting foster children. To be a beneficiary of the FCG, the children must be deemed in need of care, and such children must be placed in the custody of foster parents designated by the courts and supervised by social workers (Beukes et al., 2017; RSA, 2019a). Also, in order to qualify, the children should not have been formally adopted; a child court should have dealt with the foster case; or the affected children had been orphaned due to HIV/AIDS or the deaths of their parents (Van der Berg et al., 2010; Hagen-Zanker et al., 2011). As depicted in Table 3.1, the FCG is relatively higher in value than the CSG, as its purpose is to reimburse the families who foster children for the cost of caring or raising children who are not their own. Hence, the FCG seeks to incentivise families to take on foster care or to be guardians of the child rather than taking a child into state care; the FCG falls away once the fostered child is formally adopted. In addition, the FCG is designed to provide relief and throw a lifeline to children exposed at risks of abuse, neglect or exploitation (Van der Berg et al., 2010; Hagen-Zanker et al., 2011).
- **The Disability Grant (DG)** is an amount of money made available to persons aged 18 to 59 years, who do not receive other state grants, are not cared for in any state institution, and who are physically and mentally unable to effectively participate in labour market-related activities (Triegaardt & Patel, 2005; Beukes et al., 2017). The DG also includes HIV/AIDS-infected people, and the two most common approaches used to determine the eligibility criteria for the DG, are the assessment carried out by a panel of nurses, social workers, social services officers and community members or workers; and an examination by either district or provincial medical practitioners, to confirm whether the disability is severe, temporary or permanent (Van der Berg et al., 2010; Brockerhoff, 2013). In social welfare policies, Nyeti et al. (2007) and Brockerhoff (2013) remarked that when a beneficiary of the DG reaches the age of 60 years, the grant becomes an OAG.

- **The Old Age Grant (OAG)**, also known as the ‘State old age pension’, consists of an amount of money made available to South Africa citizens, permanent residents and recognised refugees aged 60 years or above, living in the country (Nyeti et al., 2007; Brockerhoff, 2013). In terms of other eligibility criteria, as indicated in Table 3.1, the OAG is granted to a person subject to the condition of a means-test, i.e., the applicant’s monthly income and that of his or her spouse(s) must not exceed R4,000 and R8,000 respectively (RSA, 2019a, 2019b).
- **The Social Relief of Distress Grant (SRODG)** is a temporary amount of relief for people in crisis or wanting immediate help for survival. Nyeti et al. (2007) and Brockerhoff (2013) pointed out that social relief programmes are aimed at alleviating both chronic and transient poverty. This makes them a temporary form of support provided to people who find themselves in unforeseen events, crises and catastrophic situations, where they are unable to provide for themselves and their families and dependants. The SRODG is usually awarded to beneficiaries on a monthly basis for a period of three months, which is sometimes extended to six months in exceptional circumstances (RSA, 2019b). In addition, the SRODG can be awarded in an in-kind form (food parcels) or vouchers, rather than cash transfers. Although the SRODG officially forms part of the social assistance package, Brockerhoff, (2013: 30) observed that “it is usually ignored in the debates and assessments of social grants”. The SRODG is intended for people who do not have sufficient means to meet their most basic needs or persons affected by disaster, and the most recent one is the Corona virus support – the COVID-19 SRODG.

The **COVID-19 SRODG** was rolled out in May 2020 by the DSD during the National State of Disaster which led to a national lockdown as the result of the Corona virus pandemic (COVID-19) that disrupted people’s livelihoods around the world in general and in South Africa in particular (African News Agency, 2020; Scalabrini Centre, 2020). It is a hardship grant applicable for a period of six months from May to October 2020 (with the probability of further extension). This emergency fund provides financial relief to adult persons who are not receiving an income or any other assistance during the lockdown period. In other words, the COVID-19 SRODG seeks to cushion

the society against human and economic consequences and aims at relieving the distress of persons mostly affected by the COVID-19 pandemic (Scalabrini Centre, 2020; Southern African Legal Information Institute (SAFLII), 2020). The special COVID-19 safety net grant consists of an amount of R350 paid to eligible candidates, i.e., South African citizens and permanent residents, registered refugees and asylum seekers with a Section 22 permit or visa as well as migrants from Angola, Zimbabwe and Lesotho who hold special dispensation permits (African News Agency, 2020; Scalabrini Centre, 2020). The COVID-19 SRODG was made available from June 2020 to the non-South Africans whose documents were valid on 15 May 2020 (Erasmus & Botsane, 2020; SAFLII, 2020). In terms of eligibility criteria, as demonstrated in Figure 3.2, like any other social grant administered by the South African DSD, the special COVID-19 SRODG applicants are also subjected to means-testing (Erasmus & Botsane, 2020; RSA, 2020).

In general, one would argue that the process of applying for the SRODG is the same as other social grants. However, being often food-denominated and disbursed in the form of food parcels, in some cases the SRODG does not require many complicated documents, as such it might be made available to even undocumented migrants, especially in the case of disastrous and catastrophic situations. In a similar vein, Nyeti et al. (2007) and the African News Agency (2020) observed that outside the legal framework of social assistance provision in South Africa, private institutions and organisations provide unfixed amounts of social grants to seriously disabled, chronically and terminally ill asylum seekers, refugees and migrants.

- **The Grant-in-Aid (GIA)** is a social grant intended to cover the full cost of care of adult persons who are unable to care for themselves, and can be claimed together with other social grants (Nyeti et al., 2007). In practice, the GIA is not paid on its own, but as additional income to the recipients of the disability, war veterans and old age grants who require regular care from another person as a result of their mental condition and physical disability (RSA, 2019a; 2019b). To qualify for the GIA, the applicant should not be cared for in a state institution, or an institution that receives state subsidies, or they must not be under the care or housing that wholly benefits from state subsidies (Brockerhoff, 2013). The rationale behind the exclusion of people in the state care is to

eliminate the potential ‘double dipping’, where the state incurs double costs by paying both the institutions and the beneficiary (Nyeti et al., 2007).

- **The War Veterans Grant (WVG)** is a social grant payable to people aged 60 years and above, who have performed naval, military and air force services. The beneficiaries would have served in the South African army or fought in certain wars that involved the South African government, such as the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902), the Zulu Rebellion and uprising (1906), First World War (1914-1918), Second World War (1939-1945), and the Korean War (1950-1953) (Nyeti et al., 2007; Hagen-Zanker et al., 2011). Applicants for the WVG must be South African citizens, who are not able to maintain themselves due to physical illness or mental disability (Hagen-Zanker et al., 2011). While refugees qualify for all other South African social grants, they are not eligible for the WVG (RSA, 2019a; 2019b).

3.5.2.2. Conditionalities in social assistance

Social assistance programmes to the poor might be conditional and unconditional and can either be cash or in-kind transfers. In conditional transfers, the beneficiaries have to make some kind of efforts or comply with certain rules to receive the grants. This condition is the behavioural requirement attached to the programme that beneficiaries have to satisfy to access the benefits of the welfare programme (Devereux, 2010; Dodlova et al., 2016). In many countries, beneficiaries of conditional transfers are usually required to comply with conditions which are related to investing in human capital development in health, nutrition and education (Rahman et al., 2011; Agbaam & Dinbabo, 2014). Conditions tied to nutrition and health require regular utilisation and visits to healthcare facilities and services, regular check-ups and immunisation of their infants as well as regular dietary intake (Samson, 2009). Conditions on education may require beneficiaries to enrol their children at school, regular school attendance and a certain level of academic performance (Ariel-Fiszbein et al., 2009).

In contrast to conditional transfers where beneficiaries have to fulfil certain responsibilities, the unconditional transfers are not explicitly provided with attached conditions. This means that recipients of these transfers do not have to comply with any condition, apart from meeting the targeting and eligibility criteria. Transfers are generally targeted at poor individuals or households that are unable to participate in any form of productive labour activities (Chen & Barrientos, 2006; Agüero et al., 2007). In the South African context, the social grants are not

conditional, the applicants are only required to undergo the income means-testing to ascertain their eligibility (RSA, 2019a; 2019b; 2020).

3.5.2.3. Means-testing and targeting in social assistance programmes

Targeting and means-testing are essential aspects of a social welfare system. According to Chen and Barrientos (2006), Hulme and Barrientos (2008), and Hanlon (2008), means-testing is a mechanism usually used in social transfer programmes to determine beneficiaries' eligibility or to measure the social grant applicant's financial position or status, whereas targeting is used in the design of social assistance programmes for rationing the benefits and ensuring that the resources reach the needy and deserving of the population. In fact, means-testing is a form of targeting that is often used in the distribution of welfare benefits in South Africa to ensure that funds and resources from social assistance programmes target the poor population (Van der Berg, 1997; Van der Berg et al., 2010). In carrying out the means-testing, the SASSA has to evaluate the applicant's own income and assets (if single), and those of the applicant's spouse(s) (if married) (RSA, 2019b; 2020).

In means-testing, the spouse's income and assets are taken into consideration whether the marriage is in or out of community of property (Van der Berg et al., 2010). When assessing the income of the recipients and households, if the income falls below a certain cut-off level, the person or household qualifies for programme benefits. Ideally, in social welfare transfers, if the income levels and asset values of the applicants and their spouse(s) are below a stipulated threshold, Slater and McCord (2009: 41) maintained that, the person or household is poor and deserving of social transfers.

Prior to 2008, Beukes et al. (2017) noted that the means-test did not take into account the value of the house that the applicant lived in, regardless of who it belonged to. Similarly, the means-testing in South Africa made a clear distinction between rural and urban households. According to Van der Berg et al. (2010) and Beukes et al. (2017), this means that the means-test applied a different income threshold based on geographical location. By implication, a high-income threshold was set for applicants from rural and squatter areas and low-income threshold for urban applicants. This favoured residents of rural informal settlements over urban dwellers. As Beukes et al. (2017: 13) noted "the distinction criteria between rural and urban excluded and discriminated against a proportion of people from urban areas".

Another aspect of the means-test worth noting, is that each social grant has its own requirements, and new social assistance regulations make provision for different eligibility

criteria. As displayed in Table 3.1, from April 2015, the income and assets thresholds for the means-test of the OAG, DG and WVG were set at the level of people who earn an annual income of less than R82,440 (if single), and R164,880 (if married), and whose assets value does not exceed R1,174,800 (if single) and R3,349,600 (if married) (RSA, 2019a, 2019b). While there is no asset threshold test for the CDG, the eligibility criteria for the FCG require that the foster parents or caregivers must be earning an annualised income of less than R213,000 (if single) and R4,227,200 (if married). To qualify for the CSG, the parents or caregivers of the child must be earning an annual income of less than R50,400 (if single) and a combined annual income threshold of less than R100,800 (if married) (RSA, 2019a, 2019b).

While the SASSA means-testing approach that determines the eligibility for social assistance on the basis of monetary criteria, scholars such as (Coady et al., 2004; Coady, & Parker, 2009; Lavallée et al., 2010; Rahman et al., 2011) identified several other widely used welfare methods that can potentially target the poor in developing countries, including categorical, geographical, proxy means-tests, community-based targeting and self-targeting.

- **Categorical targeting:** Here the welfare benefits are given to beneficiaries on condition that they belong to a certain age group, gender or social category (Pauw & Mncube, 2007; Rahman et al., 2011). A specific form of categorical targeting is the one that is based on geographical location, where social transfers are allocated to the regions identified as the poorest in the country, using one or a combination of indicators of poverty such as illiteracy rate, and malnutrition (Lavallée et al., 2010; Dodlova et al., 2016).
- **Proxy means-testing (PMT):** This is similar to means-testing, but instead of using income, proxy uses information on most observable household characteristics that are strongly related to poverty in order to calculate a score for the economic situation of the individual or household (Rahman, et al., 2011; Nguyen & Tran, 2018). The typical information for proxy means-test in many developing countries ranges from the quality of the dwelling, the ownership of durable goods, household composition, level of education, and occupation, and then the score is used as an eligibility criterion for the programme (Pauw & Mncube, 2007; Rahman et al., 2011).
- **Community-based targeting (CBT):** Here a group of selected community members or community leaders decide on who is eligible for the programme. The community targeting method is based on the strong social capital existing in the community, and

takes advantage of the information readily available, rather than relying on expensive government officials to determine the eligibility for the programme (Pauw & Mncube, 2007; Dodlova et al., 2016).

- **Self-targeting:** This works on the principle that the programme is open to all (Lavallée et al., 2010). However, self-targeted programmes use strong incentives to discourage the use by the non-poor (Slater & Farrington, 2009). An example of a self-targeted programme includes the expanded public works programmes (EPWPs) based on work requirements that typically pay wages that are below the market wage or minimum wage for the unskilled labour, and the low wage is used to ensure that only the poor and deserving or the really needy self-select to participate in the programme (Slater & Farrington, 2009; Van der Berg et al., 2010).



Table 3. 1. Social assistance in South Africa by grant type and eligibility rule

| Social grant types | Amount in Rand (R) | Eligibility | Means-test |
|---------------------------------------|--|--|--|
| GRANTS TARGETING CHILDREN | | | |
| <i>Child Support Grant (CSG)</i> | R450 | The child must be between the ages of 0-18 years. Primary caregiver must be: SA citizen, permanent resident or refugee. | Applicant must be earning an annualised income of or below R50,400 (single) and R10,800 (married) |
| <i>Foster Care Grant (FCG)</i> | R1,040 | The child must be between the ages of 0-18 years. Both foster parent and the child must be: Citizens, permanent residents or refugees residing in SA. Must provide court order to confirm the foster care status of the child. | Not means-tested |
| <i>Care Dependency Grant (CDG)</i> | R1,860 | The child must be between the ages of 0-18 years. Both applicant and the child must be: Citizens, permanent residents or refugees residing in SA. Must submit medical assessment to confirm child's severe/permanent disability | Means-tested Parent or caregiver of the child must be earning an annual income of or less than R213,600 (single) and R427,200 (couple) |
| GRANTS TARGETING ADULTS | | | |
| <i>Disability Grant (DG) *</i> | R1,860 | Applicants must be: SA citizens, permanent residents or refugees residing in the country. Must be between the ages of 18 and 59 years. Reside in SA. Must provide medical report confirming disability. Must not be receiving any other type of state grant. | Applicant's annual income must be R82,440 or less (single), and R164,880 (couple) Applicant's asset value must not be more than R1,174,800 (single) and R2,349,600 (married) |
| <i>Grant-in-Aid (GIA)</i> | R450 | Applicants must have citizenship of SA, permanent residence or refugee status; must have a mental or physical disability; must be in receipt of other grants and not cared for in any state institution or institution that receives a state subsidy. | |
| <i>Old Age Grant (Pension) (OAG)*</i> | R1,860 R1,880 (for beneficiaries older than 75 years) | Applicants must be SA citizens, permanent residents or refugees of 60 years of age and above. | Applicant's annual income must be less than R82,440 (single) and R164,880 (married) Applicant's asset value must not be more than R1,174,800 (single) and R2,349,600 (married) |
| <i>War Veterans Grant (WVG)*</i> | R1,880 | Applicants must be SA citizens or permanent residents of 60 years old and above, who have fought in the wars which involved the SA government. | Applicant's annual income must be R82,440 or less (single) and R164,880 (couple) The applicant's asset value must not be more than R1,174,800 (single) and R2,349,600 (married) |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| <i>Social Relief of Distress Grant (SRODG)</i> | Unspecified, but not more than adult grants | Paid to citizens, permanent residents and refugees who are in dire circumstances and unable to meet their own and their families' immediate basic needs. | Applicants must have been affected by a disaster, as defined in the Disaster Management Amendment Act, or the Fund-Raising Act No.16 of 2015 |
| <i>COVID-19 Social Relief of Distress Grant (COVID-19 SRODG)**</i> | R350 | Applicants should be SA citizens or permanent residents, refugees and asylum seekers as well as migrants from Angola, Zimbabwe and Lesotho who hold Special Dispensation Permits (SDPs) in South Africa | Applicants should have been affected by the National State of Disaster and must be: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Above 18 years of age • Not employed and receiving income • Not getting any other state grant |

* From 1 April 2019, asset threshold for WVGs, OAGs, and DGs was set at R1,174,800 or less, and R2,349,600 for a single applicant and for a married couple respectively (RSA, 2019b).

** COVID-19 Social Relief of Distress Grant is included, but it is a Disaster Relief Grant to cushion the impact of COVID-19 for a limited period of six months from May to October 2020 (Erasmus and Botsane, 2020).

Source: Author's own compilation based on information from the National Treasury (RSA, 2019a); South African Social Security Agency (RSA, 2019b; 2020); Erasmus and Botsane (2020); Scalabrini Centre (2020).

3.6. Shortcomings in the administration and delivery of social assistance

The South African welfare system was established to reduce poverty among vulnerable people and low-income earners; to increase investment in health, education and nutrition; to accelerate economic growth and development; to increase human capital development; and to reduce or prevent destitution in the case of shocks (Devereux, 2010; Woolard et al., 2010). In view of this, a significant number of legislative and policy achievements pertaining to social welfare have been made. South African society has been transformed, a rights-based approach to social welfare promoted, and racial divisions and other discrimination in accessing social assistance grants abolished, which led to a substantial increase and widening of the provision of social assistance to the vulnerable. Despite the progressive and transformative experience and laudable strides in policies, there remain significant challenges and numerous obstacles and problems in the delivery of social assistance. In fact, a number of scholars, such as Reddy and Sokomani (2008) and Delany and Jehoma (2016) attested that the South African welfare system still faces deepening challenges associated with the means-testing and targeting as well as a considerable number of flaws in the administration of social grants.

From a means-testing and targeting point of view, social grants require a complex and sophisticated system to administer and determine who the eligible beneficiaries are. Apart from a sophisticated administrative system, the cost of means-testing and targeting is exceedingly high (Mkandawire, 2006, 2012). For example, Pauw and Mncube (2007) and Mkandawire

(2012) remarked that in a country like South Africa where many poor people derive their income and livelihoods from the informal sector, the cost of targeting and administering social grants is as much as 3–8% of the grant value, and this cost increases as more attempts and efforts are made to improve the accuracy of targeting. Similarly, Van der Berg et al. (2010) and the Department of Social Development (DSD, 2011) asserted that due to the high level of informalisation of labour in South Africa, documenting and verifying beneficiaries' income has proven to be difficult and not straightforward.

The complexity and complication of means-testing has become a catalyst for many other problems as well. Scholars, Delany and Jehoma (2016) remarked that due to the complicated process, the SASSA's officials take short-cuts by simply interviewing applicants of social grants in office, with information taken at face value, which has resulted in many eligible children being excluded from receiving the Child Support Grant in South Africa. For instance, up to 2016, nearly 18% of income-eligible children were not able to access social grants due to challenges related to documentation such as access to birth certificates and identity cards, and barriers related to social and cultural practices of caregivers (Delany & Jehoma, 2016). Other difficulties for parents in accessing the CSGs are related to failure of providing a proof of address, understaffed welfare offices, and complication and inconsistency in the application process (Woolard et al., 2012).

Similar to the above, in administering the delivery of social grants, some of the challenges documented in the past by the Lund Committee include, among other things: direct and indirect costs associated with the application process; failure to observe the rules of administrative law and many provinces being sued for that; inefficiency in processing social assistance grants in terms of long queues and waiting processing times (Lund, 2008). Likewise, Reddy and Sokomani (2008) and the DSD (2011; 2016) indicated that applicants have to travel long distances and make multiple trips to SASSA offices to apply, and also have to deal with unskilled, unfriendly, corrupt and fraudulent SASSA staff working in a fragmented welfare system.

Furthermore, social grants are often accompanied by moral hazards and other incentive costs. Natrass (2006) asserted that introducing targeting may induce people to change their behaviour, or potential beneficiaries might feel undesirable in the society. The unintended consequence of targeting is the creation of pervasive changes in people's behaviour in order to remain or become recipients of welfare benefits, in particularly that these benefits create

disincentives for the poor to reduce the supply of their labour (Mkandawire, 2006) or prompt people to stop working in order to claim the unemployment grants (Posel et al., 2006). Additionally, segregating the poor and non-poor, leave people stigmatised, and prone to social unacceptability because they are seen as ‘being on welfare’, hence refusing to apply for the social grants that they would otherwise be entitled to (Johannsmeier, 2007).

Furthermore, Mkandawire (2006) and Van der Berg et al. (2010) identified two types of errors that arise from the process of targeting social grant beneficiaries, namely, error of inclusion of ineligible people and exclusion of eligible people. This occurs when poor people are excluded from the programme and people with the means, access programmes that are meant for the poor, resulting in the leakage of funds meant for the poor, to people who are not (Van der Berg et al., 2010). Likewise, targeting requires applicants to disclose their personal information such as income and assets (that may lead to the feeling of intrusion of privacy) which applicants are reluctant to do (Brockenhoff, 2013). Targeting is sometimes used as a political tool for matrimonial gains and political benefits in terms of clientelism, where the government distributes welfare grants to buy loyalty among certain groups of a population or for strategic political patronage and preferences (Kitschelt & Wilkinson, 2007; Kuss, 2015).

There are also challenges and confusion around the requirements of income thresholds and means-testing. Delany and Jehoma (2016) reported that many potential caregivers, especially government employees in South Africa, have a misconceptions or incorrect belief that they earn too much to qualify for social grants. Other barriers related to the system include a general lack of knowledge and awareness of the application process and perceptions from some caregivers that the application process is too costly, complicated and time-consuming (Delany & Jehoma, 2016). Other problems that bedevilled the South African social welfare system include allegations of fraud, corruption and maladministration; lack of information about the basket of social welfare services that one can access; language barriers; and bureaucratic complexity in the application process, that sometimes leave migrants with a sense of being uninformed (Reddy & Sokomani, 2008).

Migrants, and refugees in particular, experience institutional and administrative hurdles and constraints when attempting to access social assistance in South Africa. Slater and McCord (2009) and Brockerhoff (2013) found that information and consultation about social grants in South Africa is largely provided in English, which limits and excludes many migrants (Deacon et al., 2015). Migrant populations also experience hostile attitudes and treatment from SASSA

officials over their constitutional rights to grants. Similarly, the lack of proper and valid documentation and expiry of the refugees' status and difficulties in its renewal, as well as language barriers pose additional challenges to refugee caregivers wanting to access social grants. This situation has resulted in many deserving migrant beneficiaries being unfairly removed or wrongfully excluded from the system (Kapindu, 2011, Brockerhoff, 2013).

Moreover, in the preparations for the provision of government grants to refugees, the Parliamentary Monitoring Group (PMG) (2012) summed up the challenges that hamper the role of the DHA in facilitating access to social grants by refugees as follows:

Refugees are not able to produce a child's birth certificate; parents are not in possession of documents at the time of the child's birth; foreign children are not issued with birth certificates, or birth certificates are issued without an identification number; children often bear surnames different from the one of their parents; not being registered in the Department of Labour, UIF or South African Revenue Service (SARS) database, thus making it difficult for the SASSA to accurately verify their income and employment history. Migrants' documentation is often obtained fraudulently; [there is] a disintegrated government database; [there is] the risk that the provision of social assistance to refugees could act as a pull factor to migrate to South Africa, thus exerting more pressure on limited resources and capacity on the South African government" (Parliamentary Monitoring Group (PMG), 2012: 1).

3.7. Countries' experiences with social assistance programmes: Empirical studies

Baskets of conditional social assistance programmes were introduced in many countries of Latin America and South Asia and gradually proliferated in many other parts of the world. To list few, these include for example: the Brazilian *Bolsa Familia*; Mexican *Progresa*, later renamed *Oportunidades* (Jones et al., 2008; Chitolina et al., 2014, 2016); Colombian *Familias in action*; Nicaraguan *Protección social*; Indonesian Programme *Keluarga Harapan*; Chilean *innovative Solidario* programme; Jamaican Programme of Advancement of Health and Education; Scholarship Programme in Cambodia; Honduran Programme *a de Asignación Familiar* (Forteza & Langou, 2012; Glewwe & Kassouf, 2012); Zomba Cash Transfers in Malawi (Banerjee et al., 2015); Punjab Education Sector Reforms Programme in Pakistan; Challenging the Frontiers of Poverty Reduction –Targeting the Ultra Poor Programme, as well as the Social Safety Net Programme (SSNP) in Bangladesh (Rawlings & Rubio, 2005; Faith & Vinay, 2010; Rahman et al., 2011).

Various forms of unconditional social assistance initiatives were piloted and later scaled up including cash relief to the poor, non-contributory old age and disability grants. A few examples of such programmes include: India's National Rural Employment Guaranteed Schemes (Azam, 2012); South Africa's Social Grant Scheme (Haarman, 2003; Gomersall, 2013); Ethiopia's Productive Safety Net Programme (PSNP) (Devereux & Nzabamwita, 2018); and China's Minimum Living Standard Guarantee Scheme (Chen & Barrientos, 2006; Barrientos & Hulme, 2008).

In line with the afore-mentioned programmes, a large number of researchers in the welfare domain such as, (Farrington & Slater, 2006; Hall, 2006; Agüero et al., 2007; Molyneux, 2007; Jones et al., 2008; Soares et al., 2008; Armstrong & Burger, 2009; Kardan et al., 2010; Leibbrandt et al., 2010; Silva & Tavares, 2010; Smith, 2010; Van der Berg et al., 2010) reported on the implementation challenges of government social assistance to the poor and vulnerable households in relation to the fiscal financing and sustainability of the programmes. Other scholars (for example, Levine et al., 2011; Forteza & Langou, 2012; Gassmann et al., 2012; Glewwe & Kassouf, 2012) explored the beneficiaries' participation rate in the welfare programmes, while a range of other empirical studies by scholars like (Davis et al., 2012; Forteza & Langou, 2012; Gomersall, 2013; Ferrario, 2014; Banerjee et al., 2015; Davis & Ruthotto, 2015; Mabungu et al., 2015; Zureiqat & Shama, 2015) highlighted the merits and demerits of government transfers in smoothing consumption and ensuring households' minimum living standards at both global and regional levels as well as national contexts.

3.7.1. Social assistance programmes in the global context

In a global context, Hall (2006) and Forteza and Langou (2012) identified many implementation problems and challenges encountered in Brazil, which initially characterised this country's biggest social assistance scheme, the *Bolsa Família* (family grant) programme and its components, *Bolsa Escolar* (school allowance), *Bolsa Alimentação* (food allowance), *Cartão-Alimentação* (food card) and *Auxílio Gás* (cooking gas subsidy). These challenges include, poor beneficiary targeting; lack of government inter-ministerial coordination and synergies across different sectors; inadequate and inconsistent monitoring and evaluation; clientelism and tokenism; political bias; poor institutional arrangement; and weak accountability. Forteza and Langou (2012) and Chitolina et al. (2016) factored in all challenges and reported that the consolidation of all cash transfers under one umbrella of *Bolsa Família* did not have much impact, nor did they completely uplift households from poverty in urban areas. However, for rural areas they provided a cash injection into poor communities. This in

turn stimulated the local economy as the bulk of the money was spent on necessities such as school supplies and food. This is in contrast to popular criticism from media houses and opposition political parties' arguments that family grants in Brazil are wasted on things such as alcohol and illicit drugs.

Although Forteza and Langou's (2012) report, as elaborated above, indicated that the *Bolsa Familia* programme increased the proportion of shares spent on items such as education, food and clothing, four years earlier, in a study that used Propensity Score Matching Techniques (PSMT), Soares et al. (2008) found that Brazil's conditional *Bolsa Familia* programme had no significant effect on the aggregate level of households' consumptions. Instead, Glewwe and Kassouf (2012) found that *Bolsa Familia*'s school grants component – *Bolsa Escolar* – had a negative impact on school drop-out and a positive impact on grade promotion for the school-going children.

The impact of Brazil's *Bolsa Familia* programme somehow relates to that of other similar programmes in Latin America, such as Ecuador's *Bono Solidario*, Nicaragua's *Protection Sociale*, Mexico's *Oportunidades* or *Progresá* and Colombia's *Family in Action*. According to Chitolina et al. (2014; 2016), the evaluation indicated that none of the programmes led to discernible changes in labour participation, except for a reduction in working hours and a positive effect on the wages of men in Mexico. In this regard, Ferrario (2014) established that a change in wages affected hygiene, whereas according to Silva and Tavares (2010), it had significant effect on school attendance and purchase of utensils in the households.

In the same region, Jones et al. (2008) conducted an independent assessment and drew on document analysis and qualitative field research data from Latin America and the Caribbean, and ascertained that in spite of being historically politicised and plagued by a culture of dependency, corruption and leakage, Peru's *Juntos* conditional cash transfer programmes targeting children under the age of 14 promoted human capital development among children, it also helped to break life course and intergenerational transfer of poverty by facilitating households' capacity to ensure children's' access to adequate nutrition, healthcare and education.

Similar to Jones et al.'s (2008) findings, Molyneux (2007) revealed that the *Juntos* programme helped to address the vulnerability in the population of orphans, street children and victims of trafficking who were most affected by terrorism, turmoil and political violence. Furthermore, Jones, et al. (2008) reported that these programmes boosted self-confidence and enhanced the

social status and well-being of many beneficiaries, especially that they contributed to financial security, put less pressure on beneficiaries to work and migrate, as well as increasing women's bargaining power through the provision of the money that was used for income generation and self-sufficiency.

Relating to unconditional cash transfers, the Jordanian government run programmes through private-public partnership, and according to Zureiqat and Shama (2015) the research showed that despite the beneficiaries' extremely high level of satisfaction, the grants were mainly used to cover basic needs, and nothing was invested in the productive assets because recipients had no access to market networks. In contrast to the Jordanian financial assistance programmes, Gassmann et al. (2012) reported that in Georgia, the benefits of government grants extended beyond the consumption of the intended households, to training in computer skills for the internally displaced individuals, as well as providing language classes and better quality education for the children and youth of the local community, and according to Davis & Ruthotto (2015), this became important assets for job-hunting at times of high unemployment rates.

Similar to the Jordanian programmes, in a study commissioned by the World Food Programme (WFP), the United Nations (UN) in partnership with the International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI), in order to determine the relative effectiveness of cash and food transfer programmes in Bangladesh, Ahmed et al. (2016) reported that the safety nets programmes play an important role in improving food security and sustaining livelihood through protection and expansion of the asset base for the ultra-poor households (acquisition of livestock and poultry), has an effect on income (facilitation of renting and leasing, and strengthens access to microcredits, savings and loans, as well as other income-generating activities), provides development and training in literacy and numeracy and increases participants' awareness in nutritional, health, legal and social issues for the ultra-poor households to the chronically underfed and highly vulnerable to shocks population of Bangladesh.

3.7.2. Social assistance programmes in the African context

Contrary to most of the above cited studies, in Sub-Saharan Africa, using a simulation model to analyse data drawn from 15 African countries, Farrington and Slater (2006) reported that an increase in income by social grants does not suffice to increase school attendance. This led Farrington and Slater (2006) to conclude that for cash transfers to reduce poverty among the poor households, they would have to be sizeable, in the range of 2–8% of the gross domestic

product (GDP). However, similar studies, such as Davis et al. (2012) showed that in many countries, especially in Zambia, Malawi, Ethiopia, and Kenya, the programmes, particularly those that target children, were highly effective for reducing food insecurity and expanding the beneficiaries' accumulation of productive assets. The only exceptions, as reported by Banerjee et al. (2015) were in Malawi, Lesotho, and Ghana, and to a lesser extent in Tanzania where the cash transfers did not affect the amount of the budget spent on food.

In a study carried out by Agbaam (2013) to assess the impact of the Livelihood Empowerment Against Poverty (LEAP) social grant initiatives in the Tolon-Kumbungu district of the northern region of Ghana, using a combination of quantitative and qualitative approaches on rural communities, the study established that the LEAP social grants were significantly and positively linked with children's school enrolment rate (reduced grade repetition among both primary and secondary school-going children), food consumption (food security impact and happiness are larger and higher among female-headed households), and frequency of healthcare facility utilisation. Nonetheless, in related studies, Agbaam (2013) and Agbaam and Dinbabo (2014) revealed that social grants were not co-related to the child-labour incidence in the households that were benefitting from the LEAP programme in Ghana. These results are somehow similar to those from an earlier study in which Handa et al. (2013) collected information by using the participatory method on households participating in the LEAP programme. The study brought to the fore that social grants increased access to the National Health Insurance Scheme (NHIS); increased non-consumption expenditure, i.e., increased savings and reduced indebtedness, asset disinvestment and re-engagement with social networks; as well as positively affecting productivity through the beneficiaries' own labour.

In another study that assessed the impact of cash transfers on household welfare in Namibia, by not being robust to welfare variables that used income, Levine et al. (2011) pointed out that social grants did not affect or lead to behavioural changes in consumption, nor generate any external or general effect. Instead, in examining the relative effectiveness of cash and in-kind transfers, Farrington and Slater (2006) reported that cash transfers have larger positive effects on household welfare than food programmes of equivalent value in Ethiopia. In contrast to Ethiopia's experience, Bailey (2012) established that food transfers were more effective in conflict and volatile situations in Somalia.

In a study commissioned by the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) to compare and assess the use of money from the Zimbabwe Emergency Cash Transfer (ZECT), the UNICEF

(2010) discovered that there were no significant differences in spending and purchasing patterns between male- and female-headed households. However, further analysis by Roman (2010) showed that female-headed households tended to have more dependants and spent more on food items. A related study by Smith (2010) discovered that, although some cash was used to buy alcohol and cigarettes, the majority of beneficiaries prioritised basic food-stuff and basic non-food commodities. Regarding the issue of intra-household conflict, Kardan et al. (2010) reported that the ZECT helped to decrease tension at household level because women were accorded additional respect through the re-establishment and re-strengthening of their livelihoods and food security.

3.7.3. Social assistance programmes in the South African context

In the South African context, the study that evaluated the impact of social grants in alleviating household poverty, using the Income, Expenditure Survey Data of 1995, 2005/06, Bhorat et al. (2014) confirmed that the effectiveness of social transfers was not only limited to the poorest income earners, but also significantly contributed to the total income of households in the middle deciles. In a similar study that used the source of income decomposition technique, Armstrong and Burger (2009) remarked that the CSG played a pivotal role in children accessing school. Similar views were echoed by scholars such as Van der Berg et al. (2010) and Beukes et al. (2017) who concurred that despite eligibility problems, social grants improved school enrolment and hunger indicators.

In another study conducted under the auspices of the Southern Africa Labour and Development Research Unit (SALDRU), using data of a survey in a stratified random and racially segregated sample of 300 households (1,300 individuals) of the Langeberg municipality of the Western Cape Province, Case (2005) reported that the old age grant protects the health of all household members, especially the black people whose living conditions were affected by apartheid. Case (2005) further testified that social grants were used in upgrading households' facilities, and increased the probability of not skipping meals. Gomersall (2013) supported Case's view by emphasising that the CSG beneficiaries in poor families are significantly more likely to be enrolled at school than their older brothers and sisters. However, the earlier study by the Community Agency for Social Enquiry (CASE, 2008) established no major differences among children who receive social grants and children not receiving grants.

In a different study that used both bottom-up and top-down economic modelling approaches to document the household-level impact, Mabungu et al. (2014) reported that social grants are

invested into activities which increase the households' ability to generate revenues, and discourage detrimental coping strategies such as students dropping-out of school and increased risky income-generating activities such as commercial sex, begging, and theft. This was concurred by Leibbrandt et al. (2010) and Agüero et al. (2007) who observed that through inter-household economic and social support, the CSG is shared among household members. Similarly, according to Sayisi and Proudlock (2009, as cited in Wright et al., 2015), foster caregivers confirmed that families were using grants to pay for school uniforms, lunches, stationery, transport to and from school, and books. In addition, Patel et al. (2012) contended that social grants enhance women's power and control in household decision-making over finances. In light of this, grants, especially the CSG and OAG were found to be prominent in facilitating the ability of female households to migrate to areas of employment opportunities (Klasen & Woolard, 2009), leaving their children in the care of the grandmothers (Gomersall, 2013)

Furthermore, relating to health issues, according to the study that investigated the households' structure and composition and its impact on the spread of pandemics, Van der Berg et al. (2010) reported that the CSG, DG and FCG were crucial in mitigating the impact of HIV/AIDS in the affected households. However, given the high unemployment rate in South Africa, Natrass (2006) cautioned that some recipients of the DG may be induced to discontinue taking anti-retroviral treatment, to compromise their health in order to remain eligible.

In contrasting the proponents of government grants, Charles Murray in the 'underclass thesis' asserted that the poor and their failure are of their own making. Murray (1984; 1996) argued that there is a segment of the population whose socio-economic conditions are driven by their own behavioural failings, because they have little or no attachment to the labour market, nor value paid work, and those individuals are content to derive their income from the state. In Murray's view, those benefitting from welfare systems are undeserving, and are recipients by choice, not by necessity (Murray, 1996). From this argument of the underclass thesis, albeit not necessarily being opponents of government social transfers, some scholars (e.g., Booysen & Van der Berg, 2005; Posel et al., 2006; Johannsmeier, 2007; Williams, 2007; Potts, 2010; Surender et al., 2010; Wright et al., 2015) reported negative effects of the social grants. For instance, according to Surender et al. (2010) social security systems facilitate passivity and dependence among the poor, thus perpetuating poverty rather than alleviating it. Likewise, Potts (2010) added that the CSG, DG and OAG create a dependency syndrome, which discourages individuals from seeking employment or pursuing their own income avenues.

Based on the above criticism, Booysen and Van der Berg (2005) reported that in the case of the depth and severity of poverty in two Free State communities of South Africa, social transfers had a disincentive effect on employment and that the non-uptake in some cases was the highest among the poorest households. Furthermore, drawing on information from focus groups and in-depth interviews with female CSG recipients of working age, Wright et al. (2015) highlighted that the experience of using the CSG intrinsically erodes the dignity of adults who receive it on behalf of their children. They contend that many aspects of the system such as the application process, small amounts, as well as the negative discourse associated with the status of being grant recipients, are considered by many to be an erosion of dignity. Relating to the issue of dignity, Roelen (2019) concurred that poverty contributes to shameful experiences and produce stigma, in as much as the receipt of social assistance instigates shame and stigma and reinforces the poverty-induced shame in middle- and low-income countries.

In view of the above, Gomersall (2013: 533) stated that, “given the conditions faced by the poor recipients, grants are often diverted from their intended purpose; thus, its effect and benefits are diluted”. In this regard, based on research by the Studies in Poverty and Inequality Institute (SPII), Brockerhoff (2013) indicated that a greater proportion of grants are often used to repay loans. This supports the view of Williams (2007) who maintained that the injection of significant resources into poor households and grants has a negative impact on working-age individuals. In a similar vein, Johannsmeier (2007) confirmed that the DG recipients find little incentive to take up paid work, especially casual or temporary jobs where the labour-market wage is smaller than the grants. Posel et al. (2006) concurred that receipt of the OAG lowers the labour-market participation, mostly when the grant recipients in the households are female.

A synthesis of the literature that subscribes to the underclass thesis of Charles Murray (1984, 1996), indicated that there is a propensity for government cash transfers to affect people’s behaviour negatively and to produce unintended, adverse consequences. Interestingly, the preponderance of other studies showed a noticeable positive stride of both conditional, unconditional and targeted social grants on the wide spectrum of socio-economic conditions at citizens’ household level, such as elevating welfare and facilitating access to other social services. However, the problem is that in all the afore-mentioned research studies, the emphasis was on the countries’ citizens. Even if one was to believe that non-citizens were included in the sampled populations, conflating migrants and citizens in the income and expenditure household surveys and other income dynamics data from research institutions, without taking into consideration of the migration-specific vulnerabilities (see Table 2.2), is likely to produce

skewed results. Therefore, by linking the refugee legal framework with the welfare policy analysis, this study sought to present the basis on which social grants are analysed and to establish the potential impact of these grants on migrant livelihoods.

3.8. Chapter summary

This chapter was dedicated to social welfare policies, where social security was put into perspective. In expounding on the literature, the chapter demonstrated that social security evolved in many ways, as concepts such as social security, social protection and social welfare are widely and interchangeably used to mean initiatives or interventions that are designed to reduce poverty and vulnerability through diminishing or mitigating people's exposure to risks, and enhancing their capacity to protect against hazards, interruptions, and the loss of income.

The chapter further revealed that South African social security is a two-pillar system of social assistance and social insurance. On the one hand, the social assistance component, which is the focus of this study, consists of non-contributory, tax-financed, mostly means-tested social grants distributed to provide safety nets to the poor and the most deserving members of the population. These grants are the CSG, FCG, CDG, DG, GIA, OAG, WVG and SRODG, with a recent addition to the mix of the COVID-19 SRODG as a 6-month temporary measure for persons who lost income during the National State of Disaster which resulted in a nation-wide lockdown.

The social insurance prong, on the other hand, comprises the contributory state-managed funds and private occupational insurance schemes. The main state-managed funds include the Unemployment Insurance Fund (UIF), Road Accident Fund (RAF) and other compensation funds which provide additional income that is not necessarily meant to alleviate poverty, but rather to compensate for loss of income, damages and other pre-defined risks and events. The privately-managed funds include social insurance and occupational schemes provided to the vulnerable working population in the form of pension and retirement funds and cover other contingencies such as medical, maternity, illness and disability.

In the discussion, the chapter illustrated that initially, the South African social security system only served the objectives of the apartheid government of protecting the white population against various contingencies. However, post-1994 it underwent drastic changes and considerable reforms and a number of social welfare benefits were extended to the previously-excluded African, Coloured and Indian members of the population. The chapter briefly touched on a number of policy initiatives, such as the Reconstruction and Development Program (RDP),

Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) and the White Paper on Social Welfare, together with the Lund Committee and Taylor Committee Reports that guided the transformation process of social welfare policies in South Africa.

Regarding the administration of social assistance, a number of institutions were established. The South African Social Security Agency (SASSA) was created as a central and national agency to administer and manage the payment of social grants. The Inspectorate for Social Assistance (ISA) was established to ensure the integrity of the system, to investigate misconducts, and to combat leakage and fraud in the grant system. The Independent Tribunal for Social Assistance Appeals (ITSAA) was launched to adjudicate appeals for the rejected cases of social grants. The Internal Reconsideration Mechanism (IRM) was introduced to process and review cases from disgruntled and aggrieved social grant applicants and beneficiaries. On the delivery and payment of social grants, the chapter deliberated on the revamp which saw the SASSA implementing a new payment system of automation and digitisation and forming partnerships with commercial banks and retail outlets for the grant beneficiaries to access their money anywhere and anytime in South Africa. Another milestone and ground-breaking achievement in the South African social welfare provision landscape were the changes and amendments in the legislation which allowed for certain categories of migrants to access social assistance grants.

Regardless of all the above-mentioned initiatives, policy documents and changes, a plethora of literature in this chapter pointed to a number of shortcomings and challenges of the social assistance system in South Africa. Besides the challenges related to the administration and delivery of social grants that bedevil the South African social assistance system, there are also the requirements of means-testing and targeting that exclude many eligible applicants. In addition, there are challenges that are peculiar to migrants and their vulnerability.

Although some of the literature subscribing to the ‘underclass thesis’ pointed to the unintended consequences and pervasive effects of social transfers on the beneficiaries, the empirical evidence showed a general positive impact of both conditional and unconditional transfers on the wide spectrum of socio-economic conditions of beneficiaries across the globe, in Africa and in South Africa. Despite this positive effect, there remains a research gap in the literature and studies, where the aspects of migration have been under-played. Therefore, to provide a broader knowledge, close the gap and eliminate the flaws in the literature, the next chapter locates migration in the local and international social welfare systems.

CHAPTER FOUR – LOCATING INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION IN SOCIAL WELFARE SYSTEMS

4.1. Chapter overview

The decision to migrate is generally influenced by many factors, but the choice of a country of immigration is largely driven by the expectations that migrant welfare will be met in the country of destination. The provision of social welfare services to foreign nationals is in line with international conventions which require host nations to protect non-citizens against some contingencies. In South Africa, welfare services in the form of grants were expanded to certain categories of international migrants. This was the result of the country's constitutional imperatives, also in adherence to the international conventions, treaties and protocols that the government has ratified, signed, and acceded to. The purpose of this chapter is to theoretically locate migration in welfare policies and the rationale is therefore to explore national and international instruments designed to protect the rights of refugees, asylum seekers and migrants, as well as the legal space that defines their access to social welfare programmes. The first part of the chapter shows how different categories of migrants' rights are entrenched in various welfare regimes and social security systems.

The second part of the chapter provides an overview of the international and domestic regulatory frameworks that advocate the migrants' rights to social security. At the international level, the section starts with the discussion of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights document of 1948 and the African Convention on Protection of Refugees of 1951 and its Protocol of 1967. In the South African policy framework, the chapter describes two fundamental pieces of legislation governing the social protection of migrants, namely, the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (No. 108 of 1996) and the Refugees Act (No. 130 of 1998). The chapter ends by showing how these legislative frameworks should be premised on the humanitarian principle through the '*ubuntu* value system'.

4.2. The positioning of migration in social welfare policies

The relationship between migration and welfare services is framed around economic models of cost-benefit analysis in which a prospective migrant develops rational migratory strategies of minimising costs, risks and efforts, while optimising benefits and returns (Fuentes & Callejo, 2011). A number of scholars such as, (Borjas, 1994; 1999; Nannestad, 2007; Corrigan, 2010) explored many facets of economic migrants that interact with welfare systems, and they advanced a notion of 'self-reflection' from a welfare magnet theory which asserts that welfare

systems have great potential of stimulating migration flows. What this notion of self-reflection means is that there are several reasons why a person would embark on migration, but factors related to welfare services particularly influence the direction of migration and choice of that person's destination (Zimmermann & Bauer, 2002). In other words, in a welfare magnet theory the decision of a rational migrant to relocate to another country is usually influenced by the possibilities of receiving some forms of social welfare assistance (Borjas, 1994; 1999; Nannestad, 2007).

From a behavioural standpoint, Borjas (1999) and Corrigan (2010) argued that prior to migrating, prospective migrants gather information and shop around to identify and ascertain countries with the best deals and highest welfare benefits with easy eligibility rules as well as liberal immigration policies (welfare states). From this perspective, the relative generosity of welfare states, possibilities of accessing welfare benefits and other social services, as well as the country's social welfare policies are the most important elements of a migrant's decision of destination country, that act as 'pull factors of migration' (Fuentes & Callejo, 2011). The implication of the welfare magnet hypothesis is that the low-skilled migrants go for 'welfare shopping', and are more likely to migrate to more generous countries where they will receive benefits from the existing programmes (Borjas, 1994; 1999). When stated differently, Borjas (1999) and Jakubiak (2019) argued that more generous welfare countries should expect a greater number of migrants, and welfare arrangement attracts migrants who are more likely to be prone to welfare dependency syndrome.

In addition to the above, Borjas (1999) and Jakubiak (2019) used the welfare magnet principle to justify the reasons why foreign-born migrants benefitting from welfare programmes prefer to stay permanently in the welfare states after migrating. They then formulated a model with four factors that propel a person to migrate or to return home, namely the '**pull and stay, push and stay away** model'. While the former two elements of that model are those favourable welfare conditions and services or positive incentives that encourage a person to migrate and remain in the country of destination, the latter two refer to those negative factors that repel migrants to go back or cause those persons not to leave their home country (Jakubiak, 2019). The implication of the 'pull and stay, push and stay away model' is that in migration and welfare studies, countries with better welfare services and amenities attract migrants who otherwise would not have considered to migrate to a particular country in the first place, and

the availability of welfare benefits or programmes would discourage migrants from returning to their countries of origin.

The magnet effect of welfare accounts for the variations in migration types, and as stated earlier, its validity largely depends on the type of migrants, e.g., forced or voluntary migrants and their prospect of inclusion in the welfare programmes, together with the consideration of other factors such as host country's commitment and openness of immigration policies, humanitarianism and welfare policies (Ponce, 2019). Based on these variations, Favell (2008) and Jesse (2014) clustered migrants into two types: the 'wanted migrants' and the 'unwanted or welfare migrants'. The wanted migrants are not attracted by the welfare benefits, because they are generally the youthful economic migrants who are likely to have high levels of skills and their migratory movement is voluntary and often motivated by income maximisation behaviour (Jesse, 2014).

On the other hand, the unwanted migrants consist of refugees and people seeking asylum. They are migrants, forced by security concerns, with welfare prone-behaviour, who often tend to be a burden to the state. They are refugees, who are inactive in the labour market and include a vulnerable group of people such as single persons, old people, disabled persons, and children. They are people with the highest welfare participation rate as they easily pass the income means-testing (Bose, 2011). In spite of their high uptake rate of welfare benefits, Corrigan (2010) argued that when forced migrants are properly integrated into the labour markets, they contribute more to the economies of the host countries than what they take away because they provide precarious labour and perform jobs that are refused by natives – jobs that some scholars (Favell, 2008; Bloom & Fieldman, 2011; Moyce & Schenker, 2018) refer to as the three Ds, i.e., dirty, dangerous, and dull.

Migrants' access to social welfare benefits usually depends on the host government's immigration policies, political decisions on how the social rights of non-nationals are protected (generosity level), and how institutionalised the social protection system of the country is. Some countries use welfare to control and manage migration, i.e., to decide who to let into their territory and be allowed to stay or who is to be sent back home. On the basis of countries' generosity, some scholars such as (Holzmann et al., 2005; Gentilini, 2009; Sabates-Wheeler & Koettl, 2010) observed that in extending welfare benefits to foreign nationals, countries apply welfare services differently across various types of migrant populations. These scholars then formulated a typology of migration and welfare consisting of four stylised welfare models,

namely: absence of welfare system, element of welfare system, emerging welfare system, and consolidated welfare system.

According to Sabates-Wheeler and Koettl (2010) and Avato et al. (2010) the emerging and consolidated welfare regimes are the most favourable and accommodating in terms of formalising social protection of international migrants. Countries with emerging welfare models have well-established formal welfare policies and strategies, but are in the process of institutionalising welfare programmes and improving coordination, coverage and flexibility (Gentilini, 2009; Avato et al., 2010, Deacon et al., 2015; Isakjee, 2017). In emerging welfare countries, all legal migrants are included in the social security system to the extent that recognised refugees receive full services, while asylum seekers receive minimal assistance that allows them to survive (Sabates-Wheeler & Koettl, 2010; Deacon et al., 2015).

In contrast to emerging welfare countries, in countries with a consolidated welfare model, social protection systems are fully institutionalised and social assistance is funded by the central government and provided mostly in the form of transfers (Sabates-Wheeler & Koettl, 2010). Holzmann et al. (2005) and Archer (2015) argued that countries with a consolidated welfare regime are among the top migrant destinations because they exemplify democratic values where both legal and undocumented migrants who face greater challenges in the unregulated labour market, have access to social services.

In both emerging and consolidated welfare systems, the governments devote a larger proportion of the gross domestic product (GDP) to social service expenditure, and the presence of migrants threatens the redistribution of welfare benefits to the poor citizens, as migrants are more likely than citizens of the host countries to be welfare recipients (Borjas, 1999; Brücker et al., 2002). This has resource implications as resources are diverted away from the citizens to assist migrants. Likewise, in these countries, migration drains money from national coffers, which leads to the socio-economic marginalisation of migrants. In countries with emerging and consolidated welfare regimes, the redistributive criteria for welfare benefits include that apart from the legal residence status which automatically qualifies refugees and other categories of long-term stayers to apply, other migrants categorised by specific functions and length of stay such as temporary workers, students, and tourists, do not qualify to access social assistance services (Hong, 2018).

Whether migrants are wanted or unwanted and choose their destinations on the basis of wealth of information that they have on available welfare benefits and services or for safety concerns, it is obvious that on the one side of the spectrum, migration is beneficial when migrants come with skills from their native countries. On the other side of the spectrum, migration is detrimental to the economy of the migration-receiving countries, especially when migrants are attracted by welfare benefits, because welfare-induced migration drives up social expenditure in the open-migration welfare regimes (Sainsbury, 2006; Fenwick, 2017). In addition, in several welfare states that provide social benefits to foreign-born migrants there has been a significant rise in anti-immigration sentiments from the citizens or general opposition from welfare chauvinists, who argue that social spending should be limited to only native-born citizens and that migrants should not have similar access to welfare services as the local population (Eger & Breznau, 2017). The anti-immigration populism and attitudes prompted Andersen et al. (2007: 2) to develop a political notion in what they coined as the “welfare nationalism” or “welfare chauvinism”. This welfare nationalism is a gross violation of migrants’ social rights to social protection. It is also in contrast to the international standards that guarantee the rights of access to the social services in the immigration countries, as discussed in the following section.

4.3. Regulatory and policy framework for migrants’ social protection

Social protection programmes have been endorsed as a prerogative and effective instrument to create an equitable society and achieve the United Nations Millennium Development Goal (MDG) of poverty reduction (Ulriksen & Plageron, 2016). Extending social services and providing safety nets to migrants promote social inclusion and dignity. The practice of providing social assistance to migrants is also grounded on Rawls’ social justice theory as discussed in chapter two. In addition, it is founded on the principle of international ethical framework which the South African government has ratified.

In view of the above, various instruments in the form of conventions, charters, protocols, codes, resolutions and treaties towards the promotion and provision of adequate social protection to non-citizens have been drafted, concluded, signed and ratified (Nyeti et al., 2007). In a similar vein, a great deal of binding documents in the form of declarations, guidelines and minimum rules pertaining specifically to social security issues of different categories of stateless persons exist (Nyeti et al., 2007).

The treaties, conventions and declarations have no legal binding effect on the social rights of migrants in the host countries, rather they constitute the highest level of standards of social protection to international migrants which have been agreed upon by many countries around the globe (Holzmann et al., 2005; Brickenstein, 2015). In addition, they put in place checks and balances for countries to use in the quest for equality between citizens and non-citizens. In the wake of this, the conventions and declarations on the protection of migrants have a significant purpose of regulating discrimination on the basis of nationality, defining and determining state social obligations towards migrants in its jurisprudence and set guidelines for national government social policies and their actions (Brickenstein, 2015). Therefore, they act as an umbrella that influences and guarantees a set of social rights, particularly rights pertaining to access to basic social services of foreign nationals in the host countries at both international and local levels (Nyeti et al., 2007; Brickenstein, 2015). On international level, just to name a few, these conventions and declarations include the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the African Charter on Human and People's Rights, and the African Convention on the Protection of Refugees.

4.3.1. International legislations governing the social protection of migrants

4.3.1.1. Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948 (UDHR)

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights document was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 1948 after the Second World War. The document is based on the premises that “all persons, by virtue of humanity and dignity, should enjoy their fundamental human rights and states should strive to achieve that objective” (Lamarche, 2014). It also sets out the fundamental human rights to be universally and globally protected.

Although the declaration is not a legally binding document, Nyeti et al. (2007) and Dolinger (2016) observed that the UDHR document has become part and parcel of the jurisprudential system of many civilised nations, and has attained the status of international law as various governments and authorities, including the South African government, approved its provisions, norms, purpose and preamble in order to provide a common understanding on the human rights, fundamental freedoms, and the common standards of achievements for all people living across the country.

The UDHR document advocates for the welfare of migrants, and its Article 22 articulates social protection as follows:

Everyone, as a member of society, has the right to social security and is entitled to its realisation through national effort and international co-operation and in accordance with the organisation and resources of each state, of the economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for his dignity and the free development of his personality (Brickenstein, 2015: 7; Plagerson & Ulriksen, 2015: 3).

In addition, the same document caters for other areas of social security, specifically and especially enshrining the social rights everyone, including migrants, as prescribed below:

Everyone has the rights to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control (Van Rensburg, 1997: 23).

Furthermore, the declaration provides special recognition to children and other vulnerable groups such as women, elderly and disabled individuals, specifically guaranteeing their entitlement to “special care and social assistance”. It ensures that children and their families live in dignity and their income supplemented by many means, including social protection (Van Rensburg, 1997).

The UDHR document gave rise to the Copenhagen Declaration on Social Development and Programme of Action, which was signed by more than 118 world leaders, including the then South African President Nelson Mandela in 1995 at the World Summit for Social Development (International Institute for Sustainable Development (IISD), 1995). The Copenhagen Declaration contains significant commitments that set forth a process and basic framework that places people at the centre of sustainable development (IISD, 1995). It calls on heads of state and government leaders to prioritise social integration and tackle the problem of discrimination, by investing in the eradication of poverty, improving human well-being, promoting cooperation, and fostering full integration in order to achieve safe, just and stable societies for all people, regardless of their origin (Correll, 2008).

Further to the social development commitments, the South African government acceded to another soft law on the International Covenant on Economic and Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) of 1996 which requires the states to provide social security to everyone. According to Nyeti et al. (2007) the ICESCR purports that:

The state organs and parties must undertake this obligation individually or through international assistance or cooperation, in order to realise access to social security in a progressive manner and to the maximum extent of the available resources (Nyeti et al., 2007: 9).

The covenant spells out specific rules of equality for developing countries like South Africa, hence Article 2 (3) of the ICESCR states that:

Developing countries with due regards to human rights and dignity, in their national economies, may decide and determine to what extent they would guarantee the economic rights recognised in the present covenant to non-nationals (Nyeti et al., 2007: 10).

Despite the fact that the UDHR advocates for the social right of migrants, it has been criticised for applying an abstract language in dealing with the issues of human rights and for not being a binding and enforceable document by the signatory states (Donnelly, 1986); for universalising human rights and entitlements between developing and developed nations (Bendick, 1996; Woods et al., 2006); for constricting its focus and delimiting its attention in the preamble (Hickey & Du Toit, 2007; Gerber, 2011); and for applying a top-down approach in the implementation of its main tenets (Matas, 2000; Gerber, 2011).

In the face of the criticisms against the UDHR document, Gerber (2011) and Morten-Broberg and Sano (2018) highlighted that both the UDHR and ICESCR constitute what is informally known as an “International Bill of Rights” as they advocate for a host of rights and entitlements that citizens of a country, including migrants, must enjoy. In fact, on refugee rights, without distinguishing between asylum seekers and refugees, Edwards (2005) and Morten-Broberg and Sano (2018) argued that the UDHR makes specific references to a fundamental freedom to a secure society, adequate standards of living, as well as the realisation of civil entitlements which became the foundation and set in motion the drafting and formulation of the African Convention on Protection of Refugees and Stateless Persons and the African Charter on Refugee Rights.

4.3.1.2. African Convention on Protection of Refugees of 1969

The 1969 African Convention on Protection of Refugees and Stateless Persons is the Organisation of the African Unity’s (the OAU, later renamed the African Union (AU)) convention that governs various aspects of refugee problems on the African continent. The convention is based on the 1951 Geneva Refugee Convention relating to the refugee status and

its 1967 Protocol on stateless persons. In the 1969 Convention, the terms ‘refugees’ and ‘stateless persons’ are used interchangeably, but they differ. According to Foster et al (2016), in both the 1951 and 1969 conventions, a refugee is defined as a person with a well-founded fear to return to his or her home country, and that person is not willing to avail him- or herself for the protection of the country of origin, while a stateless person, on the other hand, is a person not considered as a national by any state under the operation of its laws (Foster et al., 2016).

The Convention of 1951 is a rights-based protection instrument underpinned by the humanitarian principles of non-discrimination against refugees on the basis of their race, gender, nationality or religion. It requires governments to provide protection to all people classified as ‘forced migrants’ who live within the ambit of their borders. Nyeti et al. (2007) and Foster et al. (2016) re-iterated that conventions governing refugees and stateless persons not only prohibit discrimination against refugees and other non-nationals on the basis of their status, but also require state parties to provide social assistance benefits to refugees and other non-nationals on a par with citizens. From this vantage point, the whole of chapter five of the Refugee Convention of 1969 articulates the issues of public relief and social security in terms of rationing, housing, public relief, and social assistance. As such, its Article 23 makes the following provision:

Refugees should have the same rights as citizens and receive the same treatment as nationals when it comes to issues of public relief and social assistance (Makhema, 2009: 16).

Another significant contribution to the protection of refugees and stateless persons was the introduction of the African Charter on Human and People’s Rights, which was unanimously adopted by the OAU in 1981, and then acceded to by the South African government in 1996, as the result of the growing need for regional development and standardisation of international human rights (Mujuzi, 2009a; 2009b). Although the Charter does not directly guarantee the rights to social welfare, it makes references to migrants’ rights that are regarded as specific contingencies to social security (Rose, 1985). In fact, Article 18 (1) of the African Charter on Human and People’s Rights places responsibilities and duties on the state and its parties to treat and protect families as the basis and unit of society, and its Article 18 (40) requires the state to ensure that the rights of the aged and disabled are protected with the view of keeping their physical and moral needs (Makhema, 2009).

Within the human rights systems and pro-poor development strategies, under the auspices of the African Union, 13 countries, including South Africa, met and signed a regional instrument dubbed the ‘Livingstone call for action’ document on social security and safety nets in 2006, in which a call was issued to adopt social policies for the protection of human rights and human security of the poor (Schubert et al., 2006; Hagen, 2009). In this intergovernmental conference, states were also urged to utilise more social protection cash transfers in promoting growth and reducing poverty among vulnerable migrant groups (Slater & McCord, 2009). As a result, governments committed to improving the implementation of social transfers and integrating social assistance interventions in their national development plans and budgets in a way that the rights of marginalised and disadvantaged groups such as migrants are upheld and their living standards improved (African Union, 2006; Schubert et al., 2006).

4.3.2. Legislations governing social protection of migrants in South Africa

In South Africa, rights to access social assistance is one of the fundamental socio-economic rights, such as access to other social services like healthcare service, rights of access to sufficient food and water, rights to education, rights to adequate housing, and rights of children’s access to basic nutrition, shelter and other basic social services. A number of scholars (e.g., Nyeti et al., 2007; Deacon et al., 2015; Kavuro, 2015; 2018) affirmed that the provision of social services to non-South Africans is generally backed-up by many over-arching pieces of legislation, chief among them being the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa and the Refugees Act.

4.3.2.1. Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (No. 108 of 1996)

The South African constitution is the supreme law of the country that guides all conducts. The obligations and other legislation imposed by it in the provision of social grants must be fully fulfilled and comply with the constitution (Scalabrini Centre, 2020; Southern African Legal Information Institute (SAFLII), 2020). It also regulates the way in which all other international standards must be incorporated into the South Africa social protection system (SAFLII, 2020). Chapter Two of the South African Constitution, Section 27(1)(c) entrenches the ‘Bill of Rights’ which guarantees many rights to all, including international migrants who live in South Africa (RSA, 1996). This section confers the rights to social security and social assistance to everyone – South African citizens and non-citizens alike, who live within the boundaries of the country. It stipulates that, “... everyone has the right to have access to social security, including

appropriate social assistance for those unable to support themselves and their families” (RSA, 1996).

Chapter Two of the constitution further states that, “... the state should take reasonable legislative and other measures, within its available resources, to achieve the progressive realisation of the social rights” (RSA, 1996).

In the South African Constitution, only two sets of rights in the Bill of Rights are restricted to the citizens of South Africa. That includes political rights (as outlined in Section 19 of the Constitution), and freedom of trade, occupation and profession (as outlined in Section 22 of the Constitution) (RSA, 1996). According to Kavuro (2015; 2018) political rights entail, among other things: the right to support, form or join a political party; the right to vote or stand for political office.

In a broader sense, the South Africa Constitution is progressive and transformative in nature. For this reason, the constitutional obligation to provide social grants is seen from a human rights perspective, and is regulated by primary statutes, including (to name a few) the Social Security Agency Act (No. 9 of 2004), which makes provision for the management, administration and payment of social assistance on behalf of the Department of Social Development (DSD); the Social Assistance Act (No. 13 of 2004) and its regulations, which provide a national legislative framework for different types of social grants (in respect of payment and eligibility conditions); the Social Service Profession Act (No. 10 of 1978), which protects and promotes beneficiaries’ interests as well as sets out the code of conduct for social service providers (DSD, 2011: 12-14). Similarly, the rights of access to social assistance have been formalised in other laws, such as: The Children’s Act (No. 38 of 2005); the Maintenance Act (No. 99 of 1998) (Ulriksen & Plageron, 2016); the Older Persons Act (No. 13 of 2006); the Unfair Discrimination Act (No. 4 of 2000); and the Disaster Management Act (No. 57 of 2000) (RSA, n.d.). In the context of migration and welfare, another relevant piece of legislation under the regulatory jurisdiction of the constitution that validates the provision of social assistance to refugees and asylum seekers in South Africa, is the Refugees Act of 1998 (RSA, 1998; Deacon et al., 2015).

4.3.2.2. South African Refugees Act (No. 130 of 1998)

The purpose of the drafting of the Refugees Act was to give effect to the international treaties, constitutional requirements and human rights laws. It was primarily enacted to recognise the dignity of asylum seekers and refugees and to reject the past discriminatory history, in which

people of colour – both citizens and non-citizens – were subjected to human degradation and humiliation (International Organization for Migration (IOM, 2013). Through ensuring equal access to social services, when it was designed, the intentions were to mitigate or solve problems related to destitution and desperation that refugees and asylum seekers suffer from, prior to and after migrating to South Africa (IOM, 2013; Kavuro, 2018). Although the initial Refugees Act 130 of 1998 was amended several times, i.e., in 2008, 2011 and 2015, the amendments and changes have not entirely eroded the rights of international migrants classified as ‘forced migrants’ in South Africa, but rather realigned it with the Immigration Act of 2002 and to embrace immigrants in the country’s long-term perspective and vision contained in the National Development Plan (NDP) 2030. The International Organization for Migration (IOM, 2013) reported:

The Refugees Act is still primarily guided by key policies and documents and integrated in the National Development Plan Vision of 2030 which stipulates that, ‘if properly managed, migration is beneficial and would serve as an instrument to fill the gap in the South African labour market and serves as an impetus to drive the economy as well as positively contributing to the development of the country’. To achieve this, the National Strategic Plan requires the South African government to control and manage the country’s borders and to consider international migrants as key population whose intolerance and violence against should be eradicated and addressed in a proper and decisive manner (IOM, 2013: 16).

Equally important to emphasise, is that the Refugees Act regulates refugees and asylum seekers’ rights and government’s obligations in South Africa. It also provides for the reception of asylum seekers, regulates the refugee status application process, the recognition of refugees, and the type of documents to be issued to them. With regard to the rights, the Refugees Act gives rise to other pieces of legislation and is consistent with the Bill of Rights, as contained in Section 27(1)(c) of the Constitution. It also gives effect to the relevant international legal instruments, standards and principles, covenants, protocols, declarations relating to the protection of refugees and asylum seekers that the South African government has acceded to, and also provides for the rights and obligations and all matters connected to the protection of refugees.

In view of the Bill of Rights, foreign nationals who have been granted refugee status in South Africa enjoy full protection and qualify for the socio-economic rights entrenched in the

Constitution, including the rights of access to social assistance and those that are set out in Chapter Two of the Constitution, excluding some political rights if they are unable to support themselves and their dependants (Deacon et al., 2015; Kavuro, 2018). Refugees are also categories of non-citizens who are guaranteed rights to employment, and are entitled to the same basic health services and basic primary education on the same basis as South Africans and permanent residents (Kavuro, 2015; 2018).

Although the Refugees Act does not make provision which allows asylum seekers to enjoy a wide spectrum of rights while waiting for refugee status determination, they are not confined or held in camps, but are allowed to settle anywhere in the country and integrate in the local community, and under special arrangements and circumstances are entitled to some social economic rights such as the right to work, to study, to access basic healthcare services (Landau 2006; Nyeti et al., 2007), and to access a limited number of social grants in case of emergency, including the COVID-19 SRODG (Scalabrini Centre, 2020, SAFLII, 2020).

Despite being a pro-urban policy that encourages refugees and asylum seekers' self-settlement and self-integration (Kavuro, 2015; 2018), numerous challenges have been reported and a number of criticisms have been levelled against the Refugees Act. For example, Landau (2006) argued that although the Act spells out refugees' rights to protection and documentation, the South African government has failed to enact specialised systems to provide for such. Furthermore, the Act does not make provision for elderly refugees and asylum seekers (Landau, 2006; Handmaker et al., 2008). In addition, the Refugees Act is vague in articulating the rights of disabled individuals and unaccompanied minors. Handmaker and Parsley (2001) and Handmaker et al. (2008) therefore contended that the government sees no obligation or compulsion to provide specialised assistance to vulnerable forced migrant groups. Equally, due to the vagueness of the Act, as reported by the above scholars (e.g., Landau, 2006; Handmaker & Parsley, 2001; Handmaker et al., 2008), the vulnerable groups are susceptible to exploitation and likely to get less protection from the government (Makhema, 2009; Hungwe, 2013; Crush et al., 2017).

4.3.2.3. Ubuntu value system

Migrants' rights to access social services should not only be viewed within the policy and institutional framework. The fact is that the Minister of Social Development in South Africa has prerogative power and executive authority vested in the ministerial position to extend social assistance to anyone deemed "vulnerable and poor" including migrants who are not covered

by the Refugees Act and other legislation (Southern African Legal Information Institute (SAFLII), 2020; Scalabrini Centre, 2020). This must rather be premised on the humanitarian principle in conjunction with the ‘African *ubuntu* value system’. The term *ubuntu* can literally be translated as ‘humanness’ and it is a dignity-based approach which espouses foundational values and fundamental characteristics of an open and democratic society (Bergh & Theron, 2010; Metz, 2014). The notion of *ubuntu* captures a wide array of a person’s rights to civil liberties, political power, procedures, and economic resources (Brewster et al., 2008; Metz, 2014). It also engages different actors and embraces human rights and dignity (Cobbah, 1987; Mkabela, 2005).

The *ubuntu* value system underpins the objectives of the South African Constitution and its various sections on human dignity, equality and freedom (Van Rensburg & Lamarche, 2005: 179). For instance, in the 14 chapters of the Constitution of South Africa, the founding provisions and its preamble elaborate on the *ubuntu* values of dignity and equality. It also includes the Bill of Rights, which does not only protect the rights of South African citizens, but of all people who live in the country (RSA, 1996). When stated differently, this means that the *ubuntu* value system includes achieving freedom, human dignity and equality, as well as promoting fundamental human rights, avoiding all forms of discrimination on the grounds of race, gender, and nationality (RSA, 1996).

Relating to social protection, Kavuro (2015; 2018) argued that *ubuntu* should be seen as superior to positive law, which recognises migrants’ enjoyment of socio-economic rights, inalienable to humanity (Kavuro, 2018). For that reason, *ubuntu* is a unifying motive for social protection, since its importance is described in the White Paper on Social Welfare as the essential and basic human rights that all persons in South Africa must enjoy, and the provision of the social grants must be based upon these rights (RSA, 1997). In simple terms, the *ubuntu* value system should be a guiding principle of a developmental social welfare state like South Africa, since Principle 24 in Chapter Two of the White Paper on Social Welfare acknowledges the humanity and *ubuntu* value system, as stipulated below:

The principle of caring for each other’s well-being will be promoted, and a spirit of mutual support fostered. Each individual’s humanity is ideally expressed through his or her relationship with others and theirs in turn through a recognition of the individual’s humanity. *Ubuntu* means that people are people, through other people. It also

acknowledges both the rights and the responsibilities of every citizen in promoting individual and societal well-being (RSA, 1997).

In accordance to the practice of *ubuntu*, the Southern Africa Social Protection Experts Network (SASPEN, 2015) identified other dignity-based fundamental principles which are consistent with the international laws and provide guideposts for legislative and policy actions when extending social security and safety nets to foreign nationals. These are: universality, equality in treatment, accessibility and sustainability, and credibility. Against this backdrop, *ubuntu* values human life and dignity, and it is correct to argue that the provision of social assistance and social welfare benefits to the vulnerable and poor migrants in South Africa should be based on humanitarian grounds and, the *ubuntu* value system should supersede all other pieces of legislation.

4.4. Chapter summary

International migration and social welfare programmes are intrinsically linked, and this chapter used the notion of ‘self-reflection’ taken from the ‘welfare hypothesis theory’, to show how a prospective migrant subconsciously conducts a cost-benefit analysis and decides on the country of destination based on the possibilities that he or she will receive social welfare assistance. In this model, migrants were clustered into the ‘wanted or economic migrants and the ‘unwanted or forced migrants. The unwanted migrants comprise refugees and asylum seekers and other vulnerable groups who are inactive in the labour market, such as the disabled, elderly persons and children – people with welfare proneness-behaviour, i.e., likely to easily pass the income means-testing in the country of immigration.

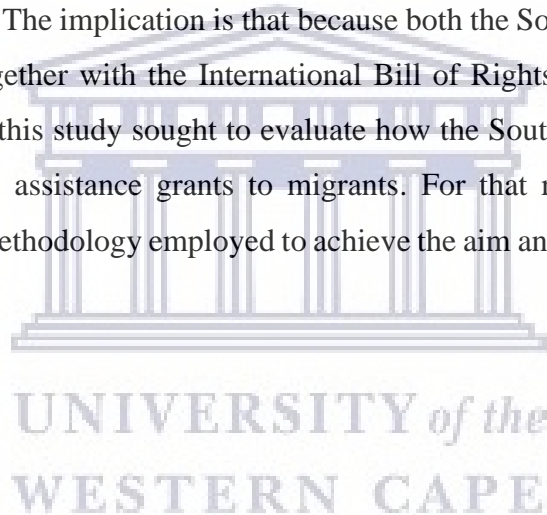
In positioning migration in welfare services, the chapter used a fourfold typology of migration and welfare in which, based on the generosity towards migrants, countries were classified into four welfare regimes. Countries with a consolidated welfare system attract more welfare migrants, are considered to be ‘welfare states’ because they have a fully institutionalised social protection system, their social assistance grants are centrally funded and provided as cash transfers to all types of migrants facing challenges in the unregulated labour market or struggling to access social services.

The chapter further outlined and discussed the international and national regulatory frameworks under which the promotion, protection and provision of migrants’ rights towards social assistance are enshrined. In the global context, the South African government endorsed and became signatory to what is informally called the ‘International Bill of Rights’ which

includes the UDHR, ICESCR and the African Convention on Protection of Refugees of 1969 and its Protocol of 1967.

In the context of South Africa, the provision of social protection to migrants is backed up by the Constitution of South Africa of 1996, in Section 27 (1) (c) of the Bill of Rights, which confers the rights to social security and social assistance to everyone who lives in the country. The Refugees Act gives effect to other conventions, charters, protocols and treaties relevant to the protection of refugees and asylum seekers in South Africa.

In addition, the chapter argued that the provision of social assistance and welfare benefits to the poor and vulnerable migrants in South Africa should not only be viewed in the written legal and institutional frameworks, but must rather also be premised on the humanitarian principle of the “*ubuntu value system*”, which is a dignity-based approach that should supersede all the other pieces of legislation. The implication is that because both the South African Constitution and the Refugees Act, together with the International Bill of Rights are underpinned in the *ubuntu* value system, and this study sought to evaluate how the South African government is faring in providing social assistance grants to migrants. For that reason, the next chapter discusses the design and methodology employed to achieve the aim and objectives of the study.



CHAPTER FIVE – RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

5.1. Chapter overview

In social science research many approaches are used to investigate a problem, and the most important thing is to first specify clearly what one wants to study, then determine the best possible way to do it. The overall aim of this study is to assess the manner in which government social assistance grants intersect with urban migrant livelihoods in South Africa, and this chapter discusses the research design and methodology. The purpose of the chapter is to present the research process employed throughout the study, specifically elucidating how the methodology unfolded in practice from fieldwork, data capturing to data analysis.

The chapter starts by describing the methodology, then proceeds to providing details of the studied population, sampling criteria and the rationale behind the selection of the sample. The chapter highlights the instruments used for data collection. It also covers the process of data analysis and presentation techniques used in the study. Finally, the chapter outlines the ethical considerations and limitations that the researcher encountered during the course of the study.

5.2. Research design

The key tactical issue in any study is deciding on the way in which research will be carried out and how data will be analysed and presented, and this decision usually involves the choice of design and methodology (Mouton, 2001; Bryman, 2012). Although research design and methodology often seem to mean the same thing and, in many cases, are used interchangeably, these two concepts are distinct and form different dimensions of research as the research design focuses on the logic of the research, while methodology consists of the research process (Babbie & Mouton, 2001b; Neuman, 2006).

Research design is an overall plan for scientifically finding an answer of a problem. This means that research design is a strategy selected by the researcher to integrate different components of the study in a logical and coherent manner (Mouton, 2001; Henning et al., 2007). In other words, Rowley (2002) and Neuman (2006) contended that research design is a procedural and architectural blueprint for conducting research, which controls how one intends to conduct the study and the process to follow in choosing the subjects, research sites and data collection procedures in order to answer the research questions. In nutshell, according to Creswell (2009: 22) research design is “the main, strategic and structured framework that brings together worldviews or assumptions about research, specific inquiry and research methods”.

There are many variations of research designs or strategy alternatives that one could use in social science studies, including action research, ethnographical, cross-sectional, experimental, cohort, descriptive, historical, longitudinal, sequential, comparative, and case study (Mouton, 2001; Babbie & Mouton, 2001a; Bryman, 2012). Since this study sought to evaluate the impact of social assistance grants on the livelihoods of migrants, its design is a case study integrating descriptive design. The adoption of descriptive design in a case study was primarily motivated by the fact that descriptive research describes phenomena accurately through narration, classifies and measures relationships, and affords a scientific opportunity to observe, and then describes the events or situations as observed (Mabry, 2008; Bryman, 2012).

Another reason for the choice of descriptive design is because, as argued by Mabry (2008: 214) “descriptive research is very broad and encompasses several other design settings such as exploratory design”. Exploratory studies employ an open, flexible and inductive approach to look for new insights into the phenomena, and then provide a basic familiarity into the situation (Babbie & Mouton 2001a; Gerson & Horwitz, 2002). Thus, a combination of descriptive and exploratory designs makes it easy for the researcher to delve into a research procedure, i.e., from investigating the relatively unknown areas or aspects of the research to discovering, establishing and interpreting facts (Mouton, 2001; Durrheim, 2002).

Further to exploration and description, as stated earlier, a case study design was adopted in this research. Scholars such as Babbie and Mouton (2001b), Durrheim (2002), and Glesne (2005) posited that a case study design is not only a normative way to scrutinise the demographics and statistics of a case, such as how many people are involved and affected, what are the indicators of impact, and how closely are their experiences and perceptions related, but it is in fact, an intensive method of investigating a complex situation without prejudice. This means that a case study is ideal to narrow down a very broad field of research into one or a few easily researchable examples. From this vantage point, case study research design is useful when less is known about a phenomenon, and can potentially be used in testing whether a specific theory and model actually applies to phenomena in the real world (Glesne, 2005).

In addition, a case study provides a comprehensive understanding of the situation and extensive description and analysis of that situation through its context and relevance (Yin, 1984; 2003). This enables the researcher involved in a case study to intensively examine multiple variables and to understand the influence between research objects, i.e., units of study and social systems as well as their interactions from multi-level and behaviour perspectives. From the interaction

standpoint, Mouton (2001) and Babbie & Mouton (2001a; 2001b) observed that the unit of analysis in the case study could be individual or multiple individual units such as families, households, a community or segments of the community or a country in general. Yin (1984) argued that the type of case study research designs deal with the studies of interaction between social groups, their patterns, activities, roles, relationships, and best practices, together with the interventions, programme implementation, evaluation, and processes of changes in the community.

Case study research designs have been profoundly criticised for providing a weak basis for the generalisation of research findings to a larger area. Despite this criticism, in the context of this study, a case study of migrant households that receive social grants is used and the rationale behind its use is because, as argued by Neuman (2000), Mouton (2001), Yin (2003), and Mabry (2008), a case study incorporates the exploratory and descriptive designs together, hence giving it an added advantage of accommodating both qualitative and quantitative methodologies. In addition, the researcher of this study believes that the exploratory and descriptive case-based approach would help to unearth the socio-economic conditions of migrant households and illuminate challenges related to accessing social grants. In this respect, the case study is an ideal design in generating an insight into specific issues pertaining to social assistance grants, thereby allowing the researcher to gain a complete picture of what is happening in the social protection landscape in Cape Town, South Africa.

A case study of migrant households that comprise social grant beneficiaries in Cape Town, Western Cape Province of South Africa was selected. The City of Cape Town is of interest for this study because despite its burgeoning, transforming and gentrifying economy that excludes international migrants, it is still a quintessential city of immigrants which attracts tens of thousands of vulnerable migrants, asylum seekers and refugees (Ruiters et al., 2020). The City of Cape Town in general accounts for the second largest number of international migrants, and the Western Cape Province in particular is the second province in South Africa with the highest number of foreign-born population (Africa Check, 2016; 2018). Similarly, the data from the South African Social Security Agency (SASSA) for the financial year 2015-2016 indicates that the province accounted for the second largest number of migrants who were granted social grants in the country, after the province of Gauteng (Africa Check, 2018). Furthermore, the Western Cape was one of the country's provinces with municipalities that experienced greater

exclusion and rejection of eligible children in the social grant system in the past (Africa Check, 2016; StatsSA, 2017).

5.3. Research methodology

Research methodology is defined as a way of scientifically resolving a problem that is under investigation (Yin, 1984; Kothari, 2004). It is described as the science of studying how a research process is systematically conducted. Research methodology process usually clarifies and defines the kinds of problems that are worth investigating and ascertaining whether there is a testable hypothesis. The main aim of research methodology is to formulate a framework that seeks to simplify the ways to investigate a problem, through particular designs and procedures and to develop a suitable way to generate data. Based on this perspective, scholars such as (Mouton, 2001; Babbie & Mouton, 2001a; Creswell, 2009; 2014) stressed that research methodology refers to the techniques, methods and procedures that one employs in the process of research planning or research design implementation.

Generally, there are two major traditions of research methodology in the field of social science, namely, the quantitative approach and the qualitative approach (Neuman, 2000; Mouton, 2001; Gerson & Horwitz, 2002). As shown in Table 5.1, quantitative research methodology deals primarily with redefining concepts into the language of variables, and enables a person to draw trends and relationships between variables. It usually concerns numbers and variables that can be measured in a systematic manner of investigating certain phenomena (Creswell, 2003; 2009; 2014).

Scholars like Hudson and Ozanne (1988), Leedy (1993), Mack et al. (2005), and Rubin and Babbie (2011) observed that the quantitative research method is based on the positivist paradigms, i.e., quantitative researchers are fully detached from the study; as a result, they become objective when interpreting the data. Nonetheless, a quantitative research approach is commonly used to prove and answer questions about relationships between measurable variables, which are usually analysed with an intention of explaining, predicting or controlling a specific phenomenon (Creswell, 2003; 2009).

In view of the above, the quantitative research approach is suitable when a researcher wants to proffer an understanding of a larger number of a population's current status quo. This makes the quantitative method applicable to studies involving statistics, especially when phenomena under investigation are quantifiable (Mack et al., 2005). From this logic, Neuman (2000) and

Creswell (2003; 2009; 2014) argued that researchers who engage in quantitative research have assumptions of testing theories deductively, and are generally concerned with reducing bias that can occur during the research process. Being positivist in its approach, the quantitative research method has a shortcoming in the sense that it requires a large sample of population and its findings only show the phenomenon, but would not explain, nor describe its existence (Babbie & Mouton, 2001a; Mack et al., 2005).

On the other hand, rather than proving cause and effect, the qualitative research method allows for a detailed and in-depth study, provides explanations and descriptions of cause and effect with a deeper meaning of the phenomenon, together with real-life stories of people who are involved in the research process (Creswell, 2003; 2009). Qualitative research can be defined as an approach used for exploring and understanding the meaning in individuals or groups that ascribe to a certain social or human problem (Babbie & Mouton, 2001a; Creswell, 2014). In the qualitative method, Neuman (2000) and Creswell (2014) purported that those who use this form of inquiry look at research in an inductive style, with the main focus on individual meaning and importance of a complex situation. Consequently, the qualitative researchers follow an interpretivist paradigm, i.e., they get imbedded in the study throughout all research stages. However, this creates its greatest weakness, that of subjectivity, in that, a qualitative research method depends heavily on the researcher's skills that can easily and potentially be influenced by personal biases and experiences (Creswell, 2003; 2009; 2014). Above and beyond, the interpretation and analysis of qualitative data is often costly and time-consuming. (Neuman, 2000; Rubin & Babbie, 2011).

While the emphasis in quantitative research is on the use of numerical data, the qualitative approach focuses on the insiders' perspectives of a particular phenomenon (Table 5.1). The choice of preference between the quantitative and qualitative methodologies depends primarily on the nature and objectives of the research and the types of available data (Yin, 1984; 2003). Thus, in the context of this study, the purpose is to explore the effect of social assistance initiatives on the migrant livelihoods, and the researcher applied a hybrid of mixed methods of quantitative and qualitative approaches to collect data on migrant households that receive social grants.

Table 5. 1. Comparison between qualitative and quantitative research methods

| | Quantitative approach | Qualitative approach |
|-----------------------------|---|---|
| General framework | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Confirms hypotheses and phenomena • Uses tools or instruments in a more rigid style to elicit and categorise responses from questions • Usually applies highly structured methods such as survey questionnaires | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Explores phenomena • Utilises tools or instruments in a more iterative and flexible way for the purpose of eliciting and categorising responses • Usually uses semi-structured approaches such as in-depth interviews, Focus Group Discussions and observations |
| Analytical objectives | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Quantifying variations • Predicting causal relationships • Describing characteristics of relationships | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Describing variations • Describing and explaining relationships • Describing individual/ group relationships and norms |
| Question format | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fixed and closed-ended questions | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Flexible and open-ended questions |
| Data format | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mathematical and numerical – often obtained by assigning values to responses | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Narrative and textual – often obtained through audios/ videos and field note-taking |
| Flexibility of study design | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Study design is stable from the start to the end • Responses from participants do not influence nor determine the next question • Study design is subjected to statistical conditions and assumptions | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • By allowing additions and exclusions of words, many aspects of the study design are flexible • Responses from participants determine or influence the next question • Study design and questions are adjusted on the basis of what is learned. |

Source: Adapted from Mack et al. (2005: 3)

The utilisation of mixed methods – quantitative and qualitative – during this study was based on their underlying ontological and epistemological requirements as put forward by philosophers of objectivism and constructivism such as Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004), De Gialdino (2009), Andrews (2012) and Galbin (2014). In epistemology, social phenomena can be approached from or studied using quantitative data, or qualitative data (De Gialdino, 2009). As discussed in the previous paragraphs, on the one hand, in the quantitative method, the data collection process is underpinned by objectivism – a positivistic philosophy which purports that social phenomena and their meanings exist independently and objectively of the researcher whose role is to explain the reality as it is, not as it ought to be (De Gialdino, 2009; Terrell, 2012).

On the other hand, in qualitative data collection, the process is rooted in constructivism – a subjectivistic philosophy which asserts that social phenomena and their meanings are constructed by the researcher (Andrews, 2012) and the reality is what the researcher constructs or perceives (De Gialdino 2009). Scholars such as Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004) and Terrell (2012) summed-up the two philosophical paradigms, by re-affirming that the major advantage of the quantitative research approach is that it is based on the objectivism or positivist paradigm in which the researcher is less emotionally attached to the research process and less involved with the study objects, whilst the main disadvantage of the qualitative research method is that, it supports constructivism or interpretivist paradigms in which data can be easily influenced by the researcher's frame or references and viewpoints.

From the advantages point of view, the mixed method of research facilitates concurrent triangulation of both objectivism and constructivism in a complementary way, in the sense that merging the quantitative and qualitative data results in a detailed and thorough analysis of the research problem. In other words, according to Creswell (2003; 2009; 2014) in mixed method research, both quantitative and qualitative data are simultaneously collected, but separately analysed; the results are then integrated to inform major research findings. This was further re-emphasised by Onwuegbuzie and Collins (2007) and Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004) who argued that mixed methods research involves collecting, analysing and interpreting numeric and non-numeric data in different ways and in various combinations, either concurrently or sequentially within the same study in a manner that is optimally continuous, interactive, iterative, dynamic, synergistic and holistic.

Deducing from the above arguments, Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004) and Creswell (2009) re-iterated that the main aim of mixed research methods is to converge, integrate and connect both quantitative and qualitative data. They further argued that the major significance of mixed research methods is the advancement of methodological pluralism and eclecticism which brings about superior research. Since each method inherently has its strengths and weaknesses, the combination of the quantitative and qualitative approaches offers strength that offsets the weakness of the other, and the limitation of one method could be offset by inclusion of another (Teddies & Tashakkori, 2011).

In relation to the strengths, Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004) and McEvoy and Richards (2006) are of the opinion that the benefits of combining quantitative and qualitative research methods are that in quantitative methods, the researcher is able to develop reliable descriptions and comparisons, identify associations and patterns that would otherwise be concealed, and test how theories play out under certain conditions. Qualitative methods come with the advantages and benefits of being open-ended, which allow for the emergence of unanticipated themes, help to clarify complex concepts and issues, and surface relationships that might not have been captured by quantitative methods. Accordingly, mixed methods permit more insightful research as well as more nuanced understanding of the research problem (Creswell, 2003; 2009; 2014).

In the context of this study, the researcher employed quantitative methods to collect data that can be statistically analysed, such as those that pertain to the socio-economic conditions of households that receive social grants, and their income and consumption or spending patterns and accessibility to social grants. This was done to get an indication of how government grants interact with migrant livelihoods. The rationale behind the choice of quantitative approach in this research is because it provides large data for the purpose of quantifying, aggregating, modelling, correlating, predicting, and measuring relationships and phenomena (Mertens & Gisenberg, 2009).

On the other hand, the qualitative method was used to collect data on migrants' views and perceptions on the South African social welfare system. This included identifying the challenges that migrants face in accessing social grants, unearthing migrants' views on the application process, payment process, corruption, as well as negative allegations surrounding social grants in South Africa. This information helped the researcher to contextualise grant beneficiaries' experiences with the view of enhancing the effectiveness of social grants and

improving accessibility to social welfare programmes by the migrant population in South Africa.

The motive behind the use of the qualitative approach in this study is because Neuman (2000; 2006) opined that the qualitative method endeavours to describe and analyse participants' beliefs in a non-numerical way in order to garner meaning from people's personal experience. Similarly, as stressed by Creswell (2003; 2009; 2014) the qualitative technique helps to extract intricate details on issues often difficult to fathom through other conventional research methods. Against this background, both quantitative and qualitative data was collected using different research instruments.

5.3.1. Data and data collection instruments

Data is the important information collected and captured in order to carry out an analysis within the aim and objectives of the study (Mouton, 2001; Glesne, 2005). According to Babbie and Mouton (2001a; 2001b) and Fouché and Delpont (2005) research data is either classified primary or secondary and there are several instruments or tools that researchers utilise to collect data comprising questionnaires, interviews, site visits, observations, and focus group discussions. On the one hand, primary data represents first-hand experience, research-tailored information collected by investigators directly from participants. Strydom (2005: 283) argued that “primary data has not been published yet and is more reliable, authentic and objective and the fact that it has not been altered by a human being, its validity is greater than that of secondary data”. Besides the high level of validity and reliability, the most important disadvantage of primary data is that it is costly and time-consuming to collect (Hox & Boeije, 2005).

Secondary data, on the other hand, is data that has been previously collected by a person other than the user. Strydom (2005: 284) stressed that “since secondary data come from sources that are already existing, they have benefits of being freely available with less hassle and less cost”. Despite these benefits, Hox and Boeije (2005: 594) cautiously noted that “secondary data raises the issues of reliability, accuracy and authenticity”. Therefore, taking cognisance of the advantages and disadvantages, this study used both primary and secondary data as the author of this thesis believes that this combination of data would give a proper coverage of the migration and welfare topic. In this context, primary data was collected, using survey

questionnaires, interviews and focus group discussions, while secondary data was collected by reviewing the relevant literature.

5.3.1.1. Secondary data collection tools

Whether a study is quantitative or qualitative, the process of conducting an in-depth literature review is crucial in both approaches (Fouché & Delpont, 2005: 130). A literature review contributes towards getting a clear understanding of the nature and meaning of the problem that has been identified and it is a process through which knowledge of the phenomenon under investigation is obtained (Fouché & Delpont, 2005; Creswell, 2009; 2014). Scholars in the field such as Babbie and Mouton (2001b), Strydom (2005) and Mouton (2006) argued that the important aspects when reviewing the literature is that the existing body of knowledge is built upon and expanded, while ensuring that no-one has performed the same research (avoidance of duplication and unnecessary repetition). Hence, a literature review serves the main function of providing a thoughtful discussion of related issues and building a logical framework for the study and sets it within the context of related studies, as well as reducing the chances of selecting a topic that is irrelevant and outdated, providing a better and substantial insights into the complexity and dimensions of the problem (Fouché & Delpont, 2005; Langdrige & Hagger-Johnson, 2009).

In the context of this research, reviewing existing literature formed part of the major undertaking, as it provided an opportunity to place the study into a wider and broader context. At the same time, it helped to get an insight of the socio-economic context of social welfare policies in South Africa. Reviewing the different literature also facilitated and demonstrated how the constructs of ‘poverty’ and ‘vulnerability fit into the social protection domain. Likewise, the literature shed more light on the theoretical framework that underpins this study. In addition, the literature review helped the researcher to get a better understanding of the issues regarding international migration and social welfare in South Africa and around the globe. The researcher’s main task of reviewing the different literature, was to identify the critical points in the current knowledge, and assess methodological approaches in other studies that have been carried out in the field of migration and social welfare in order to identify gaps and flaws that would inform the current study.

In this study, the literature review consisted of reviewing empirical evidence in the area of social protection policy frameworks and included selecting and re-evaluating relevant

secondary data from different sources – both electronic and hard copy formats. In light of this, the information gathered from the literature for the purpose of this study was mainly drawn from academic sources, i.e., academic journals and articles, books and reports; from the publications of governments and non-governmental organisations; from various other documents such as national and international policy papers; as well as legislation documentation from the relevant government departments.

5.3.1.2. Primary data collection tools

5.3.1.2.1. Survey questionnaires

The use of questionnaires in research relates directly to surveys and are widely employed in experiments and impact assessments (Fouché & Delport, 2005; De Vaus, 2007). Questionnaires are a valuable means to collect data from a very large number of participants and make it easy for statistical purposes (Babbie & Mouton, 2001a; Mouton, 2001). They contain a set of questions scheduled to collect data in a manner that research participants are able to respond and meet the aim and objectives of the study (Langdridge & Hagger-Johnson, 2009). Babbie and Mouton (2001a: 238) referred to the questionnaire in research as the “script enclosing questions and substances aimed at generating information for analysis”.

For the purpose of this study, the structured survey questionnaires were used to collect mainly quantitative data. A total of 103 survey questionnaires were administered to grant-receiving migrant households selected by the adaptive cluster sampling (ACS) technique – an area-based method of the cluster sampling approach (Thompson, 1990; 1996). To facilitate the task of administration of questionnaires, in each household, one person was selected and designated as the core or head of household to fill in the questionnaire and respond to the questions, as well as to determine the relationship status of other household members. For a member of the household to qualify as a head, the person must satisfy any of the following conditions and criteria as outlined by Agüero et al. (2007: 6): (i) a person is the self-declared head of the household; (ii) a person is declared the head of the household by the spouse or partner or appointed by other household members; and (iii) a person is a knowledgeable and responsible adult for other household members and must be living in the household on a permanent basis. In administering the questionnaires, in many cases, the researcher visited migrant households that receive social grants and agreed with the household-heads on the time and venue, by which the questionnaires were completed and administered by the researcher. In a few instances, the

questionnaires were self-administered because the researcher dropped them at the respondents' homes or workplaces, completed them and then returned them to the researcher.

The phrasing of the structured questionnaires included a combination of open-ended, closed-ended and multiple-choice, as well as Likert-scaled questions. The questionnaire design in this study consisted of three sections of four themes (see Appendix A). The first part of the questionnaire extracted demographical details of the household-head, such as age, gender, marital status and education level. The second part of the questionnaire delineated information regarding household characteristics, including household income, its sources as well as expenditure and saving patterns, school attendance (education), ownership of assets, dwelling characteristics and access to healthcare and other social services, labour participation and employment, participation in welfare programmes (type of grants) and incidence of shocks, as well as coping mechanisms. The third part of the questionnaire extracted information about general background of the household, experiences on poverty, vulnerability and shocks, social grant beneficiaries' views of social grants, challenges and obstacles faced in accessing grants, and the perception of the South African social assistance system in general. In essence, the theme in section three of the questionnaire was to extract information from the respondents for the researcher to deepen an understanding on what had already been obtained from the literature on the South African social grant system as a whole, from the application to the payment process.

5.3.1.2.2. In-depth interviews

Cooper and Schindler (1988) and Kothari (2004) contended that interviewing is a mode of data collection involving communicative events organised around areas of a particular interest in a way that permits participants to reveal 'what they think' and 'how they feel' about a specific matter. Interviews help to generate meaningful responses, as they allow room for greater flexibility in scope and in-depth engagement (Langdridge & Hagger-Johnson, 2009). In the context of this study, face-to-face, semi-structured in-depth interviews were utilised to garner qualitative data from key informants, including representatives of organisations that provide services, support and advice to immigrants, selected by purposive means.

A total of five representatives from migrant supporting organisations were interviewed using a semi-structured questionnaire, guided by a set of questions (see Appendix B) to extract information about migrant livelihoods, their challenges, as well as views of the organisation regarding social grants and poverty in migrant families. The rationale behind the use of a

questionnaire as an interview guide is its flexibility in probing manner, and enabling key informants to divulge information in detail (Babbie & Mouton, 2001b; Newman, 2011). In addition, an interview guide is a valuable means to collect data from participants and observe non-verbal behaviour (Langdridge & Hagger-Johnson, 2009).

5.3.1.2.3. Focus Group Discussion (FGD)

Focus Group Discussion (FGD) is generally referred to as “a carefully planned discussion of a small group of people – usually 6-12 participants – facilitated by an interviewer or moderator (researcher), and oriented to obtaining information about a specific topic” (Blee & Taylor 2002: 92). The role of the researcher in the FGD is to guide the flow of the discussion, and the often-stated advantages of using the FGD are that it permits the researcher to observe a large amount of interaction on a specific topic in a short time (Krueger, 1994; Blee & Taylor 2002). In addition, the FGD is convenient, inexpensive, and is also viewed as the quickest and easiest way to gather data (Babbie & Mouton, 2001b). However, Sim (1998) and Mason (2007) highlighted that there are problems associated with the FGD, such as complexity of the data and its usefulness in eliciting people’s general viewpoints.

In the context of this study, using a tape recorder and semi-structured checklist of questions (see Appendix C), the discussion was held with 12 participants from social grant-receiving households. The participants of the FGD were selected in a purposive manner – the facilitator or moderator invited individuals based on their demographical characteristics, i.e., their, age, gender and type of grants they receive. Similar to the in-depth interview questions, the FGD served the purpose of gleaning qualitative data, and this helped to uncover information about the migrants’ perceptions and views on South Africa’s social security landscape. It also shed light on the impact of grants on livelihoods. In addition, the FGD provided information on the challenges migrants face in accessing grants and suggestions on what could be done to improve access to social grants.

Furthermore, the researcher used the FGD to unravel the issues or allegations of corruption in social welfare provision, unfair treatment and/or exclusion of eligible migrants, as well as the problem related to the process of application and payment of social grants. The choice of discussion as a data collection tool in this study was motivated by the fact that the FGD is an economic way of tapping different views from targeted respondents (Krueger, 1994; De Vaus, 2007), as well as providing an opportunity to be interactive, and strengthens the message received from the discussion (Sim, 1998; Mason 2007). In practice, the researcher used the

FGD to complement information from other sources, i.e., literature, interviews and survey questionnaires.

5.4. Pilot-testing of instruments

A pilot study forms an important and integral part of the research process, and Fouché and Delport, (2005) and De Vaus (2007) pointed out that before being utilised in the main investigation, the questionnaires must be thoroughly pilot-tested. Piloting or pre-testing, as it is commonly known in social science research, is defined as a process whereby the research design and methodology of a prospective study is tested or a small-scale trial is run in order to try all aspects and tools planned to be used in the main inquiry (Strydom, 2005). It measures the data collection instruments on a small number of the population that possess characteristics similar to those of group of respondents that the study is targeting (Strydom, 2005; De Vaus, 2007).

Scholars like Zikmund et al., (2010: 117) asserted that, “pilot-testing has many values and serves several purposes including assessing the feasibility of the planned research project, and to ascertaining and bringing the possible deficiencies in the measurement procedure into check”. In a similar view, Babbie and Mouton (2001a) and Zikmund et al. (2010) articulated that piloting helps the prospective investigator or researcher to fine-tune the research and determine whether the methodology and the selected instruments are adequate and appropriate. Furthermore, pilot-testing is valuable for refining the wording, order and flow of questions (ordering, layout, filtering of words) and pruning the questions into a manageable length. To sum up, the pre-testing helps the researcher to obtain an impression of the feasibility and ensure that errors of any nature are rectified at a minimum or little cost, and vague and unclear questions with biases or questions that lead to non-comparable and vague responses are removed or modified (Babbie & Mouton, 2001b; Zikmund et al., 2010).

In the context of this study, the primary purpose of pilot-testing was to assess the suitability of the procedure and accuracy of variability, i.e., to determine the effectiveness of the instruments, namely survey questionnaires and interviews guiding questionnaires – to assess the validity, reliability, sensitivity and suitability of the instruments, and to determine the appropriateness and accuracy of the instruments. In the actual pre-testing task, 20 students from the University of the Western Cape (UWC) who are familiar with migrant circumstances were selected to represent the household-heads that receive social grants, for the survey questionnaires. In a

similar vein, five persons were interviewed on behalf of representatives from the NGOs that provide services to migrants. During the pilot-testing exercise, it emerged that on the survey questionnaires some questions needed to be reformulated as some concepts were too technical for migrants to understand. With representatives from migrant supporting organisations, some questions were incorrectly worded and concepts that were not widely used, needed further explanations.

When the pilot-testing process was complete, the researcher held a discussion with the supervisor and an agreement was reached that questions and concepts on survey questionnaires and interview guides that were ambiguous, irrelevant and confusing were either modified or discarded in order to address the objectives of the study to increase the validity and reliability of both survey questionnaires and interview guides.

5.4.1. Validity and reliability of data

Field research has distinctive strengths and weaknesses, as alluded to in section 5.3, and the main strength lies in the validity and reliability of the data collected (Creswell, 2003; 2009; 2014). In fact, De Vaus (2007) and Creswell (2009) hypothesised that the validity and reliability are the two qualities of measurements – or criteria for measuring the quality of data. In general sense, validity concerns whether measurements accurately reflect or measure what they are supposed to measure, whereas reliability is a matter of dependability (Johnson, 1997; Babbie & Mouton, 2001a). In other words, reliability is a matter of whether a particular method or technique can provide similar results when applied differently to the same object and validity refers to the extent to which empirical measures adequately reflect the real meaning of the concepts under consideration (De Vaus, 2007; Zikmund et al., 2010).

On the one hand, in quantitative data, validity refers to the degree to which a measure assesses what it claims to assess, while reliability denotes the replicability of the research processes and findings (Creswell, 2009; 2014). On this basis, Johnson (1997: 282-283) argued that “quantitative reliability is achieved through data collection instruments that are relevant to the variable answering research questions and addressing research objectives (meaning reliable and dependable)”.

On the other hand, in qualitative data, validity refers to the process of ensuring that the research findings are accurate through the use of certain procedures – suitability of the process including tools used in data collection and the degree or level of truth in the research, whereas reliability

reflects the consistency of the investigator's approach towards similar research projects (Creswell, 2009; 2014). Onwuegbuzie and Collins (2007) argued that the basis of validity in qualitative study is determined by the accuracy of findings from a researcher, readers and participants' positions, which is difficult to assess. However, being proportionate to the circumstance and purpose of the study, Johnson (1997: 282-283) articulated that "qualitative validity is usually achieved when research produced is plausible and credible, truthful and defensible".

Moreover, the main characteristics used in handling the problem of validity and reliability in this study was a combination of many methods and cross-tabulations. To ensure validity for both quantitative and qualitative data, the researcher paid special attention to specific considerations and applied the specific approaches and strategies, as outlined in Babbie and Mouton (2001a: 119-124) and Mouton (2006: 150-158). These are, *inter alia*: combining and collecting data from multiple sources; triangulating to increase effectiveness; conducting interviews with different participants; capturing and transcribing (verbatim) to avoid bias and subjectivity; utilising a combination of many theories to describe constructs and concepts. On the reliability issue, the transcripts were thoroughly examined to eliminate mistakes. During the transcription process, data coding and comparison was used in order to avoid the drifting of definitions.

5.5. Sample selection and sampling method

Scholars Hussey and Hussey (1997) and Strydom (2005) argued that before embarking on any research endeavour, the most critical and imperative stage is the sampling. Sampling is the practice of selecting the cases to be observed or included in the study (Strydom, 2005; Heckathorn, 2011). In a general sense, sampling is the act of taking or drawing a small portion from a large population or universe and consider it as representative sample of that population or universe (Babbie and Mouton 2001a; Heckathorn & Cameron, 2017). While the universe in research is defined as potential subjects that possess attributes that a researcher is interested in, a population sets boundaries on the study units and refers to individuals in the universe who possess specific characteristics of interest to the researcher (Strydom, 2005: 193). This means that a population is a set of entities in which all the measurements of interests to the researcher are represented. When stated differently, a population is the total set of elements on which individuals or units of study are selected from and to which the obtained results should be generalised. According to Strydom (2005: 1930), a population in social science research may

comprise a totality of persons, organisations, events, case records, or other sampling units under investigation. From this view-point, a sample comprises elements or some facets of the population that a researcher considers for inclusion in the actual study.

As stated earlier, the basis of sampling is the use of some facets, subsets or a sample from the large population in a way that their descriptions accurately portray the parameters of that population from which the elements were chosen (Babbie & Mouton, 2001b; Mouton, 2006). From that perspective, two major sampling procedures are widely known – probability sampling and non-probability sampling (Heckathorn, 1997; Lu et al., 2011). The probability sampling method is based on some form of random procedures, and the prospect of finding a specific sample is determined through calculations in which each person or sampling unit in the population has the same known chance or probability of being selected (Henning et al., 2007; Mertens & Gisenberg, 2009). According to Babbie and Mouton (2001a; 2001b) and Mouton (2001, 2006) the probability sampling method is usually used when all members of the population are identical in many aspects, including attitudes, behaviour, and demographical characteristics. The non-probability sampling method, on the other hand, is done without randomisation, and the choice of units of observations to be investigated is determined by a statistical principle. Babbie and Mouton (2001a; 2001b) and Strydom (2005) argued that the non-probability sampling method is frequently used in large-scale surveys, especially when a researcher does not know the population size or members of the population.

To ensure representativeness, a sample should at least have the same characteristics and attributes of the population from which they were drawn. Henning et al. (2007) and Mertens and Gisenberg (2009) suggested that the size of the sample should reasonably comprise a larger percentage of the population, as larger samples make it easier for the researcher to draw more accurate conclusions and predictions. Based on this, in determining the size of the sample, Neuman (2006: 232) recommended that, “the larger the population to be investigated, the smaller the percentage of that population sample size, and vice-versa”. Nevertheless, in determining the sample size, the researcher should always take cognisance of relative heterogeneity and homogeneity of the population, purpose of the study and the desired degree of validity and reliability, as well as other factors such as time and resources.

In the context of this study, a combination of many sampling techniques was used to increase the scope of the sample. For qualitative data, a total of five representatives from non-governmental organisations that provide support, services and advice to migrants in Cape Town

were interviewed as the key informants. An FGD with 12 members from the migrant households that receive social grants was also conducted. Both the key informants and members of the FGD were selected by purposive and snowballing means of the non-probability sampling method, where the researcher made a judgement and chose participants with certain attributes or characteristics tied to the purpose of the study. For the key informants, one of the criteria was that the organisation must be based in Cape Town, and providing social services to the migrants, while to be included in the discussion, a migrant must be a recipient of a social grant or from a household that receives social grants.

For quantitative information, to get a multiplicity of data, an adaptive cluster sampling (ACS) technique was used. As the name suggests, the ACS is a traditional cluster sampling technique of the probability sampling approach adapted to meet specific conditions and situations that the researcher finds in the field (Thompson, 1990; 1996; Salehi & Seber, 1997). To state it differently, the ACS is an adaptation or modified version of the cluster sampling method to reach the population that is generally rare and highly patchy in spatial distribution (Gattone & Battista, 2011). In a nutshell, the ACS is an area-based and network-driven cluster sampling approach commonly used in the urban crisis setting, especially when a sampling frame does not exist and compiling a list of sample units is an exhaustive, impossible, and impractical task (Gattone & Battista, 2011; Reichel & Morales, 2017).

The ACS approach utilises local clusters of the rare population and works on the assumptions that respondents can be easily accessed in their residential homes. From this perspective, Thompson (1990; 1996) and Rule (2011) argued that like the cluster sampling method, in the ACS population under study are also divided into multiple groups or clusters, and then from these groups and clusters the researcher randomly selects units using simple random or systematic random sampling technique. This means that instead of selecting the entire population, a researcher analyses a small sample consisting of several parameters of the initial sample such as habits, background and demographics or any other attributes that may be relevant to the research (Babbie & Mouton, 2001b; Babbie, 2007; Terre Blanche et al, 2006).

The ACS has numerous advantages and several benefits. At the outset, Thompson (1990; 1996) and Reichel and Morales (2017) claimed that because it selects only a few subjects from the entire population that is largely fragmented and widely dispersed across different geographical areas, the ACS has advantages of convenience and simplicity, as it requires fewer resources and less time. Beyond these cost and time efficiencies, the ACS increases the feasibility of the

sampling (Salehi & Seber, 1997). By the same token, Rule (2011) and Alatawi (2017) asserted that through the randomisation, the ACS provides accurate data which results in high external validity for the study.

In the face of its advantages and benefits, adaptive cluster sampling (ACS) does not evade the weaknesses and flaws of the cluster sampling method. One of its limitations is the possibility of having over or under- represented clusters. An over and under-represented cluster refers to a situation whereby a cluster has more or fewer units than other clusters, or vice versa (Alatawi 2017). In this respect, Babbie (2007) and Durrheim (2002) stressed that cluster sampling methods are generally prone to bias, and errors resulting from cluster sampling processes are likely to be higher than those that occur when other methods are applied.

Despite the limitations of the cluster sampling method, taking cognisance that there was no sampling frame of migrant-grant beneficiaries in Cape Town, and the fact that countless efforts to get a list of the grant- beneficiaries of foreign origin from the South African Department of Social Development (DSD) was unsuccessful, the researcher used a modified version of the cluster sampling or adaptive cluster sampling (ACS) because it made it possible to select a sample of household units without a list of their names. In light of this, to get a sample of 103 households that receive government grants the ACS was applied in two stages as follows:

In the first stage, the City of Cape Town (CoCT) was sub-divided into clusters or precincts. A list of 46 metropolitan council areas that constitute the CoCT in different district municipalities was obtained from the internet (City of Cape Town (CoCT, 2018). Based on the Cape Town Urban Spatial Planning, these councils were further categorised into urban towns or suburban areas and township areas (Urban Spatial Planning Committee (USPC, 2018). As shown in Table 5.2, it is worth noting that in some cases, two metropolitan council areas are combined due to lack of clear boundaries and geographical demarcations. Also, the distinction between suburbs and townships has a significant effect on migrant settlement patterns and livelihood context in that suburbs are more developed and formalised areas as opposed to the under-developed, informal townships which are largely found in the periphery of cities (Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC, 2018).

Using literature on the South African migration settlement patterns such as Tawodzera et al. (2015) and Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC, 2018) in conjunction with the data from the Census of 2011 published by the Statistics South Africa (StatsSA, 2015), areas of City of

Cape Town with the highest proportionate concentrations of lower-income foreign-born residents were identified. In this regard, a list comprising of six suburban areas and 12 township areas was generated. From this list, two areas, i.e., Retreat- Wynberg and Bellville were randomly selected and included in the cluster to represent suburban areas, and six areas, i.e., Imizamo Yethu- Masiphumelele; Gugulethu- Nyanga; Delft- Mfuleni; Khayelitsha; Mitchells Plain and Philippi were randomly selected to represent the township areas. Once again, suburbs are distinguished from townships because each one is directly linked to a specific livelihood context and dwelling types. Likewise, the inclusion of few suburbs in the sample is justified by the fact that most of the social grant beneficiaries in South Africa reside in townships and informal settlements (Patel et al., 2012; World Bank, 2018a; StatsSA, 2018b).

In as much as the number of households and a list of migrants that receive social grants in each cluster area was not available, the group of informants comprising migrant organisations including churches, service providers and migrant community leaders provided rough estimates, e. g using statements like” extremely large number of foreign nationals receiving grants in this area; too many poor foreigners and refugees receiving social grants in this town”. Following this, the second stage of clustering consisted of selecting sampling units from the survey areas. In light of this, the key informants provided physical addresses of the potential houses inhabited by migrant-social grant beneficiaries in their respective areas. This list of physical addresses was used for random door to door recruitment of the sampling units, i.e., households and basic sampling units, i.e., household-heads.

Resulting from this sampling procedure, a total representative sample of 103 households was randomly selected and surveyed in all cluster areas (see Table 5.2 for the distribution of sample). During the door-to-door recruitment of the households, an effort was made to collect information from variety of sources by including households that live further apart, because those that live in a close proximity to one another tend have a lot in common in terms of livelihood. Also, to ensure that randomness was guaranteed throughout the process the household units within the cluster areas had an equal chance of being selected. In addition, informant migrant community leaders were selected in a stratified way in that researcher strived to speak to leaders of various gender and age group and from different countries.

Table 5. 2. Sample distribution per cluster areas- City of Cape Town (CoCT)

| Clusters- Metropolitan councils | Sample size | Percentage | Cumulative |
|---------------------------------|-------------|------------|------------|
| Imizamo Yethu- Masiphumelele | 12 | 11.65 | 11.65 |
| Gugulethu- Nyanga | 13 | 12.62 | 24.27 |
| Delft-Mfuleni | 15 | 14.56 | 38.83 |
| Khayelitsha | 12 | 11.65 | 50.48 |
| Philippi | 14 | 13.59 | 64.07 |
| Mitchells Plain | 10 | 9.71 | 73.78 |
| Bellville* | 16 | 15.53 | 89.31 |
| Retreat- Wynberg* | 11 | 10.69 | 100 |
| Total | 103 | 100 | |

Source: Author’s own compilation (2019)

*Bellville and Retreat-Wynberg are the only two metropolitan councils classified as suburbs. This because, they have the highest concentrations of international migrants in Cape Town (HSRC, 2018).

5.6. Data analysis, interpretation and presentation procedures

Data analysis in research generally refers to the systematic process of applying logical techniques to describe, illustrate and condense or reduce the size of the data to more manageable proportions with the purpose of identifying different patterns and themes in the data (Babbie & Mouton, 2001a; De Vaus, 2007). According to Caudle (2004) and Mouton (2001; 2006) in data analysis, a researcher makes sense of information collected from multiple sources and then responsibly presents on what this data reveals. Similarly, scholars such as Neuman (2000) and Mouton (2001; 2006) articulated that the form of analysis is determined by the specific approach that was used. In this study, quantitative data analysis was performed using statistical software, whereas qualitative data was subjected to thematic content analysis.

5.6.1. Quantitative data

Data analysis in the quantitative paradigm means categorising, ordering, manipulating, and summarising data to obtain answers to the research question. In this kind of analysis, data is examined, tabulated, compared and contrasted, coded and clustered, and patterns identified (Neuman, 2000; Caudle, 2004). The purpose of quantitative analysis is to reduce data to a small interpretable and intelligible form, so that the research problem can be investigated, relations studied, hypotheses tested and conclusions drawn (Babbie & Mouton, 2001b; De Vaus, 2007).

In the context of this study, data collected by means of survey questionnaires was captured, coded and entered into the statistical software for social sciences (STATA version 14). The use of statistics was motivated by the fact that, they reduce large data into more controllable portions (Caudle, 2004; Kultar, 2007), thereby enabling the researcher to describe, summarise and explain the characteristics of respondents (Judd & McClelland, 1989; De Vaus, 2007). Both descriptive and inferential statistics were used for quantitative data. The descriptive statistics revolved around the socio-economic characteristics of migrant households and were presented in pie charts, figures and tables, while the focus of inferential statistics was on the testing of the hypotheses.

Because this study approached livelihood on multidimensions of poverty and vulnerability of migrants in South Africa, capturing all its aspects of livelihoods by a single variable posed a challenge. Therefore, the dependent variable of livelihood outcome was disaggregated into six dimensions, namely: access to education, training and skills; access to employment and labour; access to accommodation and energy; access to healthcare services and facilities; access to food security and nutrition; and access to water, sanitation and hygiene (WASH). The rationale behind the use of these six dimensions is because there are considered the endpoints of the livelihood security system in humanitarian settings (Yadava et al., 2014). There are also the major areas of services with group of indicators- Livelihood Key Indicators (LKIs) used by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) when evaluating the effectiveness of programmes on migrant populations living in urban areas (UNHCR, 2012b).

In light of this, the Pearson chi-square statistical tool was employed to ascertain if there is an association between each social grant and each livelihood outcome, while logistic regression analysis (Cohen, 1982; Pallant, 2011; Valveny & Gilliver, 2016) was performed to determine the strengths and directions of the relationship between income from social grants and livelihood outcomes in the migrant households.

5.6.2. Qualitative data

Data analysis in the qualitative paradigm usually revolves around transforming data into findings. This is a process of reducing the volume of raw information, identifying significant patterns and sifting significance from trivia as well as constructing a framework to communicate the essence of generated data and what they reveal (De Vaus, 2007; Creswell, 2003; 2009). In addition, qualitative data analysis is a process of searching for general

statements about relationships among categories of data in order to bring order, structure and meaning to the mass of collected data.

For the purpose of this study, the qualitative data was analysed using thematic content analysis. Scholars like Durrheim (2002), Terre Blanche et al. (2006), and De Vaus (2007) referred to the thematic analysis as a process where the researcher repeatedly reads through the data and then breaks it down into smaller and more manageable parts according to themes. In this regard, data generated from the survey questionnaires, interviews and the FGD was put into themes or categories consisting of information on the household characteristics; social grants and their effect on the livelihood outcomes; consumption and spending patterns; resilience levels; coping mechanisms and strategies; challenges in accessing social grants; as well as migrants' views, opinions, experiences and perceptions of the South African social assistance system. For the qualitative data analysis, the researcher used the three steps from the 'analytic spiral of analysis' described in De Vaus (2007: 335), and Creswell (2009: 175). These steps are:

Step 1: Transcribing, note-taking and isolating the most pertinent issues;

Step 2: Managing and organising the data according to themes and patterns or categories; and

Step 3: Testing the emerging understanding and searching for alternative explanations from data, as well as presenting data in a narrative format.

5.7. Ethics statement

Ethics is a set of moral standards or principles that is suggested to guide a person's behaviour or conduct in an inquiry or activity (Babbie & Mouton, 2001a; Mouton, 2001; 2006). Ethical principles form the basis upon which a researcher evaluates his or her own conduct (Babbie & Mouton, 2001a; Strydom, 2005). In order not to violate ethics in social science research, the data collection for this study commenced only after the approval from the Humanities and Social Science Research Ethics Committee (HSSREC), the Board of the Faculty of Economics and Management Sciences (EMS) and the Management of the Institute for Social Development (ISD) of the University of the Western Cape (UWC) was received. Permission was sought from the participants before the recording of interviews and discussions and participation was voluntary. In addition, to ensure the anonymity of respondents, all the information gathered from survey questionnaires, interviews and focus group discussions, was kept strictly confidential. The respondents' personal information, including names, are not to be disclosed to anyone, only pseudonyms are used in the final report and in all published reports to protect privacy and the identity of respondents.

The research did not cause any harm to any party involved, information collected by means of recording was used exclusively for research analysis and thereafter destroyed. The questionnaires from personal interviews are locked in a cabinet where they can only be accessed by the researcher and his supervisor. Furthermore, all the participants, key informants, and stakeholders were briefed about this research project, and participants were informed that they can decide to withdraw from the study at any time. Moreover, both the participants and researcher had to sign a consent form that binds them to adhere to what they have agreed upon. Finally, to maintain academic honesty, all the materials consulted during the course of this study were cited using the Harvard referencing method, thereafter appropriately acknowledged by a complete list of references.

5.8. Limitations of the study

One of the biggest limitations of this study was resource problems, financial constraints in particular. The study focus is on the migrant households who receive social grants, and since these beneficiaries are difficult to trace and geographically dispersed in many parts of the City of Cape Town, the researcher had to travel from one place to another. This slowed down the process of data collection and came with an increased cost. The investigator had to use a combination of many sampling methods and limited the study to a sample of only 103 households, whose findings could not be generalised as a true reflection of the trends in the international migration arena and social welfare in South Africa.

Another challenge was that during fieldwork, the researcher encountered a problem with some social grant beneficiaries who were not willing to disclose information pertaining to the socio-economic conditions in their households. During the initial stage, the researcher had requested a discussion interview with the officials from the South African Social Security Agency (SASSA) to get more insights on the South African social assistance system, but due to the outbreak of COVID-19 and the National State of Disaster which led to a nation-wide lockdown, the SASSA officials were precluded from the study. Failure to secure an interview with key informants from the SASSA resulted in a heavy reliance on data from secondary sources, of which in some instances are outdated.

It is noteworthy that, the high court ruling resulted in the changes of legislation which allowed the Minister of the Department of Social Development (DSD) to introduce the COVID-19 SRODG to asylum seekers and migrants with special permits. These changes took place after the data collection process had been concluded. Therefore, the COVID-19 SRODG was only

included in the literature review but did not form part of the analysis, which might render the thesis incomplete.

5.9. Chapter summary

This chapter elucidated on the research design and methodology used to assess the effect of government grants on the livelihood of migrants. After the initial explanation of the research design and methodology, in each case the method was explained in detail before providing the justification for its use. In terms of design, this study adopted a combination of exploratory design, description and case study, while its methodology was a mixture of quantitative and qualitative methods. In presenting the data collection instruments, primary data was collected using survey questionnaires, interviews and an FGD, while secondary data was collected from various literature sources.

With regard to the sample and sample selection, this study adopted various techniques of the non-probability and probability sampling approaches. To select the household-heads from migrant households that receive social grants, the researcher used a modified version of the cluster sampling method, known as “adaptive cluster sampling (ACS). This was done by compiling a list of 46 metropolitan areas of Cape Town with the highest concentrations of poor and vulnerable foreign-nationals, followed by randomly selecting 103 households from eight cluster areas. Additionally, five representatives from the NGOs that provide services to migrants were purposively selected, while an FGD with 12 participants from the social grant-receiving migrant households was conducted.

On the one hand, the qualitative data from the FGD and interview was subjected to thematic content analysis and presented in narrative format. On the other hand, quantitative data collected by means of questionnaires, was analysed using STATA. As demonstrated in the following chapter, the descriptive and inferential statistics were used in the analysis, while tables, figures and pie charts were utilised in the presentation.

CHAPTER SIX – PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF QUANTITATIVE FINDINGS

6.1. Chapter overview

Social welfare programmes, cash transfer initiatives in particular, have always been at the forefront in affording citizens a dignified way of life and are still one of the preferred and effective instruments used by many governments around the globe to provide financial support to the poor and ensure a minimum standard of living for the most vulnerable. Much of the research in the field of welfare has indicated that social grants provide beneficiaries with an opportunity to escape poverty and destitution. From this perspective, an extensive review of the literature on social protection has elucidated the role of government grants in addressing the basic needs of the citizens. However, not much in the literature points to the effect that social grants have on the livelihood system in migrant households. Therefore, the scope of this chapter is to present, analyse and discuss the quantitative findings from the data gathered from survey questionnaires administered on the heads of migrant households that receive social grants in Cape Town.

This chapter comprises the thematic sections which are in line with the research aim and objectives, as outlined in the introductory chapter. The first section presents the demographical details of the household-heads, followed by the socio-economic characteristics of their households. The second section of the chapter provides the results of the migrants' views and perceptions of the South African social security system. The chapter ends with the testing and validation of hypotheses that were formulated in chapter one.

6.2. Demographical profile of the sampled household-heads

Household-headship is an important aspect in the distribution of welfare benefits, as heads of the households are not usually people who are pre-defined by a set of objectives or criteria, but are rather the principal and designated persons, or self-identified, self-appointed and self-reported individuals whose role is to largely advise on the utilisation of resources and control how these resources are allocated among household members (Posel et al., 2006; Agüero et al., 2007). Heads of households take responsibility for the other members and have a final say over the aggregate income of the household, and their vested decision-making powers always influence the consumption and production patterns in the households that they oversee (Beaman & Dillon, 2011; Casimir & Tobi, 2011).

In this study, a household-head was used as a reference point and incorporated in the household analysis, to distinguish the types of households. From this, a series of questions were posed to the heads of the households to establish their biographical information and later obtain baseline information about urban migrant households that receive social grants. Table 6.1 depicts the information procured and the variables used to represent the demography of household-heads, which included their countries of birth, age group, marital status, education level, and immigration status.

6.2.1. Nationality, gender and age

South Africa as a circuit of international migration has become a melting pot with a multitude and diverse cultures from different nations (Giamporcaro, 2014; Africa Check, 2016). In this study, a cocktail of countries from which South Africa draws its migrant labour force, and those that traditionally supply refugees and asylum seekers to South Africa were included and represented in the sample. While the majority of the sampled population are refugees or former refugees whose countries of birth are the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) (33.04%), followed by Rwanda (15.53%), Burundi (13.59%), Somalia (10.68%), Zimbabwe (7.77%), and Uganda (3.88%). The remainder of the sample, i.e., a total of 15.51% were selected from other nationalities, including Angola, Cameroon, Congo Brazzaville, Eswatini (Lesotho), Ethiopia, Malawi, Mozambique, Nigeria, and Zambia. Several possible explanations can be attributed to the dominance of Congolese refugees; chief among them is that according to the welfare magnet hypothesis, conflict-induced migrants are more likely to demonstrate welfare-proneness behaviour and to suffer from a welfare dependency syndrome (Borjas, 1999; Jakubiak, 2019). The DRC is the only Southern African Development Community (SADC) member state that experienced severe political instability and its citizens have the highest success rate in claiming and obtaining refugee status in South Africa (World Bank, 2018a).

Gender is another crucial issue in welfare policy as it is an explanatory variable used to understand the power dynamics and social relations in the accessing of livelihoods by the household members. In the distribution of resources and welfare benefits, gender is a potential proxy to measure the fairness of the welfare system and enhance the design of an inclusive social assistance system, which promotes equality and tackles gender-related issues such as disparities and vulnerabilities (Moser, 1996; Holmes & Jones, 2010). Contrary to the welfare magnet principle's assumption that migrant female-headed households are most affected by shocks and vulnerability and more likely than male-headed households to be on welfare programmes (Holmes & Jones, 2010), this study uncovered a slight over-representation of

males, with 53.40% of the respondents heading households being male, in comparison to 46.60% who are female. This gender imbalance can possibly be attributed to some migration theories' assumptions that more men are likely to emigrate than women (Ravenstein, 1885; 1889; Lee, 1966). Furthermore, other literature in South Africa reported gendered disproportional ratios where males outnumbered females (see e.g., Nzabamwita, 2018; World Bank, 2018a).

Similar to gender, the age of a potential welfare beneficiary is an important factor, as it helps the policy-makers to design an age-differentiated and age-related developmental initiative that seeks to protect the livelihoods of the citizens, such as social assistance initiatives which target children, disabled adults, and vulnerable older persons (Department of Social Development (DSD, 2012). In terms of age distribution, as displayed in Table 6.1, the ages of the sampled population are put into different categories. All the households are headed by adults, where participants aged 46 years and above constitute the majority (i.e., 38.83%). The remaining age classifications are distributed as follows: the age group 36 to 45 years: 31.07%; the age group 26 to 35 years: 22.33%; and the age group 18 to 25 years: 7.77%.

6.2.2. Education, marital status and immigration status

Educational level, marital status and immigration status play an important role in migrants' access to livelihood opportunities. On the one hand, educational attainment and access to proper documentation are among the resources which are likely to significantly contribute to migrants' economic development in the country of immigration and provide them with an opportunity to expand their success and resource base (Neamtu & Scurtu, 2013). On the other hand, the marital status and existence of a partner in the household affect the welfare material benefits in many respects, such as the government's introduction and implementation of state and family subsidies and allocations (Hall, 2006). From an educational point of view, Table 6.1 demonstrates that among migrants surveyed in this study, a substantial number of households were headed by individuals who only completed primary school, i.e., 40.78%, 26.21% attained secondary education, 14.56% attained college-level education, 13.59% attained tertiary-level education, and 4.85% had other forms of education and training. These findings on the educational backgrounds are in contrast to many other studies which reported that many migrants in South Africa have completed tertiary schooling (see for example, Kalitanyi & Visser, 2010; Nzabamwita, 2018; World Bank, 2018a). This is not surprising in the case of this study, education is positively co-related to human capital development and higher earnings, meaning that as per welfare magnet hypothesis, the least educated migrants

are more likely to be on welfare programmes, because they easily pass means-testing requirements (Borjas, 1999; Favell, 2008; Jakubiak, 2019).

Regarding marital status, this study found that most respondents, i.e., 35.92% were married, whilst 22.33% were single, 16.50% were divorced, 13.59% were widowed, and 11.65% were either living with partners or were in a polygamous relationship or were in another kind of relationship and partnership.

During the survey, a question was posed to establish the type of documents that the respondents held and to identify their immigration and legal status in the country. Out of the total sample of 103 household-heads, the majority (75.73%) indicated that they were refugees with refugee status permits, 21.36% were refugees in possession of permanent residence permits (received confirmation letters from the DHA standing committee), and 2.91% held South African 13-digit bar-coded identity documents.



Table 6. 1. Profile of the sampled household-heads

| Demographical information of the heads of the households | | | | |
|--|----------------------------|------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| Gender | | Frequency | Percentage | Cumulative |
| | Male | 55 | 53.40 | 53.40 |
| | Female | 48 | 46.60 | 100.00 |
| Immigration status in South Africa | | Frequency | Percentage | Cumulative |
| | SA identity documents | 3 | 2.91 | 2.91 |
| | Refugee status | 78 | 75.73 | 78.64 |
| | Permanent residence permit | 22 | 21.36 | 100.00 |
| Age category | | Frequency | Percentage | Cumulative |
| | 18 to 25 years | 8 | 7.77 | 7.77 |
| | 26 to 35 years | 23 | 22.33 | 30.10 |
| | 36 to 45 years | 32 | 31.07 | 61.17 |
| | 46 years and above | 40 | 38.83 | 100.00 |
| Marital status in South Africa | | Frequency | Percentage | Cumulative |
| | Married | 37 | 35.92 | 35.92 |
| | Widowed | 14 | 13.59 | 49.51 |
| | Divorced | 17 | 16.50 | 66.02 |
| | Single | 23 | 22.33 | 88.35 |
| | Living with a partner | 12 | 11.65 | 100.00 |
| Highest level of education | | Frequency | Percentage | Cumulative |
| | Primary school | 42 | 40.78 | 40.78 |
| | Secondary school | 27 | 26.21 | 66.99 |
| | College | 15 | 14.56 | 81.55 |
| | Tertiary | 14 | 13.59 | 95.15 |
| | Other forms of training | 5 | 4.85 | 100.00 |

Source: Author's own compilation based on survey questionnaire (2019)

6.3. Socio-economic characteristics of the households

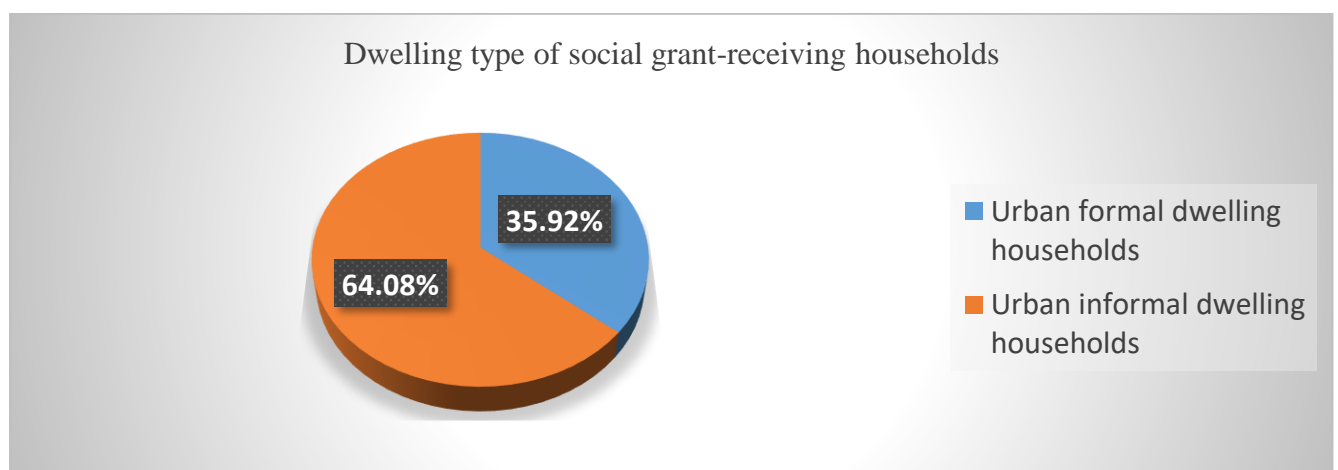
Households are independent economic units whose structure, composition and members' behaviour significantly impact its production, consumption and expenditure patterns (UNHCR, 2012b). In the migration context, a household deviates from the norm of an ordinary household in the sense that it is broad-based and its members might originate from different countries.

The household members are bound by implicit and contractual agreements and arrangements requiring them to pool resources together for the purpose of risk-sharing and achieving a better livelihoods outcome (Massey, 1988; Sana & Massey, 2005). Variables such as nationality, age, gender, marital status, immigration status, and educational background were used to describe the characteristics of the sampled household-heads. In order to capture the socio-economic conditions of migrant households that receive social grants, the following variables were used: household location (geo-spatial) and dwelling type (geo-type), breadwinning, structure and composition, income level and source, school attendance and utilisation of public facilities, spending patterns, insecurity and coping mechanisms, receipt of social grants as well as migrants' opinions, views and experiences of social grants.

6.3.1. Dwelling type, breadwinning, structure and composition of households

The participating households are geographically dispersed throughout the City of Cape Town in such way that the South Africa's urban spatial form of formal and informal settings applied (see Atkinson, 2014). As shown in Figure 6.1, out of 103 households that participated in the survey, those that are classified as urban informal households or informal settlement dwelling types (Atkinson, 2014) constituted the majority, i.e., 64.08%, compared to 35.92% that are urban formal. The overconcentration in informal settlements coincides with the World Bank reports (World Bank, 2018a) which argued that in cross-border migration, a larger percentage of international migrant populations predominantly converge in the peri-urban areas and informal settlement of major cities. It also realigns with other findings that social grant beneficiaries mainly live in the impoverished households in South African townships (Patel et al., 2012; StatsSA, 2018b).

Figure 6. 1. Dwelling type of migrant households based on geographical location



Source: Author's own compilation based on survey questionnaire (2019)

Apart from the household-headship as described in the previous section, to be declared a ‘household breadwinner’ is a complex process, since being a household-head does not automatically entitle a person to be regarded as a ‘household breadwinner’ (Rao, 2012). Based on the results as presented in Table 6.2, only 38.83% of the respondents declared themselves to be simultaneously heads and breadwinners of the households. In the remaining 61.17% the responsibility of breadwinning is unequally distributed among different household members ranging from husbands and wives, daughters and sons to people unrelated to the household members. The implication of this dispersion where the breadwinner is a person outside the household and unrelated to other members, bears testament to the complexity of a household in migration (Casimir & Tobi, 2011; UNHCR, 2012b). This means that in migration, the responsibility of breadwinning is only defined by the domestic function enforced in the implicit contract between permanent household members, even if the person is not a resident of the household as long as that person makes a regular and significant contribution to the household (Stark & Lucas, 1988; Sana & Massey, 2005; Willekens, 2010).

Table 6. 2. Breadwinning in the households

| Type of breadwinner in the household | Frequency | Percentage | Cumulative |
|--|------------|---------------|------------|
| Head of household as a breadwinner | 40 | 38.83 | 38.83 |
| Spouse of household-head as a breadwinner | 20 | 19.42 | 58.25 |
| Male child of household as a breadwinner | 8 | 7.77 | 66.02 |
| Female child of household as a breadwinner | 3 | 2.91 | 68.93 |
| Others – non-resident as a breadwinner | 32 | 31.07 | 100.00 |
| Total | 103 | 100.00 | |

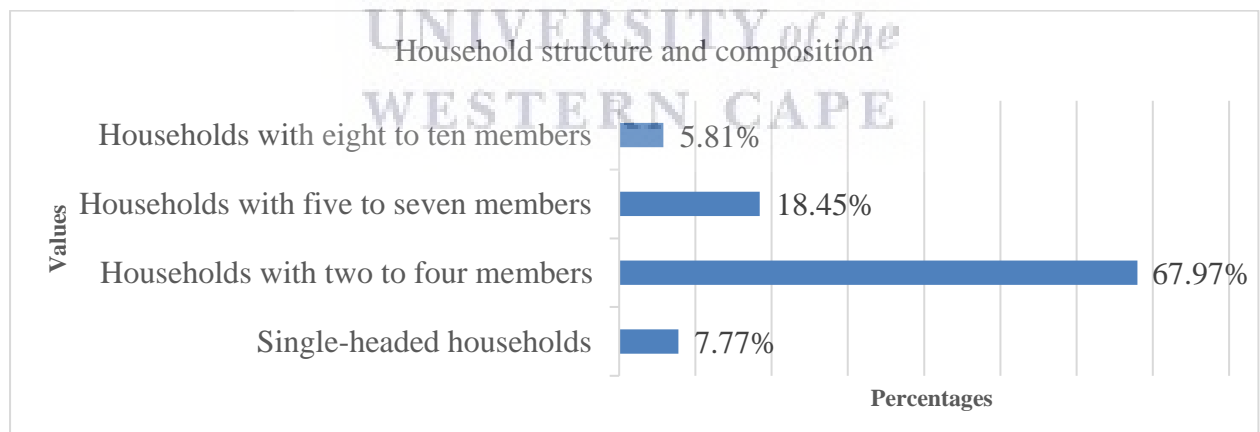
Source: Author’s own compilation based on survey questionnaire (2019)

In the context of migration, the inclusion of non-residents in the broad definition of household results in a fluid structure of the household. This does not conform to the convention of patrilineal rule, rather to one that is built around social networks, informal connections and reciprocity, in a way that resources are pooled together, survival is ensured and livelihood strategies are facilitated (De Haan, 2000; Beaman & Dillon, 2011). Therefore, the findings from this research revealed a fluidity in the composition of households and variations in the household size. Out of a total sample of 103 migrant households selected to participate in the survey, there were 346 members, which is an average of three people per household. When

disaggregated according to the household size, as displayed in Figure 6.2, all households comprising two to four members formed the majority (i.e., 67.97%), followed by households consisting of five to seven members at 18.45%, single-headed households at 7.77%, and households inhabited by eight to ten members at 5.81 %.

This structural size of migrant households where the majority of the households are inhabited by up to three members, corroborates the findings of other studies, e.g., the American Community Survey of 2017 revealed an average size of three persons per household in America (American Community Survey, 2017). Similarly, the General National Household Survey of 2018 reported an average of three people per household in each province of South Africa (StatsSA, 2018a). In addition, a closer examination of Figure 6.2 points to the presence of single-headed and extended households where the largest household was inhabited by 10 persons. This is evidence that urban migrant households share many similar characteristics with those of South African households in terms of structure (StatsSA, 2018b). However, the only difference might be in the definition because in migration, the strict physical permanent residency rule is relaxed or not entirely adhered to as long as there is a high level of resource sharing, interactions and co-mingling between members (Casimir & Tobi, 2011; Beaman & Dillon, 2011).

Figure 6. 2. Household structure and composition



Source: Author’s own compilation based on survey questionnaire (2019)

6.3.2. Household income level, source, stability and regularity

Household income is a central consideration in determining who to target for welfare benefits. The size of the household income is positively associated with livelihood diversification on several dimensions and outcomes, while stability and regularity of the income has a direct

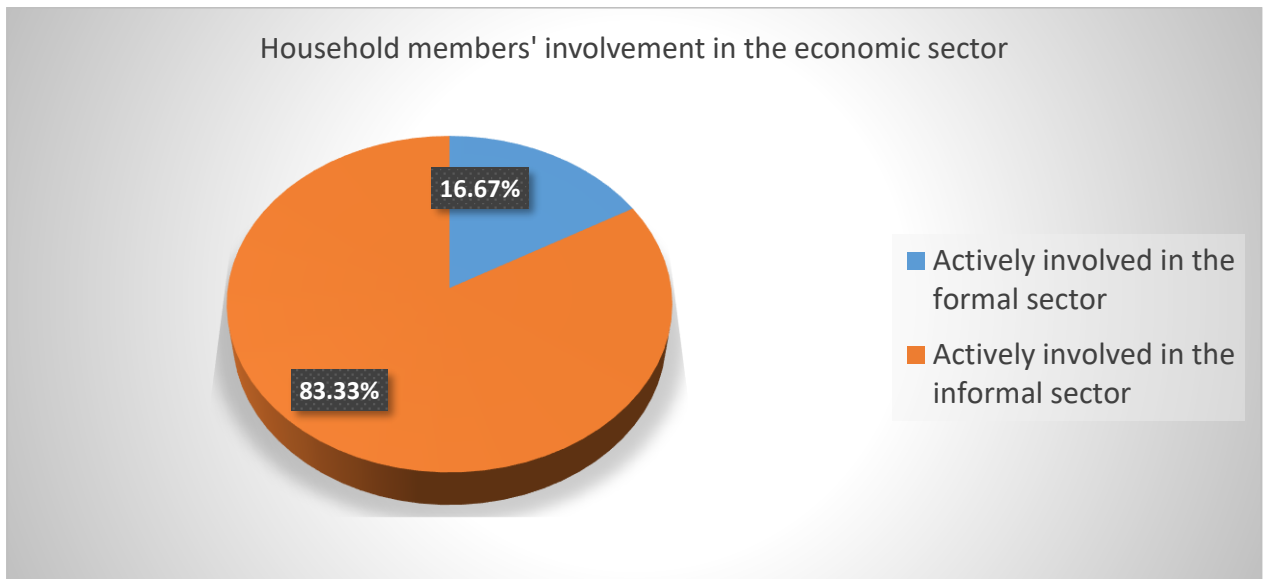
effect on the livelihood security system (Beaman & Dillon, 2011). Using the aspect of household structure as discussed in the household typology in section 2.2, the results of this study indicate that on average, one person in nuclear households (households with fewer than three persons) is earning an income; while two persons in an extended household (households with up to ten members) are at least involved in some form of income or income-generating activities which subsidise income from social grants.

A closer examination of the data, revealed that an average household monthly income, including social grants, of R2,200¹¹. Upon performing calculations, the average monthly household income of R2,200 is divided by the average household size of three persons, resulting in the per capita income of about R733. This is slightly above the national poverty line of R575, but still below the upper-bound poverty line of R758 in 2017 prices (World Bank, 2018b). The implication of this household income is that the migrant grant-receiving households are not in a position to afford adequate food- or non-food items or they have to sacrifice some basic food requirements to satisfy their needs of non-food items (see the World Bank, 2018b). To some extent, this finding corroborates the findings of some studies, e.g., Devereux and Waidler (2017) and the National Centre of Excellence in Food Security (2020) that reported the persistence of food insecurity in South Africa despite the receipt of social grants.

For those households whose members are working or participating in income-generation activities, as Figure 6.3 shows, a greater proportion of them, i.e., 83.33% indicated that their activities took place in the informal sector. This is in contrast to a mere 16.67% whose activities were formalised or were absorbed in or working in the formal sector of the economy, or others who were not working. The findings on the high participation rate of migrants in the informal sector of the economy are consistent with other literature such as (Kalitanyi & Visser, 2010; Northcote, 2015; Ncube, 2017) whose studies disclosed that the necessity-based entrepreneurship drive migrants in South Africa to venture into informal sector.

¹¹ As of 16 February 2021 at 9 am, one South African Rand = 0,069 United States Dollar (First National Bank (FNB, 2021).

Figure 6. 3. Household members' involvement in the economic sector



Source: Author's own compilation based on survey questionnaire (2019)

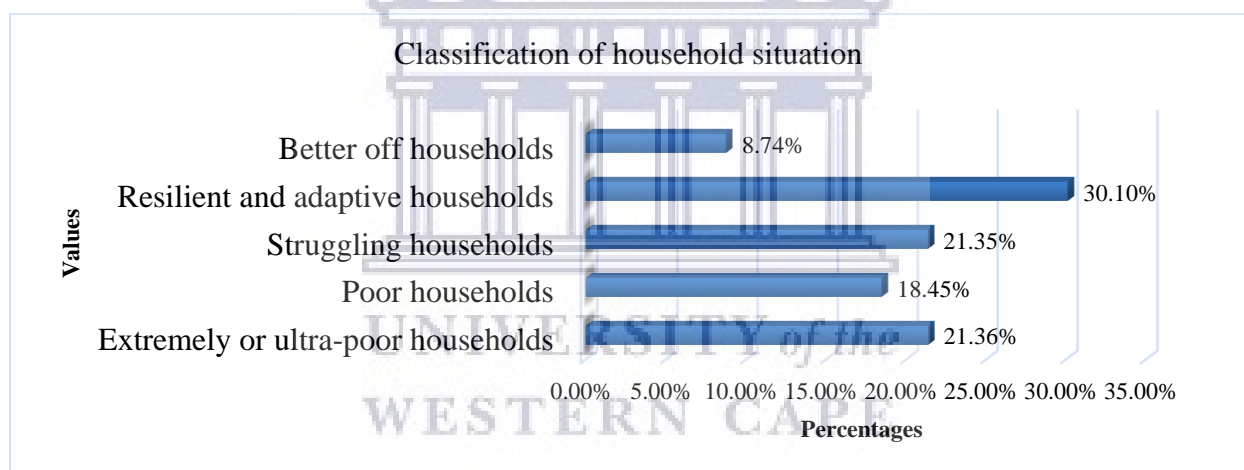
The economic sector where a person's income is generated, has a strong effect on that person's household income stability. It is hypothesised that in a dual and highly segmented labour market of South Africa, those in the formal sector are well-protected with high salaries while those in the informal sector earn unstable income below the average market wage (Barker, 2007). This was confirmed when a question was asked to ascertain the regularity and stability of household income. Apart from the very few households who responded that they made their income from the formal sector (see Figure 6.3), the majority of the respondents indicated that their income was derived only from the informal sector. Again, this is an indication of precariousness on the part of migrant households, as the income from the informal sector has always been described as an erratic, unstable and unpredictable (see Schreier, 2006; Hungwe, 2013; Crush et al., 2017).

The fact that members of migrant households participate in and strive to generate an income from the informal sector to subsidise social grants, contradicts and disproves some of the assumptions and arguments that have been reported in the literature by those who subscribe to the underclass thesis. Some of these studies contended that the poor are not attached to the labour market (see for example, Murray, 1984, 1996; Potts, 2010; Surender et al., 2010) and that social grants discourage the poor to pursue their own income avenues (see, Potts, 2010).

Participants were also asked to reflect on their socio-economic conditions, especially their household financial positions in comparison to their South African neighbours who receive

social grants. As Figure 6.4 indicates, the majority (30.10%) confirmed that they were economically active, by classifying their households as resilient, survivalist and adaptive to the current environment; 21.36% felt that their households were struggling to cope with migration-related poverty, shocks and vulnerability; 21.35% were in extreme or ultra-poverty; 18.45% felt that their households were just poor; while the remaining 8.74% regarded themselves as being better off. When the household income is considered in a broader sense, the findings of this study point to a substantial participation rate in the informal sector, where participants derived an income that is erratic, unreliable and unpredictable. This, per capita, falls between the food poverty line and upper-bound poverty line (World Bank, 2018b). Therefore, on the basis of the household typology (Slater, 2007; UNHCR, 2012b) and types of poverty (Devereux, 2002; Muyanga et al., 2002), as discussed in chapter two, it is correct to conclude that migrant households that receive social grants are transient poor or at risk households.

Figure 6. 4. Household classification on the basis of finances



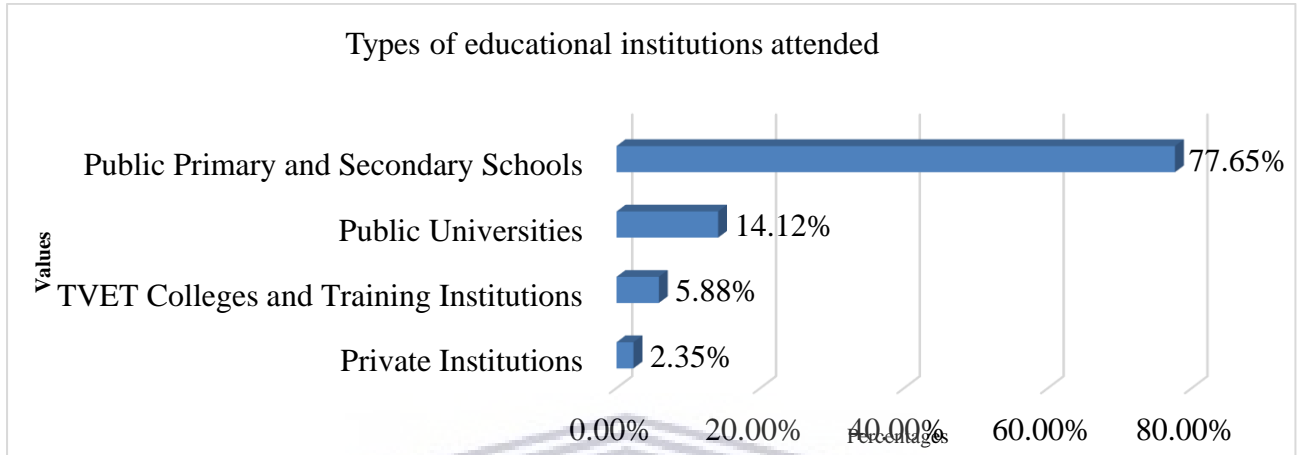
Source: Author’s own compilation based on survey questionnaire (2019)

6.3.3. School attendance and use of public health institutions

Children’s school enrolment and attendance as well as the use of healthcare facilities, such as infant vaccination and immunisation centres are some of the effective soft conditions tied to accessing social welfare benefits in some countries (Rahman et al., 2011; Brickenstein, 2015; Dodlova et al., 2016). In South Africa, there are “no strings attached” on the receipt of social grants and beneficiaries are not required to comply with certain behavioural conditions (Devereux, 2010: 4). Despite this, school attendance among the school-going age children is high among migrant communities. As displayed in Figure 6.5, out of 85 households which reported that their members attended various institutions of learning, 77.65% indicated that

they attended public primary or secondary schools, 14.12% attended public universities, whilst 5.88% attended Technical and Vocational Education and Training (TVET) colleges or NGO-run training institutions, and 2.35% attended private institutions.

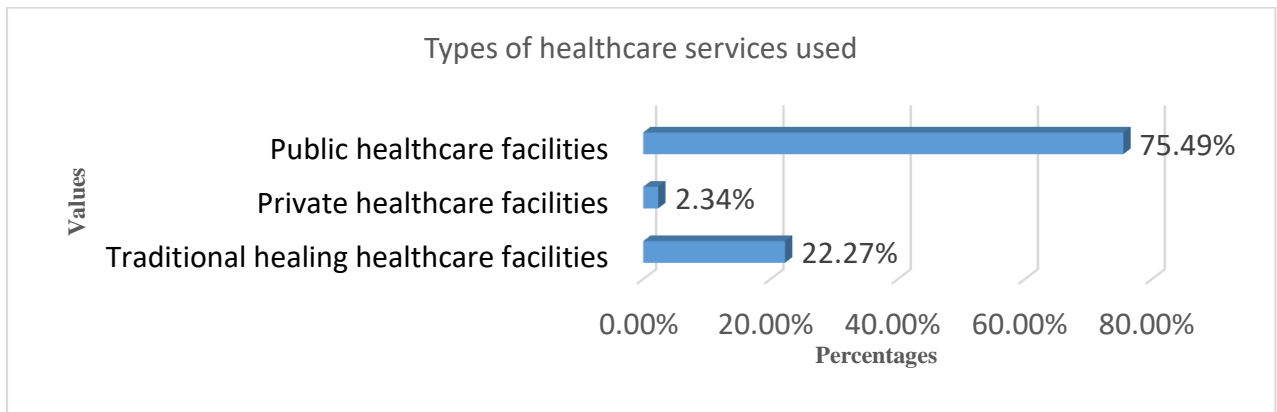
Figure 6. 5. Household members' attendance of institutions of education



Source: Owner's own compilation based on survey questionnaire (2019)

Similar to the public learning institutions which were in high use by household members seeking educational services, the results from this survey indicated that other public institutions that were frequented more, were public or government health institutions, in case they required health-related services. To establish the use of different healthcare facilities, participants were asked where they sought medical services from. The majority, i.e., 75.49% of the respondents indicated that they used public hospitals and government clinics, 22.27% indicated that they preferred going to traditional healers, and only 2.34% indicated that they went to private healthcare facilities (see Figure 6.6). The high preferences together with the high usage of both public learning institutions and healthcare services by migrant grant recipients, can possibly be attributed to the fact that despite numerous challenges, they are fundamentally and constitutionally entitled to freely access these social services (Kavuro, 2015; 2018). Another probable motivation might be, because migrants are from poor households that are not able to afford what the literature has described as 'world-class' and 'high-cost' education and health services provided in the private sector (Boateng, 2014; Maphumulo & Bhengu, 2019).

Figure 6. 6. Household members' utilisation of healthcare facilities



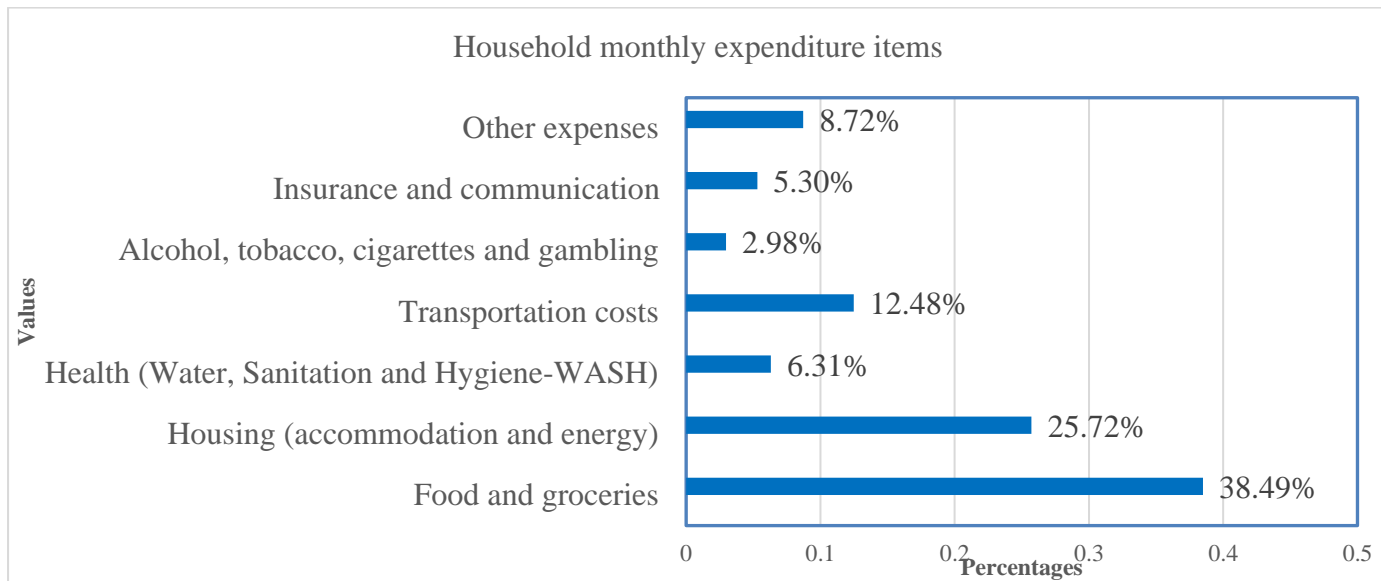
Source: Author's own compilation based on survey questionnaire (2019)

6.3.4. Spending patterns of households

Similar to household income, which has a direct effect on the household livelihood system, spending has a direct effect on the disposable income of the household (StatsSA, 2018a). To assess spending patterns in the household, participants were asked to list their usual major monthly expenditure items. On average, spending on food and groceries accounted for the largest share at 38.49%, followed by spending on housing, i.e., accommodation, rent and energy at 25.72%, transport to work and school at 12.48%, health-related expenses at 6.31%, alcohol, tobacco products and gambling activities – such as the lottery and betting – constituted the least expenditure item on the list as it accounted for only 2.98% of the household monthly budget (see Figure 6.7 for more on the household spending patterns).

These findings on household expenses corroborate the results of the livelihood survey conducted by StatsSA (2018a) which found that food expenditure of households in the lowest income group in urban areas of South Africa accounts for a greater proportion of the income in comparison to the wealthiest households (StatsSA, 2018a). In a similar vein, the fact that spending on alcohol, tobacco and gambling accounts for a small percentage on the expenditure list is not striking. Many studies commissioned in Zimbabwe discovered that the beneficiaries of the Zimbabwe Emergency Cash Transfer (ZECT) prioritised food and other basic items, with an insignificant amount of money spent on alcohol and cigarettes (see Kardan et al., 2010; Roman, 2010; Smith, 2010).

Figure 6. 7. Household monthly expenditure patterns

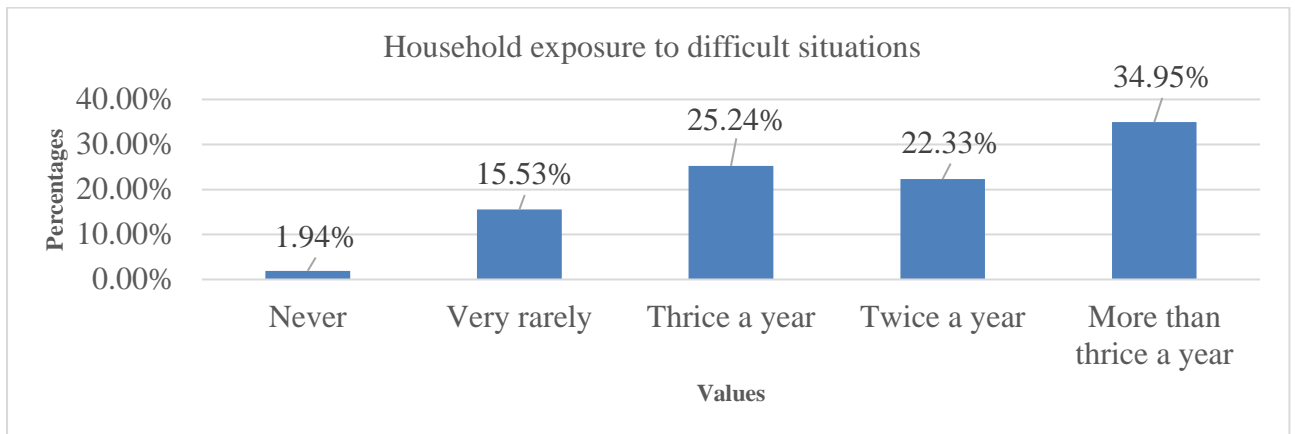


Source: Author's own compilation based on survey questionnaire (2019)

6.3.5. Household insecurities and coping strategies

Insecurities and uncertainties are closely linked to households' susceptibility to risks, shocks and vulnerability (Cannon et al., 2003; Ellis, 2003) (findings on vulnerability are presented and discussed in the chapter on the qualitative research findings). However, it is worthy to mention that insecurity and uncertainty were measured by how often a household succumbed to difficult situations (Devereux, 2002, Ellis, 2003). In this regard, during the survey, respondents were asked to indicate how often their households experienced difficult times in the last two years preceding the study. The majority, i.e., 34.95%, indicated that they experienced difficult times quite often (more than three times), 25.24% experienced difficult situations once a year, 22.33% experienced difficulty on a yearly basis, and the rest of the responses are displayed in the figure below.

Figure 6. 8. Frequency of household exposure to difficult situations



Source: Author's own compilation based on survey questionnaire (2019)

Given that the majority of households succumbed to difficult situations quite often (see Figure 6.8), together with the fact that migration comes with vulnerability (see for example, Sabates-Wheeler, 2009; Sabates-Weeler & Waite, 2003), further questions were posed to ascertain the level of household resilience and coping mechanisms. For the purpose of this study resilience level was measured by the households' abilities to recover from difficult situations and shocks (Devereux, 2002). From this perspective, majority of the respondents, i.e. 75% indicated that it took them an average of three months to bounce back from serious shock, whilst the remainder, i.e. 20% and 5% replied that it took their households an average of five months and seven months respectively. The fact that it took an average of three months for a household to recover from a one-year shock, is an indication that migrant households are resilient. This is not surprising, as a number of studies such as (Amisi & Ballard, 2005; Apalata et al., 2007; Pineteh, 2017) reported that migrants, especially those from war-ravaged countries, are quick to adapt to the environment and are among the most resilient communities of South Africa.

Concerning the issue of coping mechanisms, participants were asked to list the various strategies that households applied when confronted by difficult situations, and their responses indicated that they used either one strategy, or a blend of different strategies. A reduction in consumption and expenditure emerged as the most preferred strategy at 92%, followed by skipping the number of meals taken per day, at 90%. The least preferred strategy was borrowing money from friends and acquiring a loan, at 41%. As displayed in Figure 6.9, the rest of the strategies that households used to cope with or to minimise the risk impact in times of shocks or to cope with vulnerability and uncertainty, ranged from the diversification of income through engaging in income-generating activities and opening up informal businesses, at 83%, forming

and joining informal social protection associations, selling of household items or assets, approaching NGOs for assistance, and seeking help from family, friends or relatives, and resorting to relocation and migrating to another area or town in South Africa.

While skipping meals signifies food insecurity, it also substantiates the previous findings that migrants in South Africa are food insecure (Jacobsen, 2004, 2006; Sithole & Dinbabo, 2016). A combination of skipping meals and reducing consumption forms part of a short-term coping strategy of stinting and rationing (Agarwal, 1989; de Waal, 1989). The finding that migrant households used stinting or rationing as a coping strategy is not surprising. In fact, the Director of the Centre of Excellence in Food Security (CoE-FS) at the University of the Western Cape (UWC), Julian May, in reaction to the President's 2020 State of the Nation Address (SONA) argued that the effect of raising food prices excessively, is that even in higher income households of South Africa, meals are reserved for the children, while adults resort to the cheaper, saltier and unhealthier foods (National Centre of Excellence in Food Security, 2020). In addition, the fact that the most dominating coping mechanisms are short-term in nature (see Figure 6.9), the researcher drew the conclusion that migrant household members are people living on the edge whose livelihood, in Ellis' (2003) view, can experience a sudden fall to the lowest level.

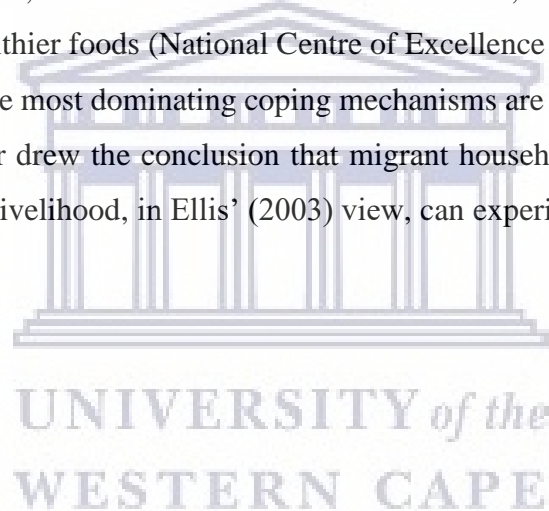
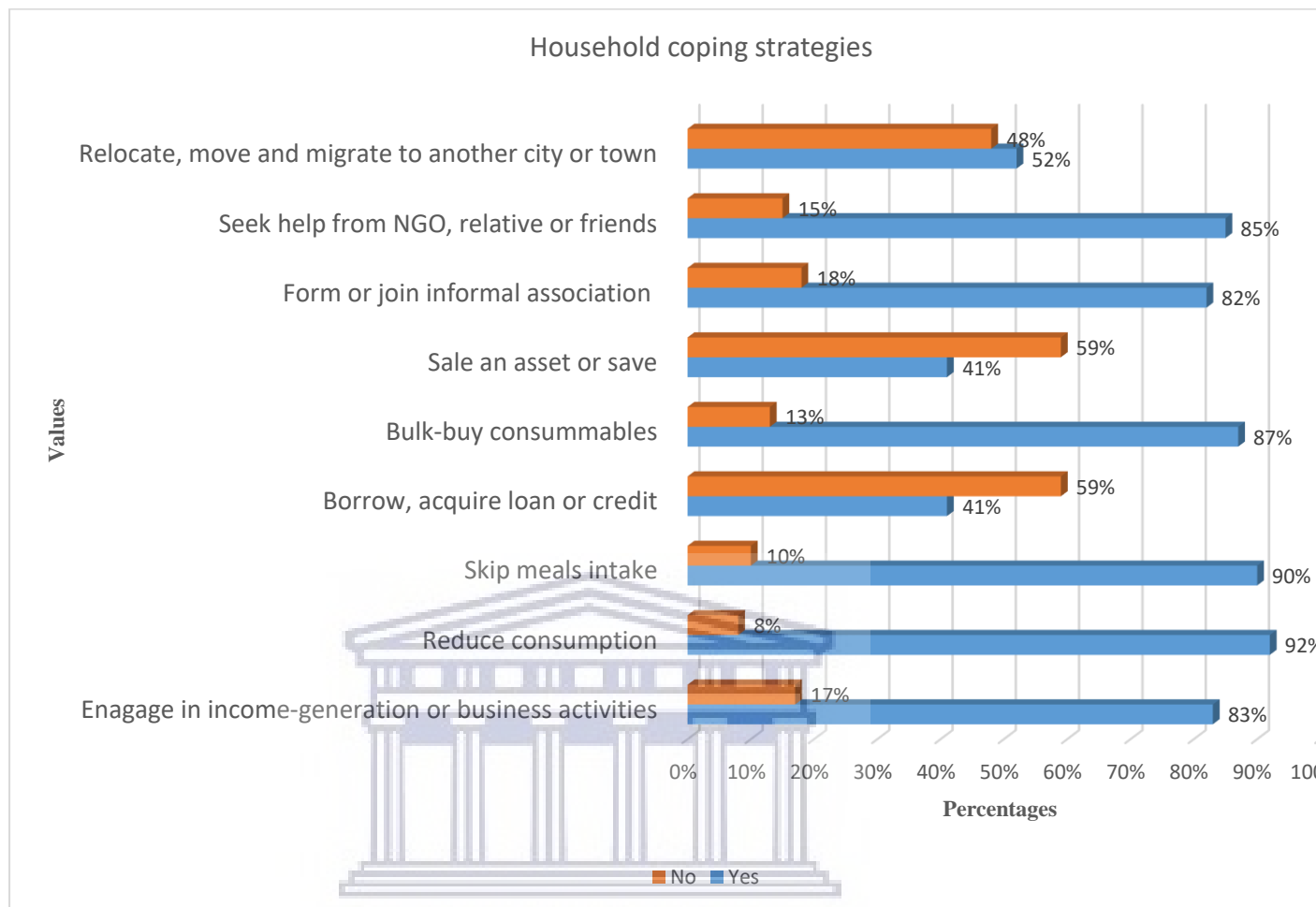


Figure 6. 9. Household livelihood strategies to cope with shocks and vulnerabilities



Source: Author's own compilation based on survey questionnaire (2019)

6.3.6. Payment and receipt of social grants

Social grants are defined as safety net measures put in place to prevent the poor and destitute from falling into a situation of utter destitution (Devereux, 2010; DSD, 2011). According to Devereux (2010) and Rahman et al. (2011) social grants are like ropes that a poor population clings on or tethers on to minimise the falling distance when calamities or shocks strike. During this survey, it was found that the Child Support Grant was the most received grant in the households. Out of 103 households that participated in this study, the Child Support Grant appeared 80 times, i.e., 77.67%. As shown in Table 6.3, other social grants were distributed in the households as follows: the Disability Grant appeared 21 times, i.e., 20.39%, the Old Age Grant (or old pension grant) appeared 17 times, i.e., 16.50%, and the Care Dependence Grant appeared 8 times, i.e., 7.77%.

A deeper analysis of Table 6.3 reveals that in some households there was more than one beneficiary of the CSG. In this regard, the predominance of the CSG in the sampled migrant households correspond with information from other literature. For example, the National Treasury (RSA, 2019a) reported that the CSG has the highest coverage in South Africa, and is among the biggest child social support schemes in the world, with 12.5 million child beneficiaries in South Africa. However, the findings which put the OAG in the third place and the DG in the second place, deviate much from the National Treasury report, which indicates that after the CSG, the second largest social grant in South Africa is the old age grant which provides benefits to about 3.5 million people of the age of 60 years and older, followed by the DG, which is given to more than one million people with disabilities (RSA, 2019a).

Table 6. 3. Types of social grants received in the households

| Social grant types | | Frequency | Percentage | Cumulative |
|-----------------------|--------------|------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| Child Support Grant | No | 23 | 22.33 | 22.33 |
| | Yes | 80 | 77.67 | 100.00 |
| | Total | 103 | 100.00 | |
| | | Frequency | Percentage | Cumulative |
| Care Dependency Grant | No | 95 | 92.23 | 92.23 |
| | Yes | 8 | 7.77 | 100.00 |
| | Total | 103 | 100.00 | |
| | | Frequency | Percentage | Cumulative |
| Disability Grant | No | 82 | 79.61 | 79.61 |
| | Yes | 21 | 20.39 | 100.00 |
| | Total | 103 | 100.00 | |
| | | Frequency | Percentage | Cumulative |
| Old Age Grant | No | 86 | 83.50 | 83.50 |
| | Yes | 17 | 16.50 | 100.00 |
| | Total | 103 | 100.00 | |
| | | Frequency | Percentage | Cumulative |

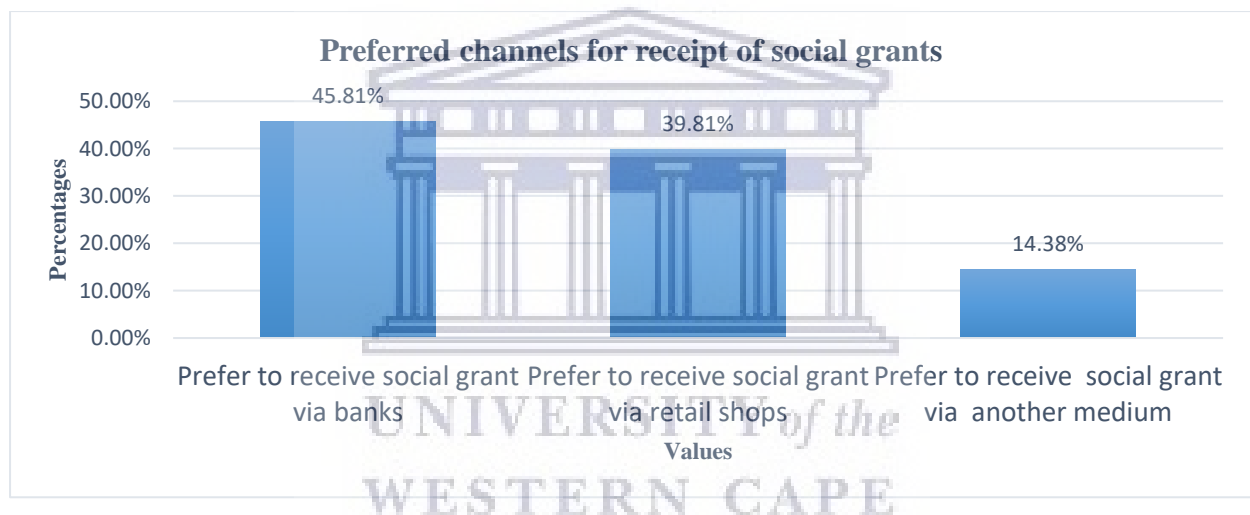
Source: Author's own compilation based on survey questionnaire (2019)

This study also sought to establish the relationship between the grant holder (or card holder) and the beneficiary, i.e., whose bank account was used for the receipt of social grants (person responsible for grant collection). Apart from the children under the care and supervision of adult persons (their parents or guardians), whose banking details are used to sign up for the

CSG, among the adult beneficiaries, 72.80% of respondents indicated that they were both card holders and beneficiaries. The exceptions were, that in a few cases, the beneficiaries of the DG and the OAG, who were severely disabled and seriously frail, allowed their partners, children, or an assigned procurator – someone authorised by a beneficiary to collect a social grant on his or her behalf – to sign up for grants on their behalf (DSD, 2012).

With regard to the social grant payment method, the majority of respondents, i.e., 45.81%, revealed that they preferred that SASSA made a direct transfer into their accounts held in different commercial banks. On the other hand, 39.81% preferred to receive their grant money from retail shops such as Pick and Pay and Shoprite as their grant collection points and the remaining 14.38% preferred other collection points, including mediums such as ‘e-wallets’.

Figure 6. 10. Beneficiaries' preferred channels for receiving social grants

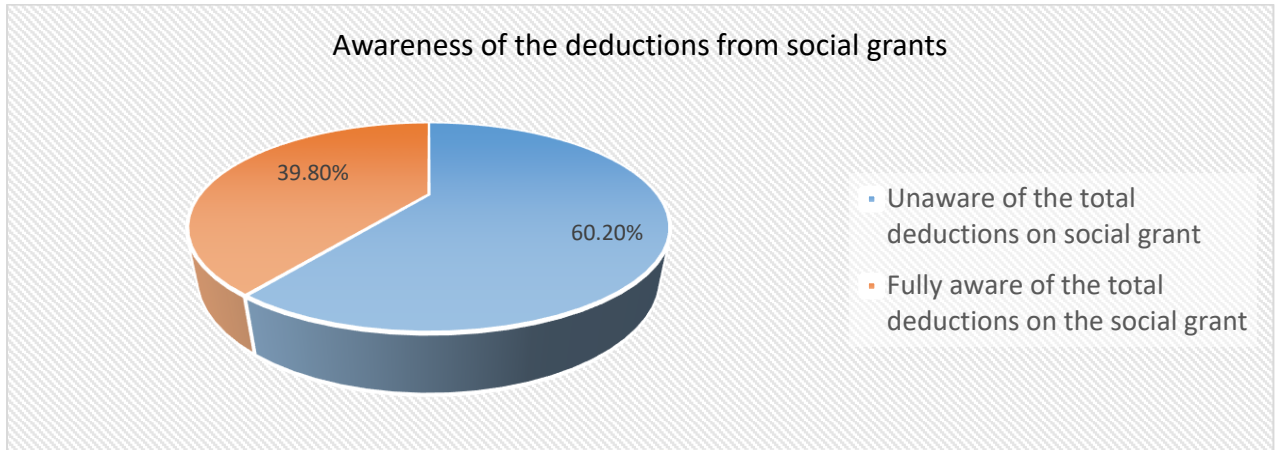


Source: Author’s own compilation based on survey questionnaire (2019)

Despite preferences of direct deposits into the commercial banks as a medium of receipt of a social grant, out of those who chose to use a bank as a medium of payment, more than half of respondents, i.e., 60.20% indicated that they were either not sure or unaware of the total bank charges on their grant money (see Figure 6.11). The issue of grant payment methods and their concomitant charges have been and are still controversial ones in the literature. For example, on the one hand, the study by FinMark Trust discovered that the digitisation and introduction of the SASSA MasterCard led to an inclusion of the poor in the financial sector and enhanced their control and decision-making in the households (FinMark Trust, 2017). On the other hand, the earlier study by Valley (2016) had found that the introduction of a card-based bio-metric payment and beneficiary registration system by a private company (Cash Paymaster Service – CPS) which was contracted by the SASSA, reproduced and promoted precarity and insecurity

in the social grant system, namely cancellations of grants, high and hidden costs, unauthorised withdrawal and longer waiting periods (Valley, 2016).

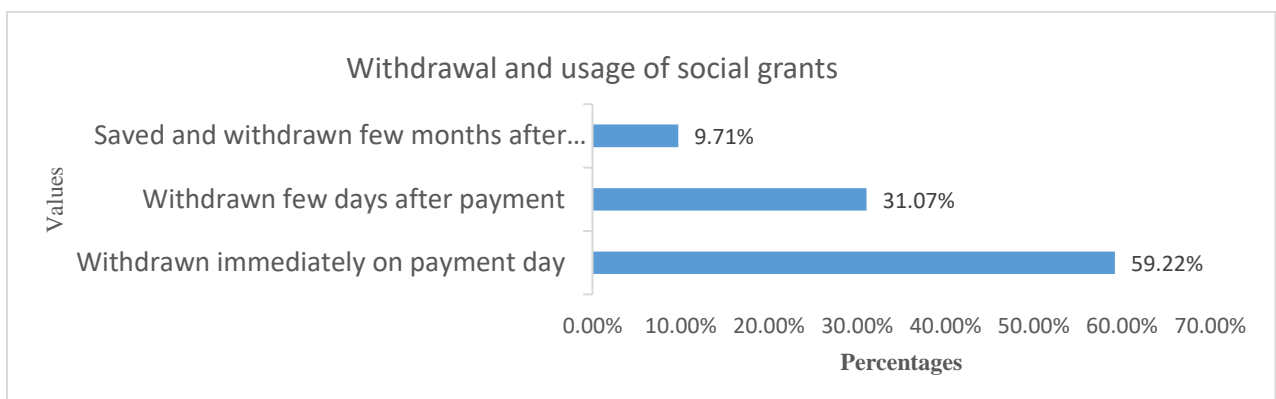
Figure 6. 11. Beneficiaries' awareness level of deductions and charges on social grants



Source: Author's own compilation based on survey questionnaire (2019)

Regarding the withdrawal of social grants, the majority of grant beneficiaries, i.e., 59.22% reported that they withdraw social grants immediately on the day of payment by the SASSA for immediate use in the household; 37.07% wait for a few days after the payment to use the money, and a handful, i.e., 9.71% indicated that their grants money is saved and withdrawn after a few months. Whilst the immediate withdrawal of social grants suggests a propensity to spend, the low saving of social grant money is undoubtedly an indication that through social grants the South African government throws a lifeline to the poor households (this is assessed and discussed in the chapter on the qualitative research findings).

Figure 6. 12. Period it takes beneficiaries to withdraw and use social grants money

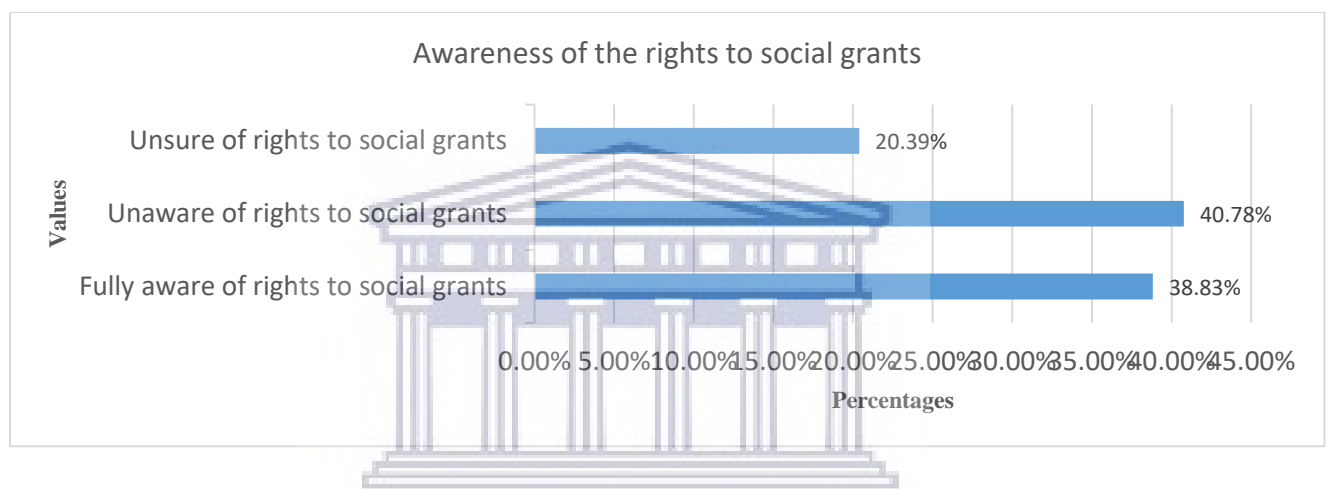


Source: Author's own compilation based on survey questionnaire (2019)

6.3.7. Respondents' opinions, views and experiences about social grants

The study also wanted to establish respondents' views on various issues pertaining to the social grants system in South Africa. When asked about their awareness on the rights to social assistance in South Africa, they provided a mixture of responses, where many participants (40.78%) replied that they were not aware of their constitutional rights when it comes to social grants. As demonstrated in Figure 6.13, this is in contrast to 38.83% of respondents, who revealed that they were fully aware of their rights to social grants and 20.39% who indicated that they were not sure of the existence of these constitutional rights.

Figure 6. 13. Beneficiaries' awareness of their constitutional rights to social grants



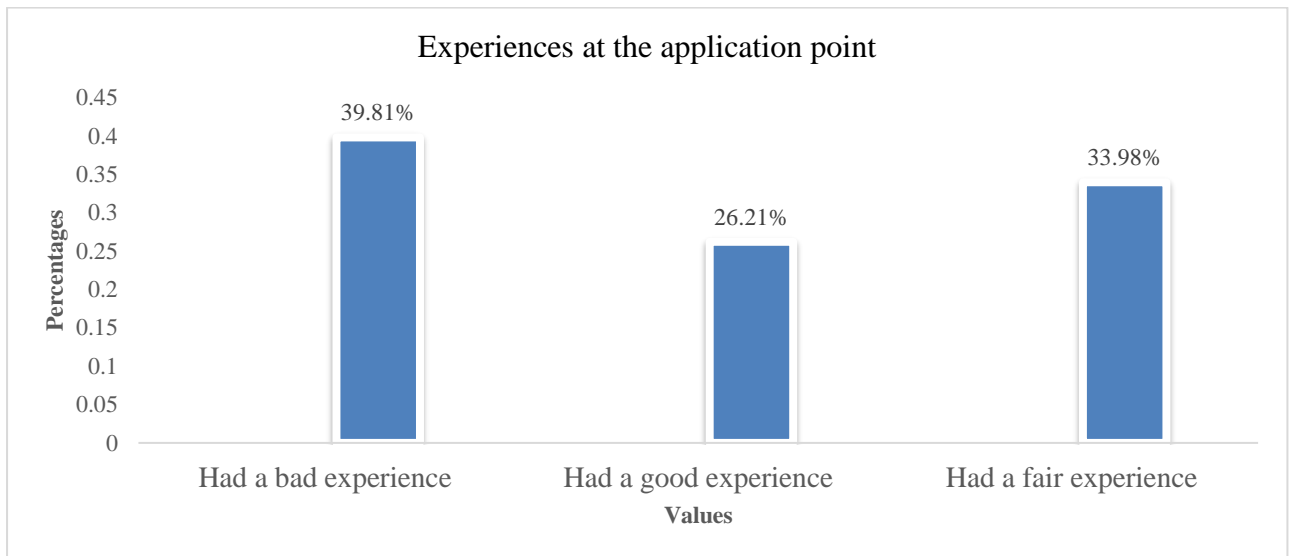
Source: Author's own compilation based on survey questionnaire (2019)

Despite the awareness and unawareness of their constitutional rights when it comes to accessing social assistance grants, migrants were further asked the reason why they thought social grants were extended to them. The majority of the respondents, i.e., 38.83% were of the view that the South African government is extending social assistance to them out of generosity (not because it is obligated to do so). While 37.86% were not sure why the government decided to extend that favour to migrants, the remaining 23.30% felt that the South African government is fulfilling its constitutional obligations of supporting the poor migrants. The fact that the majority indicated that by providing social grants to foreign nationals the South African government is acting out of generosity, is a possible confirmation of information from some sources in the literature. Academics such as Seekings (2005), Devereux (2011), and Bond (2014) consider the South African social protection system exceptionally generous, which puts it on par with a welfare system from most developed nations, not only because of the extensive coverage, but its efficient delivery of grants, which are underpinned by political commitments.

Relating to the application of social grants, there have been general complaints about the SASSA staff's negative behaviour and attitudes towards South African grant applicants (Reddy & Sokomani, 2008; PMG, 2012). This was confirmed during this survey, when the majority, i.e., 41.75% of respondents expressed the feeling that during the application process they were treated in a different manner in comparison to the treatment given to their South African counterparts; 31.07% felt that they were not treated differently because of their immigration status; and 27.18% were not sure whether the treatment that they got at SASSA was due to the fact that they are not South African citizens.

The kind of treatment that applicants were subjected to at the South African Social Security Agency (SASSA) offices by the staff attitudes created a situation of mixed feelings and experiences among beneficiaries. As displayed in Figure, 6.14 a large number of the respondents, i.e., 39.81% described their experience of the social grant application process as a bad experience. The rest of the respondents' experiences were as follows: 33.98% described their experience as fair, and 26.21% had a good experience when they applied for social grants. The unfair treatment of migrants together with their bad experiences during grant application and payment processes are matters of great concern that will be explored in qualitative findings. There are also true reflections of what literature dubbed "never ending cycle of problems and crises in the social grant system" that South African grant beneficiaries experience at the SASSA centres across South Africa (African News Agency, 2020; Black Sash, 2021). This was further confirmed when it was reported that, in January 2021, grant beneficiaries at various SASSA offices in the Western Cape, KwaZulu-Natal and Gauteng Provinces had to wait in long queues for hours in scorching sun or heavy rains which resulted in the death of two people, and the law enforcement officers had to intervene and use water cannons to disperse the crowd and impose social distancing (Black Slash, 2021; Davis, 2021).

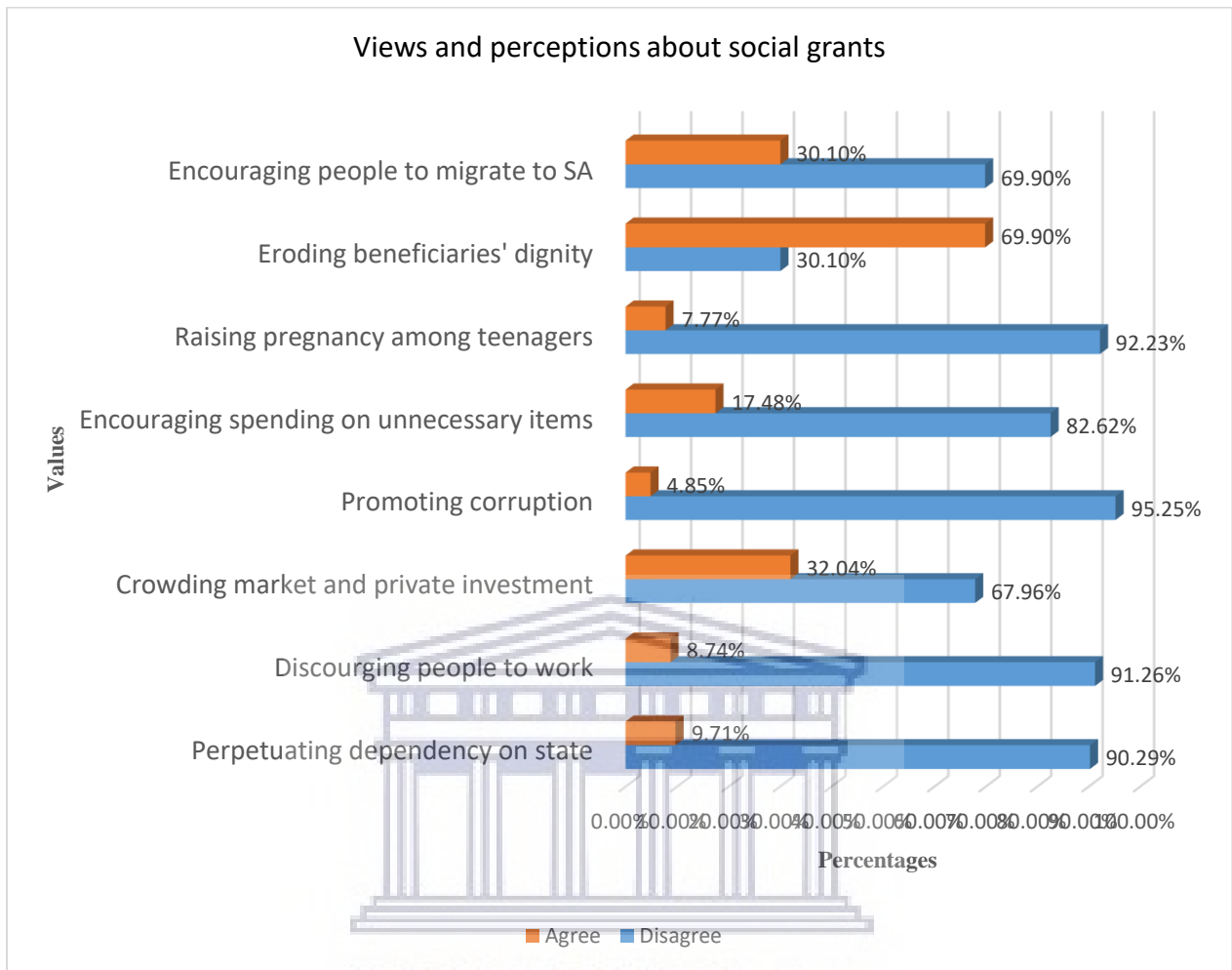
Figure 6. 14. Beneficiaries' experiences of the social grant application process



Source: Author's own compilation based on survey questionnaire (2019)

There have been anecdotal views in which social grants are perceived to create 'moral hazards' that induce beneficiaries to behave in adverse ways, which resulted in unintended consequences. In this survey, respondents were asked to rate their views on the negative perceptions and myths associated with the receipt of social grants, with 1 indicating agreement and 2 indicating disagreement. All the myths were generally debunked and perceptions disproved, except where the majority, i.e., 69.90% of the respondents confirmed that social grants erode beneficiaries' dignity. The remainder of the results are displayed in Figure 6. 15 below and the full discussion is in section 7. 6 of the chapter on the qualitative research findings. However, it is important to point out that the findings on the erosion of dignity corroborate the information from other literature sources, which highlighted that social grants reinforce shame-induced stigma which has an effect on beneficiaries' dignity (Wright et al., 2015; Handa et al., 2018; Roelen, 2019).

Figure 6. 15. Beneficiaries' views and perceptions of the social grant system

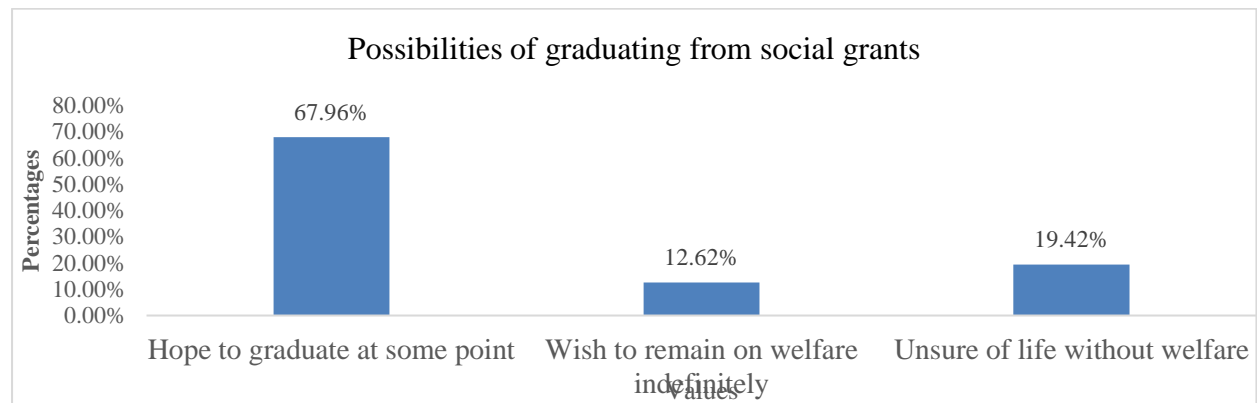


Source: Author’s own compilation based on survey questionnaire (2019)

Concerning the issue of leaving or graduating beneficiaries from social assistance programmes, it is widely recommended that social assistance grants must be used as short-term measures to counter the effects of poverty and vulnerability and to prevent poor people from sliding deeper into poverty, while the long-term sustainable strategies are explored (Shepherd et al., 2011; Devereux & Sabates-Wheeler, 2015). These scholars further proposed that when the poor people have acquired assets and resource thresholds that can equip them for future livelihoods, they must exit the programmes. In view of this, during this study participants were asked if they would ask the government to take them off social grants in future if their financial position and situation improved. As Figure 6.16 demonstrates, the majority of respondents (67.96%) indicated that they would want to graduate at a certain point in time, whereas 13% would want to stay on welfare programmes indefinitely and the remaining 20% were not sure if they will ever be off social assistance grants. The willingness to graduate from social welfare among

migrant respondents refutes the argument in the ‘underclass thesis’ that poor people are happy to derive their income from the state (Murray, 1984; 1996; Potts, 2010).

Figure 6. 16. Beneficiaries' views on possibly graduating from social grants



Source: Author’s own compilation based on survey questionnaire (2019)

6.4. Validating the hypotheses: Relationship between social welfare programmes and livelihood outcomes

In the introductory chapter, one broad hypothesis was formulated to test whether there is a direct relationship between social welfare programmes – social grants in particular – and livelihood outcomes in migrant households. Welfare programs in this study are predictor variables represented by the four social grants which predominate in migrant households, namely the Child Support Grant (CSG), Old Age Grant (OAG), Disability Grant (DG) and Care Dependency Grant (CDG) (see Table 6.3). The dependent variables consist of six dimensions of livelihood security system, i.e., education and training; labour and employment; healthcare services; food and nutrition; accommodation and energy; and water, sanitation and hygiene (WASH) (Yadava et al., 2014; UNHCR, 2012b). Based on these livelihood dimensions, six hypotheses are tested and verified using chi-square and logistic regression techniques. While the chi-square test was conducted to establish if there is an association between each social grant and each livelihood outcome, the logistic regression was used to verify whether or not income from social grants has an impact on achieving livelihood outcomes.

6.4.1. Association between social grants and household livelihood-outcomes

A chi-square test is usually employed when both outcome and predictor variables are dichotomous or categorical (Cohen, 1982; Pallant, 2011). It is a non-parametric statistical test to determine the significance of the difference between expected and observed values (Pallant,

2011; Valveny & Gilliver, 2016). In other words, the chi-square test measures and compares how far the expected counts are from the observed counts, to ascertain if the observed data supports the hypothesis. Thus, the chi-square formula to compute the expected values requires the sample size, and this formula is generally expressed as follows:

$$x^2 = \sum \frac{(\text{Observed count} - \text{Expected count})^2}{\text{Expected count}} \quad [1]$$

In conducting the chi-square test, a significant level of 0.05 (5%) is used for the test of 1 degree of freedom. Also, the general decision rule is that the significance level of 0.05 is allowed, and the Pearson chi-square value or P-value equal to or lower than the given significance level implies, that there is no statistically significant difference between the two groups. i.e., the null-hypothesis must be rejected in favour of the alternative hypothesis (Pallant, 2011). Stated differently, when the Pearson chi-square value is higher than 0.05, the null hypothesis is accepted in favour of the alternative. In this case, the P-value indicates or suggests that there is no significant difference between the two groups under investigation.

As displayed in Table 6.4, the chi-square test results indicate that the CSG is significantly and statistically associated with access to education, skills and training ($x^2=11.0002$, $P=0.001$), access to healthcare services and facilities ($x^2=4.6941$, $P=0.030$), access to accommodation and energy ($x^2=5.5436$, $P=0.019$) and access to water, sanitation and hygiene ($x^2=9.4313$, $P=0.002$). There is also a significant relationship between the DG and access to education, skills and training ($x^2=5.4208$, $P=0.020$), as well as access to water, sanitation and hygiene ($x^2=10.2658$, $P=0.006$). Likewise, the OAG is significantly related to access to healthcare services and facilities ($x^2=5.2143$, $P=0.022$), access to accommodation and energy ($x^2=4.9933$, $P=0.025$), access to labour markets and employment ($x^2=5.2160$, $P=0.022$), as well as access to water ($x^2=10.2658$, $P=0.001$), sanitation and hygiene ($x^2=10.2658$, $P=0.001$).

A closer examination of Table 6.4 below reveals that the CSG is the only social grant associated with all livelihood outcomes, except access to food security and nutrition. This finding is not by a coincidence, the CSG might be small in the amount in comparison to other grants, but Table 6.3 shows that its up-take rate in migrants is high (77.67%). Also, the CSG accounts for 70% of the grants disbursed in South Africa (StatsSA, 2017; 2018a), and because it targets the lowest income and poorest households, the CSG is accredited in literature for its multiple positive impacts in the beneficiaries' households, such as increasing assets for job-hunting

(Van der Berg, 2013); reducing school dropout and improving enrolment and grade promotion (Gomersall, 2013; Beukes et al., 2017); facilitating renting and leasing (Case, 2005); offering protection against risks and strengthening household resilience to shocks; as well as increasing productivity (Patel, 2012; Mabungu et al., 2014; 2015).

Table 6. 4. Chi-square test results of the association between social grants and livelihood outcome-related variables

| Social grants | Household livelihood outcomes – Facilitating or improving access to | | | | | |
|------------------------|---|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------------|
| | Education, skills and training | Healthcare | Accommodation and Energy | Employment, and labour market | Food and nutrition | Water, sanitation, and hygiene |
| Child support | $\chi^2=11.0002$ P=0.001* | $\chi^2=4.6941$ P=0.030* | $\chi^2=5.5436$ P=0.019* | $\chi^2=4.1697$ P=0.041* | $\chi^2=0.0171$ P=0.896 | $\chi^2=9.4313$ P=0.002* |
| Care dependency | $\chi^2=1.7146$ P=0.190 | $\chi^2=2.2213$ P=0.136 | $\chi^2=0.3744$ P=0.541 | $\chi^2=0.4542$ P=0.500 | $\chi^2=1.7252$ P=0.189 | $\chi^2=0.0386$ P=0.844 |
| Disability | $\chi^2=5.4208$ P=0.020* | $\chi^2=1.9183$ P=0.166 | $\chi^2=2.5085$ P=0.113 | $\chi^2=0.1238$ P=0.725 | $\chi^2=0.0545$ P=0.815 | $\chi^2=7.6654$ P=0.006* |
| Old age | $\chi^2=0.7290$ P=0.393 | $\chi^2=5.2143$ P=0.022* | $\chi^2=4.9933$ P=0.025* | $\chi^2=5.2160$ P=0.022* | $\chi^2=0.8226$ P=0.364 | $\chi^2=10.2658$ P=0.001* |

* Statistically significant at the level of 0.05

Source: Author’s own compilation based on survey questionnaire (2019)

6.4.2. Effect of income from social grants on livelihood-outcomes

A range of factors affecting or determining livelihood outcomes of citizens and migrants were discussed and incorporated in the livelihood system model (Table 2.3) in chapter two. These include among others: environmental factors (Mdee, 2002; Sabates-Wheeler & Fieldman, 2010), household size and type, location, resources and assets (De Haan, 2000; Bloquist et al., 2016). To ascertain the impact of social grants on the livelihood-outcomes, a new predictor variable called “proportion of income from social grants, hereafter referred to as “income from social grants” had to be computed. This grant income is a continuous variable taking different values of percentages to represent a share or percentage of the social grant contribution to the total monthly household income which was calculated using the following formula:

$$\frac{\text{Total household income from social grants (Monthly)}}{\text{Total household income (Monthly)}} \times 100 \quad [2]$$

While the proportion of income contribution to the household income took numerical values, as demonstrated in Table 6.5 the livelihood outcomes or dependent variables have binary or dichotomous values of 0 (to indicate the absence of social grant contribution) and a value of 1 (to indicate the presence of social grant contribution) to the livelihood outcomes in migrant households. To describe the data and capture the strength of the relationship between the income from social grants and livelihood outcomes, a logistic regression analysis was conducted.

Table 6. 5. Frequency contribution of income from social grants on livelihood outcomes

| Impact of income from grants on livelihood outcomes | | | | |
|---|-----------|------------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| Livelihood outcomes | Responses | Frequency | Percentage | Cumulative |
| Education, skills and training | No | 17 | 16.50 | 16.50 |
| | Yes | 86 | 83.50 | 100.00 |
| | Total | 103 | 100.00 | |
| Healthcare services | | Frequency | Percentage | Cumulative |
| | No | 21 | 20.39 | 20.39 |
| | Yes | 82 | 79.61 | 100.00 |
| Accommodation and energy | | Frequency | Percentage | Cumulative |
| | No | 29 | 28.16 | 28.16 |
| | Yes | 74 | 71.84 | 100.00 |
| Employment and labour participation | | Frequency | Percentage | Cumulative |
| | No | 17 | 16.50 | 16.50 |
| | Yes | 86 | 83.50 | 100.00 |
| Food security and nutrition | | Frequency | Percentage | Cumulative |
| | No | 4 | 3.88 | 3.88 |
| | Yes | 99 | 96.12 | 100.00 |
| Water, sanitation and hygiene (WASH) | | Frequency | Percentages | Cumulative |
| | No | 42 | 40.78 | 40.78 |
| | Yes | 61 | 59.22 | 100.00 |
| | Total | 103 | 100.00 | |

Source: Author's own compilation based on survey questionnaire (2019)

Logistic regression is an approach used to describe data and explain the relationship between one binary variable and one or more nominal, ordinal, interval or ratio dependent variables (Cohen,1982; Valveny & Gilliver, 2016). In conducting the logistic regression analysis, the same decision rule as applied in the chi-square test was upheld. This is to say that a significance level of 0.05 (5%) is maintained and if the p-value is higher than the significance level of 0.05, then the relationship between the income from grant and livelihood outcomes is statistically

insignificant, and the sample data provide enough evidence to reject the alternative hypothesis in favour of the null-hypothesis. From this perspective, the dimensions of livelihood security of access to education, healthcare, accommodation and water, employment and labour, food security and WASH were regressed against income from social grants in six hypotheses tested and verified as follows:

6.4.1.1. Effect of income from social grants on access to education

Access to education is an essential livelihood dimension tightly connected to the livelihood security system. This is because education, training and skills significantly and positively contribute to human capital development which in turn enables the poor households to access various livelihood resources and become self-reliant (Bebbington, 1999; Davis & Ruthotto, 2015). During this study, a question was posed to indicate whether income from social grants contributes to access to education among households. As displayed in Table 6. 5, out of 103 respondents, the majority, i.e., 86 household-heads (83.5%) replied with a ‘Yes’. To statistically examine the effect of income from social grants on education, the following hypothesis was tested:

H₀: Income from social grants does not affect access to education, skills and training in migrant households.

H₁: Income from social grants affects access to education, skills and training in migrant households.

The logistic regression results in Table 6. 6 showed a coefficient of .310 and a p-value of 0.04 for grants and education. This is a weak positive relationship between income from grants and access to education. In other words, a percentage increase in the income from the social grants leads to a 31% chance of attending schools and acquiring new skills and training, and since the p-value of 0.04 is less than the significance level of 0.05, the null hypothesis is rejected in favour of the alternative hypothesis. This means that the relationship between income from social grants and access to education is statistically significant. This finding is congruent with information from other literature which revealed that social grants provide material and financial support that enhances household members’ capabilities required for educational development through the payment of school fees, purchase of school uniforms and equipment (Patel et al., 2012; Delany & Jehoma, 2016).

Table 6. 6. Income from social grants and access to education, skills and training

| Log likelihood = -44.082 | | | | | | |
|--------------------------------|-------------|----------|-------|-------|---------------------|-------|
| Number of observations = 103 | | | | | | |
| LR chi2(1) = 4.11 | | | | | | |
| Prob > chi2 = 0.042 | | | | | | |
| Pseudo R2 = 0.045 | | | | | | |
| Education, skills and training | Coefficient | Std. Err | Z | P> Z | [95% Conf.Interval] | |
| Income from grants | .310 | .153 | -2.02 | 0.044 | -.061 | -.001 |
| Constant | 2.320 | .464 | 5.00 | 0.000 | 1.410 | 3.229 |

Source: Author’s own computation based on survey questionnaire (2019).

6.4.1.2. Effect of income from social grants on access to healthcare

Access to healthcare services and facilities is a dimension associated with livelihood enhancement and promotion. This because proxy indicator such as the utilisation of health facilities is a potential driving force for achieving sustainable livelihoods, especially when other physical resources have been made easily accessible (Department of Social Development (DSD), 2011; 2016). In this regard, during this survey, 82 respondents (i.e., 71.61%) indicated that income from social grants enabled them to access healthcare services and facilities (Table 6.5). To statistically verify this assertion, the following hypothesis was formulated and tested:

H₀: Income from social grants does not affect the utilisation of health care services and facilities in migrant households.

H₁: Income from social grants affects the utilisation of health care services and facilities in migrant households.

The results of the logistic regression of income from grants and healthcare revealed a coefficient of .190 and a p-value of 0.00. As shown in Table 6. 7, the p-value of 0.00 is less than the significance level of 0.05, therefore the alternative hypothesis is validated, and the null-hypothesis is rejected. The implication of a positive coefficient is that income from social grants is a predictor of access to healthcare facilities and services. This relationship between grants and access to healthcare is not surprising, similar views were echoed by some scholars

who argued that social grants do not only benefits the targeted recipients, but the whole households (Devereux, 2010; Gomersall, 2016), and besides increasing investment in health in grant beneficiary households, frequenting healthcare facilities and utilisation of healthcare services such as child immunization is a soft condition for the receipt of the CSG in South Africa, whilst a regular medical check-up and utilisation of the antenatal facilities for pregnant women is an explicit condition attached to the cash social assistance in India (Rahman et al., 2016; Dodlova et al., 2016).

Table 6. 7. Income from social grants and access to healthcare services and facilities

| | | Log likelihood | | = -38.938 | | |
|------------------------------------|-------------|------------------------|-------|-----------|---------------------|------|
| | | Number of observations | | = 103 | | |
| | | LR chi2(1) | | = 26.31 | | |
| | | Prob > chi2 | | = 0.000 | | |
| | | Pseudo R2 | | = 0.252 | | |
| Healthcare services and facilities | Coefficient | Std. Err | Z | P> Z | [95% Conf.Interval] | |
| Income from grants | .190 | .582 | 3.25 | 0.001 | -.075 | .303 |
| Constant | -1.140 | .643 | -1.77 | 0.077 | -2.401 | .121 |

Source: Author's own computation based on survey questionnaire (2019).

6.4.1.3. Effect of income from social grants on access to accommodation and energy

Access to shelter and energy in urban settlements and setting is of paramount importance for household livelihood security. An indicator such as the number of people with houses and water is critical to sustaining one's life and ensuring that a person's livelihoods are not destabilised and threatened. For poor people living in informal settlements, access to housing functions as a vital productive asset which in turn create other livelihood opportunities (DSD, 2011; 2016; Hall et al., 2006). Although migrants' access to housing in South Africa is one of the most challenging parts of their livelihoods as discussed in chapter 7, the majority of participants in this study, i.e. 74 respondents (71.84%) claimed that income from social grants facilitated them to secure a shelter and access energy (see Table 6.5). To get statistical evidence on whether or not social grants cushion the effect of housing, the following hypothesis was tested:

H_0 : Income from social grants does not affect access to accommodation and energy in migrant households.

H_1 : Income from social grants affects access to accommodation and energy in migrant households.

The logistic regression yielded a correlation coefficient of .651 and a p-value of 0.01 (see Table 6. 8). This coefficient of income from social grants and housing indicates a moderate relationship, while a p-value of 0.01 indicates that income from social grants and access to accommodation and water are statistically and significantly related, thus rejecting the null hypothesis and upholding the alternative hypothesis. This result collaborates with that of a study conducted in Langeberg Municipality of the Western Cape in which Case (2005) found that poor households use the grant money to pay basic needs including rent and energy. It also supports the assertion of Mahlaka (2018) that the only item the poor can leverage to secure loans and procure accommodation is the grants received from the South African government.

Table 6. 8. Income from social grants and access to accommodation and energy

| Log likelihood | | | | | | = -55.792 | |
|--------------------------|-------------|----------|-------|-------|---------------------|-----------|--|
| Number of observations | | | | | | = 103 | |
| LR chi2(1) | | | | | | = 10.86 | |
| Prob > chi2 | | | | | | = 0.001 | |
| Pseudo R2 | | | | | | = 0.089 | |
| Accommodation and energy | Coefficient | Std. Err | Z | P> Z | [95% Conf.Interval] | | |
| Income from grants | .651 | .236 | 2.75 | 0.005 | -.019 | .111 | |
| Constant | -.179 | .417 | -0.43 | 0.050 | -.995 | .638 | |

Source: Author's own computation based on survey questionnaire (2019).

6.4.1.4. Effect of income from social grants on access to employment

Access to employment is a dimension of livelihood system directly linked to the diversification of livelihoods because, labour participation is an important factor for economic inclusion, resources acquisition and promotion of long-term self-sufficiency and sustainability (DSD, 2011; StatsSA, 2017). Among migrants in South Africa, very few individuals are absorbed in

the formal economy, while the majority are involved in businesses and income-generating activities in the informal sector (Kalitanyi & Visser, 2010; Nzabamwita, 2015; 2018). When asked whether money from social grants plays part in accessing the labour market, as displayed in Table 6.5, 16.5% of respondents replied “No”, while 83.5% replied “Yes”. To get a statistical significance of these assertions, the following hypothesis applied:

H₀: Income from social grants plays no role in enhancing labour participation and access to employment in migrant households.

H₁: Income from social grants plays a role in enhancing labour participation and access to employment in migrant livelihoods.

The logistic regression coefficient of income from grants and labour participation is 1.238, and the p- value is 0.03 (see Table 6. 9). This is an indication that income from social grants is positively co-related with access to labour and employment. Therefore, the null hypothesis is rejected in favour of the alternative hypothesis. This positive relationship between grants and labour participation is in contrast to a body of literature which purported inverse relationship between grants and labour. For instance, some literature claimed that government grants promote passivity and laziness and thwart beneficiaries’ efforts to seek employments (see for example Bertrand et al., 2003; Potts, 2010).

Table 6. 9. Income from social grants and access to labour and employment

| Log likelihood | | | | | | | = -43.374 |
|------------------------|-------------|----------|------|-------|---------------------|-------|-----------|
| Number of observations | | | | | | | = 103 |
| LR chi2(1) | | | | | | | = 4.43 |
| Prob > chi2 | | | | | | | = 0.035 |
| Pseudo R2 | | | | | | | = 0.049 |
| Labour and employment | Coefficient | Std. Err | Z | P> Z | [95% Conf.Interval] | | |
| Income from grants | 1.238 | .573 | 2.16 | 0.031 | -.114 | 2.362 | |
| Constant | .693 | .463 | 3.55 | 0.134 | -.214 | 1.600 | |

Source: Author’s own computation based on survey questionnaire (2019).

6.4.1.5. Effect of income from social grants on food security and nutritional situation

Access to food and meeting nutritional needs is a dimension of livelihood security that is directly linked to many phases of migration. Food or lack of it is a potential stimulus for the person to leave his or her home country (emigrate), while the abundance of food in the immigration country is the resource used as a livelihood coping strategy (Agarwal, 1989; de Waal, 1989; Nyeti et al., 2007). As displayed in Figure 6. 9, most of the livelihood strategies used by migrants to cope with uncertainty target food in the form of “stinting and rationing”- skipping meals, reduction of food consumed, bulk-buying of food and resorting to cheaper and unhealthier foods. Based on this strategy, a question was asked during this survey to find out the extent to which social grants play a role in food access, and the large number of household-heads, i.e. 99 (96.12%) indicated that income from social grants contributes to accessing food (see Table 6.5). To statistically test the dependence of food security on income from social grants, the following hypothesis was put to the test:

H₀: Income from social grants does not affect food security and nutritional situation in migrant households.

H₁: Income from social grants affects food security and nutritional situation in migrant households.

The results of the logistic regression showed a co-efficient of .010 and a p-value 0.78. Although the coefficient of income from grants and food is positive, looking more closely at the Table 6. 10, the p-value of 0.78 is higher than the significance level of 0.05, therefore the alternative hypothesis is rejected in favour of the null hypothesis because the relationship between income from social grants and food security is not statistically significant. Whereas it assumed that an additional income in the household would results in food security and better nutritional outcomes. It is worth noting that relationship is not a causation. From this perspective, the finding on food security realigns with information from some literature which hinted that grant money, especially the CSG is not sufficient to make a significant impact on food security and nutritional outcomes in South Africa (Devereux & Waidler, 2017; National Centre of Excellence in Food Security, 2020).

Table 6. 10. Income from social grants and access to food and better nutrition

| Log likelihood = -16.876 | | | | | | |
|------------------------------|-------------|----------|------|-------|---------------------|-------|
| Number of observations = 103 | | | | | | |
| LR chi2(1) = 0.08 | | | | | | |
| Prob > chi2 = 0.779 | | | | | | |
| Pseudo R2 = 0.002 | | | | | | |
| Food and nutrition | Coefficient | Std. Err | Z | P> Z | [95% Conf.Interval] | |
| Income from grants | .010 | .037 | 0.27 | 0.788 | -.063 | .083 |
| Constant | 3.017 | .849 | 3.55 | 0.000 | 1.353 | 4.680 |

Source: Author’s own computation based on survey questionnaire (2019).

6.4.1.6. Effect of income from social grants on access to water, sanitation and hygiene (WASH)

Access to water, sanitation and hygiene is another important dimension of household livelihood security. While water on its own is a basic need and physical resources required for day to day’s survival, access to sanitation and hygiene helps to realise livelihood opportunities and contribute to economic productivity (DSD, 2016; Hall et al., 2006). With regards to this study, it is observable from Table 6.5 that more than half of respondents i.e, 61 people or 59% from migrant households that receive social grants acknowledged that income from grants contributes to access to WASH. To statistically test this link, the following hypothesis was tested:

H₀: Income from social grants does not affect access to WASH in migrant households.

H₁: Income from social grants affects access to WASH in migrant households.

The output for logistic regression as presented in Table 6. 11 yielded a coefficient of .114 and a p-value of 0.00. This coefficient shows a positive relationship, and a p-value of 0.00 is lower than the 0.05 significance level, thus the income from social grants and WASH are statistically and significantly co-related, giving the room to reject the null hypothesis in favour of the alternative. To some extent, this was expected especially that some literature reported that

grants are versatile in use and cover a wide range of household expenses including the purchase of toiletries (CASE, 2008; Gomersall, 2013).

Table 6. 11. Income from social grants and access to water, sanitation and hygiene (WASH)

| | | Log likelihood | = | -54.432 | | |
|--------------------------------------|-------------|------------------------|-------|---------|---------------------|-------|
| | | Number of observations | = | 103 | | |
| | | LR chi2(1) | = | 30.40 | | |
| | | Prob > chi2 | = | 0.000 | | |
| | | Pseudo R2 | = | 0.218 | | |
| Water, sanitation and hygiene (WASH) | Coefficient | Std. Err | Z | P> Z | [95% Conf.Interval] | |
| Income from grants | .114 | .273 | 4.19 | 0.000 | .061 | .168 |
| Constant | -1.572 | .460 | -3.42 | 0.001 | -2.473 | -.671 |

Source: Author's own computation based on survey questionnaire (2019).

In essence, the results from the chi-square test in Table 6.4. show that in all 103 observations of the data set at least one of the social grants is statistically associated with each dimension of livelihood security, except access to food. Likewise, the results from the logistic regression indicate that, if all other things are held constant the income from social grants can statistically and significantly anticipate access to education, training and skills; access to labour and employment; access to healthcare; access to accommodation and energy; and access to WASH. This means that out of the six variables representing livelihood outcomes, five of them are statistically related to income from social grants. Therefore, it is correct to conclude that that social welfare programs, social grants in particular have an impact on the livelihood outcomes in migrant households that receive social grants in South Africa.

6.5. Chapter summary

This chapter consists of the descriptive and inferential statistics results from survey questionnaires administered to the heads of migrant households that receive social grants. To sum up the findings, the statistics showed that migrant households which were included in this study were largely headed by African migrants with heterogeneous characteristics. They were

relatively older males, less educated, and predominantly in possession of refugee status documents. Only a handful of participants, i.e., 21.36% had been awarded permanent residence permits, but were still awaiting their South African bar-coded identity documents.

In terms of the dwelling type, the migrants kept up with the South African settlement trends where they were geographically dispersed in both urban formal and urban informal areas of Cape Town, with dominance of urban informal type of households. Households were also complex in structure and composition with fluidity due to the broader definition, coupled with social networks and connections that characterise migrants. Those in the informal settlements maintained the South African trends, and on average, three persons inhabited households. Households located in urban formal areas were complex because they included people who were not physically present, but they were actively contributing, sharing resources and co-mingling with household members.

In terms of income, very few households derived their income from the formal sector of the economy, with the majority complementing their regular income from social grants, with what they generated in the informal sector. In the dual and highly segmented labour market of South Africa, the migrants generated an average monthly per capita income of R733, which was not sufficient for the households to meet their food requirements and satisfy their basic needs of non-food items. The fact that many of those households earned below the upper-bound poverty line and derived their income, which had been described as ‘erratic, unstable and unpredictable’, from the informal sector, led the researcher to classify them as ‘transient poor or at risk, but economically active households’.

There was a very high attendance of public schools by children in the households and a reasonable number of adult members attended other health facilities and institutions of education and training. With regard to spending patterns, households prioritised food and housing with a few exceptions of alcohol and tobacco. On security and uncertainty, households succumbed to difficult situations quite often, but due to their high levels of resilience, they recovered quickly, applying different strategies, mainly stinting, which combines drastic measures of reduction of consumption and skipping meals and food intake.

On receipt of social grants, four types of grants prevailed in the households, namely the OAG, CDG, DG and CSG, with the most dominant being the CSG. Apart from guardians and parents who received grants for their children, and a few severely disabled persons and some frail older people who used their children, partners and procurators to claim grants on their behalf, the

majority used their bank accounts to sign up for social grants. Interestingly, the majority of beneficiaries preferred to receive their money through commercial banks, despite the high transaction costs and hidden charges. In addition, many beneficiaries indicated that they received poor treatment and have had bad experiences at the SASSA application offices. Despite these bad experiences, the inferential statistics through hypotheses testing revealed that, in overall, social grants contribute to household livelihood outcomes. This will be explored further in the following chapter, with an analysis of the qualitative research findings.



CHAPTER SEVEN – PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF QUALITATIVE FINDINGS

7.1. Chapter overview

South Africa has a fairly inclusive and comprehensive social welfare system, which is on par with that of most developing countries with similar socio-economic conditions (Devereux, 2011; Bond, 2014). The country provides social assistance in the form of government grants to many poor and destitute citizens, including eligible and qualifying foreign migrants who live in South Africa. While the country's welfare social grant system is well-researched and a plethora of literature on it exists, migrants and citizens are often conflated and labelled under one umbrella of 'social grant beneficiaries' without taking into account of migrant-specific vulnerabilities. From this perspective, the aim of this chapter is to present and analyse qualitative data gleaned from the in-depth interviews with migrant household-heads, discussion with the focus group members, and interviews with key informants from the non-governmental organisations (NGOs) that provide help and services to migrants.

While the quantitative data presented in the previous chapter, provided an insight into the socio-economic conditions of migrant grant-receiving households, the qualitative data presented in this chapter, provides a deeper understanding of the grant's phenomenon. It also offers an in-depth assessment of the social grant system, from the process of administration, and application, to payment. To ensure that the quantitative results were complete, it was imperative that participants of this study were asked supplementary questions in ways that elicit responses that clarify the situation and provide more insights on the quantitative findings. Therefore, the results presented in this chapter are discussed, based on the following thematic areas: the situation of households; access to social services; challenges in accessing social grants; and the effects of grants on the livelihood outcomes.

7.2. Household livelihood situational analysis

The livelihood context, as discussed in chapter two, can be characterised by the household activities, including their resources and strategies used to achieve certain livelihood outcomes. The livelihood system is defined by accessibility to economic, social, human and physical resources in the households including the ways in which these resources are combined for the production of income (Carney, 2003; UNHCR, 2012a; 2012b). Thus, in this section an in-depth and deeper assessment of the role of social grants in addressing aspects of the household livelihood system is conducted. This requires a situational analysis of migrant households that

receive social grants i.e., examining household livelihood activities, employment situation, income-generating activities and their assets, within the context of poverty and vulnerability.

7.2.1. Livelihood activities

Migrant households are very complex and might comprise several members originating from different countries who come together to form one single unit of household (De Haan, 2000; Mdee, 2002). The quantitative results pointed to the fact that except in a few cases where single-headed household depended entirely on the government grants for livelihoods, in households with more than one member, at least some members were bringing an income to complement the social grant money. It was also revealed that besides a small number of household members who were involved in the formal sector, the majority indicated that they were employed or performed petty jobs or engaged in the informal income-generating activities which helped to create livelihood opportunities and sustain themselves.

During interviews, participants were asked to elaborate on what members of their households did for a living, and those who were in the informal sector cited a range of businesses and various income- or livelihood-generating activities such as hairdressing, including plaiting, braiding and hair cutting, street trading and hawking, clothing and food vending, construction, mechanics, panel-beating and car repairs, car-guarding, parcel and food delivery, taxi, passenger transportation and asset removal businesses, refuse collection and disposal.

Apart from the above-mentioned activities which, according to participants of the FGD, were mostly performed by the young and energetic household members. During the discussion it emerged that females from informal urban settlements who received disability and old age grants were also involved in other livelihood activities, including small-scale backyard vegetable gardens or backyard farming and animal husbandry such as chicken-rearing, caring for the sick and patients in their homes, and caring for children when their parents were at work.

Using the nature and characteristics of migrant activities, together with the description of their businesses as provided by the participants of the FGD, in conjunction with the industry's classifications by Barker (2007) and Kalitanyi and Visser (2010), the businesses, income-generating and livelihood activities run by migrant respondents can potentially be clustered into various sectors of the South African economy, ranging from sales and retail, service offering, production and transportation (see Table 7.1). The diversification of migrant activities in different sectors is probably as the result of their entrepreneurial spirits. The findings on the

pre-dominance in the informal sector corroborate and validate other studies which revealed that international migrants in South Africa are doing well and are thriving in the sprawling informal economy of South Africa (Kalitanyi & Visser, 2010; Petersen et al., 2019).

Table 7. 1. Clustering household jobs and livelihood activities in different sectors

| Sector of the economy | Type of income-generating and livelihood activities |
|-----------------------|---|
| Retail sector | Selling of cloths and beauty products; operating food stalls as well as vegetable stands; street trading and hawking in various small items |
| Service sector | Motor-car repair and panel-beating; cloth mending; hairdressing and hair-cutting; car-guarding and parking attendance; food and parcel delivery; transportation of passengers and asset removal |
| Production sector | Construction; tailoring and shoe-making or sandal manufacturing |
| Others | Backyard gardening; recycling (scrap metal collection and disposal); poultry farming and animal husbandry |

Source: Author’s own compilation based on FGD interviews (2019) and Kalitanyi & Visser (2010).

Further to livelihood activities, a question was asked about the possible reasons why migrants and members of their households constrained their activities to the informal sectors. Various motives were cited by the respondents why they chose to pursue informal activities which, according to members of the FGD, Bloom and Fieldman (2011) and Moyce and Schenker (2018) are considered degrading, dirty, demeaning and dangerous as well as menial tasks. The primary reason advanced was related to the lack of proper documentation with longer validity periods, which could enable them to gain entry into formal sectors of the economy and sign long-term contracts of employment, as explained by a respondent:

Let me tell you my story and you are going to find it pitiful and stressful. I applied for a job in these big organisations, and went through the interview process. When the time came to sign a contract of employment, I pulled out my A4 refugee status [document] which was about to expire, and they asked, ‘What type of document is this and who issued it?’ I replied that it is my identification document and it was issued by the DHA. They then denied me employment on that basis. Since then, I have decided to become self-employed and never applied for a job in SA again (female participant from the child support receiving household, 2019).

Other respondents, despite having qualifications, attributed their motive to pursue income-generating activities in the informal sector to poverty, to destitution, desperation, fear of hunger, and wanting to complement their income from social grants and afford their basic needs, as narrated by this respondent:

Although I am equipped with diplomas and degrees from my home country, with extensive experience in many industries, my qualifications cannot put food on the table. So, out of desperation and hunger, I had to initiate something to bring in money, so I bought the horse which I use in the collection of scrap metal, which I sell to the recycling companies (male household-head, 2019).

Further discussions with the focus group members on the issue of over-concentration in the informal sector revealed that it is not in the nature of migrants to sit idle and wait for the government to take care of them through social grants. Many entered the informal sector for investment purposes, where grant money was invested, in expectation of bigger returns. According to two of the FGD participants,

Of course, we receive paltry social grants from the SASSA, but one cannot sit and cross his or her hands and wait for government to provide everything. One needs to improvise to avoid being a total burden to the state. The reason why, is that social grant money must be invested and generate more in the near future (female members of the FGD, 2019).

Even in the bible, it is clearly stated that if a person is entrusted with one talent, he or she must invest it so that it generates many more in the future. So, we invest our social grant money in the hope to make a profit and survive (male members of the FGD, 2019).

During the interview, a similar question was posed to the representatives of the NGOs that provide services to migrants, to give their views on the reason why there is an over-concentration of migrants in the informal sector. As expressed in the excerpts below, some of the reasons cited include language problem, preference of citizens and competition in the economy:

Foreign nationals usually compete with SA citizens for few jobs in the formal labour market. In many cases non-citizens are not fluent in English or sometimes discriminated against by many employers who do not recognise qualifications obtained outside of South Africa (representative from NGO 1, 2019).

Another key informant attributed the low level of employment of foreign nationals into the formal economy to the fact that migrants, especially those from African countries, are naturally-born entrepreneurs:

In contrast to the citizens of South Africa, our brothers and sisters from other countries and parts of Africa, are born with entrepreneurial spirits and taught at an early age how to survive in very challenging circumstances (representative from NGO 2, 2019).

More so, one NGO representative re-iterated the issue of discrimination in the South African labour market policy, which make it very difficult for employers to hire non-citizens:

South Africa has made noticeable strides in the protection of refugees, asylum seekers and migrants in general. However, a lot still needs to be done in addressing the issue of its hostile environment towards foreign nationals, especially when it comes to access to labour. The SA labour market makes it very difficult to employ non-South Africans and many employers are hiding behind these discriminatory policies to exclude migrants, which forces them into looking for livelihoods in the informal economy (representative from NGO 3, 2019).

Judging from the various responses as highlighted in the above excerpts, the conclusion is that a number of reasons pushing migrants to pursuing their livelihoods in the informal sector, include: insufficient money from social grants, lack of proper documents, destitution, poverty and desperation, xenophobia and discrimination, preferences for South African citizens, closedness of the labour market to foreigners, language and communication problems. A thorough analysis of these challenges and hindrances to formal economy is closely linked to some of the migration-specific vulnerabilities cited throughout the literature (see for example, Kothari, 2002; Sabates-Wheeler & Waite, 2003; Sabates-Wheeler, 2019). These stumbling blocks confirm the principle in the sustainable livelihood framework (SLF) that the ecological, social, economic, and political environment in the country of immigration forces foreign migrants to become more rational and behave like strategic managers and pursue certain kinds of livelihood activities in challenging circumstances (Beall, 1997; De Haan, 2000).

7.2.2. Household livelihood asset ownership

The number of assets under the control of a household is an indicator of well-being, as these assets can be converted into resources which sustain livelihoods, thereby enabling household members to earn a living and achieve their livelihood outcomes (Chambers, 1991; Carney,

2003). Assets refer to all the resources which are at the household's disposal, including tangible and intangible assets (Chambers & Conway, 1992). In this study, an inventory of resources in the migrant households was conducted and the results indicated that migrants were rich in human capital and poor in financial resources. There was a general consensus among participants of the FGD that migrants possessed intangible resources in the form of skills, entrepreneurial spirit, innovative ideas and academic qualifications from their countries of origin. Respondents also acknowledged that migrants organised themselves into small communities where they built strong social capital and established good community relations with the host communities and maintained strong networks.

It was further revealed by the respondents that items which are ordinarily found in most urban households, such as Television sets, stoves, microwaves, and refrigerators, as well as a supply of water and electricity, were present in many migrant households. Likewise, other items and assets which were considered by the participants of the FGD to be luxurious, such as satellite dishes, washing machines, cell phones, laptops and computers, vehicles and motorcycles, were present in both formal and informal migrant households. In addition, for those in the informal settlements, a few of them, especially the beneficiaries of the OAG and CDG, reported that on a small scale they owned capital resources and livestock, in that they hired small pieces of land, used to grow vegetables and rear animals such as donkeys, goats and sheep. One of the FGD participants narrated the following:

Let me tell you something, being a refugee in a foreign country without a durable and fixed asset such as land, house and property investment, we have to stay together, and help one another. One has to be creative and innovative and use connections and networks to invent something that will supplement our diet in the form of a vegetable garden. It is in this regard that we used our donkey to bring soil and planted vegetables in this small yard. We also buy and sell traditional chickens, which we keep here for a few days before being transferred to Philippi horticultural farm (member of the FGD, 2019).

Nonetheless, members of the FGD remarked that the presence of cars, motorcycles and other valuable items should not be considered as being theirs, nor should those items form part of the asset base of the households, as they were only there on a hired basis and used for the household members to generate income and then returned to the owners at the end of the contracts or agreements, as explained in the excerpt below:

When people see this luxury sedan parked in front of my shack, they see me as a person with a lot of money. But what they do not understand is that it does not belong to me, instead, it belongs to a delivery company that I work for, and I have to work 24/7 to meet the vehicle owner's weekly target (male household-head, 2019).

A closer analysis of the statements from respondents points to a high presence of non-durable assets for formal households. This only contributes to achieving short-term livelihoods without long-lasting effects and represents a weak base for capital assets that can easily be turned into a sustainable livelihood. A possible interpretation of this lack of fixed capital assets is that, in one way or another, migrant households that receive social grants are not in a position to employ long-term adaptive strategies (as discussed in the SLA) to effectively respond to shocks and thrive in the long run.

7.2.3. Household risks, vulnerability and poverty context

In a Sustainable Livelihood Approach (SLA), vulnerability and poverty overlap and can be merged, while deprivation, risks and shocks are indicators of many forms of poverty, including structural, chronic and transitory, which in turn are also linked to household insecurities and uncertainties (Rahman et al., 2011). Vulnerabilities, risks and shocks have been clustered into the categories of idiosyncratic and covariates. According to Devereux (2002), idiosyncratic risks are caused by personal characteristics or those patterns of risks which affect a person as an individual or households, while covariant risks refer to more external, exogenous conditions or generalised phenomena which affect a group of people or community.

In addition to the individual or idiosyncratic risks and shocks cited in the literature, such as unemployment in the formal labour market (Devereux, 2002), during this study participants who were beneficiaries of the disability and old age pension grants highlighted the issues of disabilities, diseases and illnesses. Many respondents from households that were involved in the delivery and transport businesses, cited several motor cycle accidents, which often led to permanent disabilities and incapacitation, as highlighted in the following excerpt:

You see, in the line of our work, we are on the road 24/7, and during rainy seasons when the roads become wet, the accident rates go up and when one falls off the bike and get injured or involved in a road accident, it can take months, even some years to recover. Remember, we are informally employed and not covered for work-related injuries and illnesses. Even claiming from the Road Accident Fund requires a good and expensive lawyer to follow up on the case (member of the FGD, 2019).

Besides individual household risks, urban migrant populations face numerous environmental risks and vulnerabilities in several aspects of service provision, which have been documented in the literature (see for example, Amisi & Ballard, 2005; Jacobsen, 2002; 2006). During this study, both key informants and members of the focus group discussions unanimously reiterated some of the common phenomena and covariant patterns of vulnerabilities that affect migrant populations. For instance, many respondents from informal households highlighted the risks of natural disasters and storms which lead to flooding in winter, fires that ravage informal settlements, and xenophobic attacks which result in displacements. One respondent stated:

If it is not a recurring xenophobic attack which forces us to run away to the police stations and military barracks for safety, and sporadic fires that destroy our houses, it is also the yearly phenomenon of flooding during the rainy and winter months of June, July and August which forces us to seek refuge and shelter in the churches and community halls. In this kind of situation, even the little that we have in the form of assets, are either looted or destroyed. You can imagine how long it would take a person to recover from that situation (urban informal member of the FGD, 2019).

Beneficiaries from both the formal and informal households repeatedly articulated the risks of losing their social grants as the result of expired documents and extension refusal of their refugee documents by the Department of Home Affairs (DHA). Some beneficiaries of the child support grants claimed that their refugee documents were sometimes taken away from them (revoked) by the DHA or when they went to the DHA to renew them, an extension was denied. According to participants of the FGD, the renewal of refugee documents upon expiry was not guaranteed and revoking refugee documents by the DHA as well as delays in the renewal and extensions, were common occurrences. The risks of non-extension and revoking of refugee status have been documented in the literature (RSA, 1998; Kapferer, 2003). In this regard, the Refugees Act No. 30 of 1998 and its amended versions outlined the grounds under which refugee status is withdrawn, including forgery, misrepresentation and fraud, or when circumstances by which it was issued cease to exist, travelling and availing for the protection of home country (RSA, 1998). In addition, migrants have their refugee status revoked due to flawed and faulty decisions on the part of the refugee standing committee (Kapferer, 2003).

Key informants from NGOs pointed to the risks of unsafe environments in the communities:

As we speak now, hundreds of refugees and asylum seekers have moved out of the communities and camped in the central business district of Cape Town. Others are housed

in the Methodist church in the square and they cite the problem of safety in their communities (representative from NGO, 2019).

In addition, a number of respondents from urban and informal households who were involved in the formal sector, surprisingly cited the risks associated with job security, resulting from constant discrimination and casualisation in their workplaces. This is recounted in the following statement:

We were lucky, because we are among a few non-South Africans who are operating in the formal sector. However, our documents have a very short validity, so our employers say that they cannot give us permanent contracts of employment. This leads to a situation whereby we are permanent casual workers in our jobs and we can get fired at any time. In other words, one would say that there is no job security and one cannot plan properly, as our future is unpredictable (member of the FGD, 2019).

There was also a general consensus among both respondents from informal and formal households about the risks of food insecurity due to the general prices of food rising faster than people's income. In a similar vein, migrants from urban formal households complained about general insecure lease agreements and housing tenure by their landlords, which very often resulted in homelessness and many people cramming into small rooms. These findings align with information from most of the literature cited in section 1.4, pertaining to the situation of migrants in South Africa. Likewise, findings on the risks, shocks and vulnerabilities validate the taxonomy formulated by Sabates-Wheeler and Waite (2003) and Sabates-Wheeler and Fieldman (2011) in which four aspects associated with migration and vulnerability were clustered into temporal, spatial or environmental, socio-cultural as well as socio-political aspects.

In principle, when the above excerpts are thoroughly analysed in line with the migration and vulnerability taxonomy, as postulated by Sabates-Wheeler and Waite (2003) and Sabates-Wheeler (2019), factors such as the lack of durable resources, including idiosyncratic characteristics of migrants, and covariant patterns such as unsafe environments, discrimination and xenophobia, constitute variables that form the basis of what Cutter et al. (2003) and Flanagan et al. (2011) termed "social vulnerability". This was defined by Juntunen (2005) as demographical and socio-economic factors that hinder the resilience of communities. On the basis of this information, the author of this thesis concluded that migrant grant-receiving households in South Africa constitute a 'socially vulnerable group'.

Shocks and risks convey a lifelike image of poverty, while vulnerability denotes proneness to poverty (Sen, 1992; 1998; Ellis, 2003). In the multi-dimensions and manifestations of poverty, the researcher wanted to know more about poverty and during the interviews, participants were further asked to describe situations of poverty in their households, similar to challenges alluded to in the section of shocks, risks and vulnerabilities. Their responses emphasised many aspects of poverty and its related issues, including insufficient income, lack of access to financial resources, poor housing, precarious living conditions, and the prevalence of diseases and illness.

Several heads of the informal households, pointed to their dilapidated shacks- houses made of corrugated iron-sheets and wooden planks- to emphasise poverty. One of them had the following to say:

You see this shack of mine; it has holes in it when it rains, all of us have to wake up and sit, cover ourselves with umbrellas. If this cannot be described as being poor, what else would you call it? (Head of informal household, 2019).

While participants from informal settlements cited many other aspects and misfortunes of poverty that included insufficient energy for cooking and heating, i.e., gas and paraffin, those from urban households confirmed the problem of hunger. According to those participants, they went to bed without enough food for days. They also pointed out the problem of lack of shelter, being crammed into small rooms with their children and facing forceful eviction by their landlords, which rendered them homeless.

A thorough analysis of the statements made by respondents show that there are multiple dimensions of deprivation and an absence of financial aspects of well-being in the migrant households (see for example, World Bank, 2018b). In light of this, when a multiple deprivation method and the capability approach are used to measure poverty, a conclusion is drawn that migrant households lack opportunities to enhance their capabilities to function. Moreover, the fact that they were exposed to violent environments and a plethora of other constraints which frustrated their capabilities to function fully, confirm the findings in the chapter on the quantitative research, that households that receive social grants face transitory poverty.

7.3. Access to social services and other socio-economic opportunities

In chapter three, social welfare referred to conditions when people's social well-being and their social needs are fully met, and their social problems are satisfactorily resolved through the

creation of social opportunities (DSD, 2011; Ulriksen & Plageron, 2016). Social welfare services have been defined as programmes or services primarily provided by the state to address people's social needs and to create an opportunity to reach their full potential. During the course of this study, the researcher unearthed from the literature a mixed bag of social services which are delivered by different government departments to the poor and vulnerable, including services related to access to health and sanitation, education, legal services, well-being and protection, as well as access to shelter and housing (Ulriksen & Plageron, 2016).

A wide spectrum of initiatives and interventions are available for the non-working population, including the Unemployed Insurance Fund (UIF) to compensate workers when they become unemployed, and the Road Accident Fund (RAF) to support, cover and provide compensation for deaths and injuries as a result of motor vehicle accidents (Van der Berg et al., 2010; Woolard et al., 2010). Other grant-like programmes introduced, comprise Extended Public Works Programmes (EPWPs) to provide effective short-term poverty relief and skills improvement through job creation; the Municipal Infrastructure Grants (MIGs) to provide support to the poor to access infrastructural services and to access basic services such as water, electricity, and refuse removal; the Umsobomvu Youth Fund (UYF) which provides skills and facilitates access to jobs for the unemployed youth cohort between the age of 18 and 35 years; as well as the National Schools Nutrition Programme (NSNP) which provides at least one daily decent, healthy and nutritious meal to all learners from impoverished schools (both primary and secondary) and teaches them how to maintain proper eating habits and to lead healthy lifestyles (Jacobs et al., 2010).

Within the human-rights-based approach and the jurisprudence of the Bill of Rights enshrined in the South African Constitution, together with the international Bill of Rights (discussed in chapter four), the recognised refugees and migrants with permanent residence permits in South Africa are constitutionally entitled to claim access to the fore-mentioned services (Addaney & Quan, 2015; Deacon et al., 2015). However, the interviews conducted with heads of the households and key informants painted a different picture. For example, respondents complained that once they lost their employment, migrants, refugees and asylum seekers were not allowed to claim UIF benefits, despite having made contributions to the fund when they were still working. This was confirmed by information gleaned from the literature, e.g., Dingo (2020) lamented that foreign nationals are not allowed to claim from the UIF because the regulations governing the UIF are designed in a way that requires a 13-digit South African bar-coded identity document or passport (Dingo, 2020). Nonetheless, the Department of Labour

(DOL) was instructed by the court to update its system to allow eligible migrants with valid foreign documents whose deductions were made against their salaries, to claim benefits from the fund. In this regard, representatives from the NGOs emphasised that the DoL ignored the court order and migrants are still excluded from the UIF schemes.

Furthermore, household-heads, participants of the FGD and key informants stated that they had never heard about programmes such as the MIGs and UYF probably because foreign nationals are excluded from participating. They also bemoaned that the EPWP and food and parcel distribution by the DSD are reserved for the South African citizens only, while housing and other services, such as social support which is meant to enhance people's mental health and well-being through counselling and stress-relief, are inaccessible by non-South Africans.

A further examination of the results from the interviews revealed that there are indeed some services that are accessible by migrants. These include, access to primary healthcare services and facilities and basic education, even while a large number of respondents had reservations about access to nutrition and feeding schemes run by some primary schools. It also emerged that the NSFAS is not accessible to non-nationals. The exception was the Road Accident Fund (RAF), which respondents highlighted, that they did actually access it, but cautioned that in order to get a pay-out from the RAF, a person is required to wait for up to three years – a process that members of the FGD described as “lengthy and expensive, requiring ‘larney’ lawyers and many sophisticated legal representations to log a claim”.

It also emerged that despite some challenges in the social welfare assistance system, social grants constituted the one category of government assistance that qualifying migrant households received. More than half of the sampled respondents indicated that they received the Child Support Grant (CSG). Other social grants received, include the Disability Grant (DG), Care Dependency Grant (CDG), and the Old Age Grant (OAG).

Apart from the monetary social assistance grants provided by the Department of Social Development through SASSA, respondents indicated that there were other social protection programmes, provided and managed by faith-based organisations (FBOs), non-governmental organisations (NGOs), and community-based organisations (CBOs). Participants of the FGD indicated that those grants were irregular, and were received in the form of food parcels, access to soup kitchens, and in most cases they received food-denominated supermarket vouchers and in-kind transfers. Representatives from organisations highlighted that their services to migrants extended beyond food parcels to include cash transfers for food, tuition fees, and other

miscellaneous financial assistance, as stipulated in their certificate of registration and in accordance with the services in their mandate, as required by the DSD. Female participants of the FGD mentioned that there are NGOs running programmes which help refugees and asylum seekers to raise money for rent and food. Male participants also indicated that they received money at the beginning of the school year to buy school uniforms and materials for their school-going children. During the FGD, the participants acknowledged the NGOs, FBOs and CBOs that provided a range of welfare programmes. These included, the Scalabrini Centre of Cape Town, Adonis Musate Project, Catholic Welfare and Development, Gift of the Givers, Muslim Welfare and Educational Trust, Refugee Social Services, South African Red Cross Society, and SANZAF's Social Welfare Programme.

Following up on the welfare programmes run by the NGOs, the researcher enquired about other informal social protection mechanisms which exist in the migrant communities. Respondents cited a mixture of community initiatives which are based on the rule of trust and reciprocity, including mutual insurance systems, support group organisations, gift-exchange arrangements, stokvels¹², savings and credit cooperatives and associations, community or family-based arrangements, burial associations and societies, self-help groups (SHGs), money lenders, and traders.

The existence of informal social protection networks alongside formal social assistance grants in the migrant households is not a coincidence. A number of scholars (such as, Neves et al., 2009; Verpoorten & Verschraege, 2008; Dafuleya, 2018) reported that no matter how small and insignificant they are, informal organisations based on reciprocal networks bridge the gap left by formal social protection instruments and play a central role in the survival of poor and marginalised households in both urban and rural areas. Another possible explanation for the existence of informal social protection structures among migrant social grants recipients would be that migrants have a strong social capital and the fact that only a small percentage of migrants are involved in formal economic activities. In that regard, they would complement their SASSA grants and income from the informal sector, with income from informal networks, in eking out their livelihoods.

¹² Stokvels are informal saving and investment schemes among black South Africans where members regularly contribute a fixed amount of money to a central fund from which each member receives a lump sum pay out at a specified time in future (Matuku & Kaseke, 2014).

7.4. The effect of social assistance grants on the household livelihood outcomes

Social assistance grants are government interventions aimed at combatting poverty, which have a consumption-smoothing effect on the affected households. As poverty reduction measures, social safety nets are also used in the alleviation of household vulnerabilities and shocks. Even though they constitute a small income transferred from the state to the households, beyond their reactive and residual role of alleviating poverty and reducing inequality, scholars (such as Devereux, 2002; Sabates-Wheeler & Waite, 2003; Sabates-Wheeler, 2019) indicated that social grants contribute to multidimensions of livelihoods in the sense that they have a long-term direct protective effect and short-term indirect promotive effect on the household livelihoods.

While protective and promotive measures may often overlap, and distinguishing between the two is difficult, it is argued that protective measures have specific short-term and medium-term objectives of providing a guarantee of relief from risks, shocks, deprivation and vulnerability, while promotive measures are micro-economic measures linked to poverty alleviation that directly affect the poor's real income and improve their immediate consumption and capabilities (Sabates-Wheeler & Waite, 2003; UNHCR, 2012b). Therefore, for the sake of simplicity to assess the effect of social grants on the livelihoods in migrant households, the social grant livelihood-promoting effect uses long-term, indirect livelihood dimensions of access to education, food, hygiene, housing, and healthcare, while the livelihood protection effect uses short-term direct dimensions, such as income and investment in productive activities.

7.4.1. Livelihood protection effect of social grants on the households

Social grants have a direct positive effect on raising and sustaining household income, as they bring an extra income which can be used for consumption, they increase the household purchasing power, affect disposable income of members, and improve their capabilities to participate in the labour market as they provide a cash injection into their businesses (Barker, 2007). During the fieldwork, a question was posed for the heads of the household to reflect on their household situation before and after receipt of social grants. A large number of the child support grant beneficiaries acknowledged that although the grant money is little, it contributes to the household income and facilitates consumption and expenditure. Members of the focus group discussion (FGD) unanimously referred to the CSG as “manna from heaven or miraculous God-given food to migrants”. The key informants from the NGO had consensus

that social grants provide an added income and possibly constitute the only income used to overcome poverty, and without it, many households would not be in a position to afford their basic immediate needs.

Contrary to the beneficiaries of the CSG who indicated that their grants money was consumed immediately, the majority of the heads of the households testified that the OAG, CDG and the DG served a greater purpose than the CSG. They indicated that those grants were invested in business ventures and used as start-up capital for informal businesses and income-generating activities. They also used the money to acquire productive assets such as poultry, donkeys, and materials for backyard vegetable gardens, as well as using it as collateral to secure small loans in the informal credit markets. The versatility of the OAG, CDG and DG in protecting migrant household livelihoods is not a coincidence, as these are high-value grants, with a collective value of almost triple the average monthly income of R575 for a poor person in South Africa (StatsSA, 2018a, 2018b).

7.4.2. Livelihood promotion effect of social grants on the households

Apart from the immediate and direct monetary benefits of raising income, facilitating employment and income-generating activities, which are short-term reactive measures to poverty and residual roles, social grants play a long-term promotive role in the household livelihood outcomes. To assess the effect of social grants on the non-monetary aspects of livelihoods, both household-heads and participants of the FGD were asked to reflect on the effect that social grants had on their households in achieving livelihood outcomes. Respondents reported that social grants move beyond playing the role of providing basic safety nets, to include other long-term livelihood promotive activities such as enhancing and improving access to education, skills and training; facilitating and supporting the utilisation of healthcare services and facilities; improving access to food and nutrition security; increasing chances of securing accommodation and payment of water and energy.

7.4.2.1. Facilitating access to education, skills and training

Despite the South African Constitution of 1996 that guarantees and protects all children's rights to access primary education (RSA, 1996), many foreign nationals still struggle to access education, especially in public schools and institutions (African Centre for Migration & Society (ACMS, 2018). In this regard, responses from participants of this study indicated that the receipt of social grants facilitated access to educational institutions and training facilities and enabled children to attend schools. Many respondents from households that received the CSG

pointed out that a few months into the programme, they were able to afford school uniforms and materials for their children, which resulted in better attendance and improved performance of the children. One respondent reflected thus:

In our township, children must attend school, not only because it is required of us by the SASSA for the child to continue receiving the social grant, but because we want a better future for our children. When a child is taken care of by the state, that child must also be educated so that he/she can contribute to the country at a later stage in life (female household, 2019).

In addition, participants from the FGD, especially those from households which received the OAG and the DG, reported that money from social grants empowered them to buy school items for their children, provide them with transport money to school and healthy meals before going to school.

A further analysis of the responses from household-heads revealed that in many cases social grants money provided them with an opportunity to acquire new skills and training in information computer technology, such as internet surfing. According to one respondent,

Because of social grants, I can afford transport money to go to the Scalabrini Centre for their Employment Access Programme (EAP) to learn computer and other job searching skills. Before that, I would sit at home (male household-head, 2019).

Surprisingly, in some households, participants indicated that the CSG was even split to benefit those attending tertiary learning institutions:

My elder daughter's CSG elapsed immediately when she turned 19 years. Now she is pursuing a degree at one of the universities in Cape Town. We understand that the government funding scheme, NSFAS, only caters for South African citizens. Now we are supposed to support her on her young sister's grant as we do not have another income (female household-head, 2019).

These findings by which social grants enable migrants to access education, acquire new skills, and improve academic performance are in congruity with results from research on the CSG conducted among South Africans. Scholars such as Armstrong and Burger (2009), Van der Berg et al. (2010), and Beukes et al. (2017) found that the CSG plays a significant role in children's access to education. These findings also correspond with those from studies

conducted elsewhere, e.g., the Livelihood Empowerment Against Poverty (LEAP) grants in Ghana (Agbaam & Dinbabo, 2014), the school allowance in Brazil (Forteza & Langou, 2012), and the Juntos programme in Peru (Jones et al., 2008) where these programmes facilitated beneficiaries to access educational and training institutions, thus contributing to the promotion of human capital development.

7.4.2.2. Enhancing and improving utilisation of healthcare facilities and services

Similar to primary education, access to basic healthcare is one of the fundamental socio-economic rights guaranteed in the South African Constitution (RSA, 1996). However, refugees and citizens alike are still finding it difficult to access healthcare systems in South Africa (Maphumulo & Bhengu, 2019). To determine the effect of social grants on the health of household members, a question was posed to ascertain if there were differences in the utilisation of healthcare facilities and health services before and after the receipt of social grants. Responses from participants showed that in their struggle to access healthcare, social grants play a significant role in the sense that they facilitate, promote and improve the utilisation and frequency of their use, i.e., they indirectly improved beneficiaries' health, influenced and empowered household members to afford medication and enabled them to afford transport to go and seek medical help. This was confirmed by one respondent:

The importance of social grants in our health should not be underestimated. I need to consult my traditional doctor at least once a month. To go there, I have to borrow money from my child's social grant for both the transport and doctor's payment (beneficiary of the DG, 2019).

7.4.2.3. Increasing chances of accessing accommodation, water and energy services

Section 26 (1) of the South African Constitution stipulates that, "everyone has the right to have adequate housing", and Section 27 (1) guarantees everyone the right to have access to clean water (RSA, 1996). Although these two sections of the Constitution are seen as distinct, adequate housing is closely linked to access to water and energy (electricity) (Hall et al., 2006).

With regards to housing, the Department of Human Settlements, Water and Sanitation restricts access to housing to South African citizens, and migrants are excluded from housing subsidies and benefits. Even in privately-owned accommodation (Jacobsen, 2006; Clacherty, 2019), they are required to produce proof of address, income, and proof of employment, which are difficult to obtain because they are temporary stayers, working mainly in the informal sector

(Nzabamwita, 2015). The literature has also shown that in the real estate market, migrants are exploited by unscrupulous landlords who overcharge them, demanding double or triple the rental and deposit amounts. The results are that migrants end up living in dilapidated buildings and overcrowded rooms in urban areas, while those in the periphery of cities live in shacks in appalling conditions (Greenburg & Polzer, 2008; Clacherty, 2019).

Despite these challenges that migrants face in the housing and real estate market, during the fieldwork, it was revealed that social grants play a significant role in avoiding homelessness in migrant households, as they are used to mitigate problems in accessing accommodation. Since the majority of respondents in this study were people without a regular income, many indicated that the social grants constituted the only income that they had, in order to pay their rental at the end of the month. The beneficiaries of the DG, OAG and CDG reported that their grants were used and accepted as proof of income by landlords in the townships, as indicated below:

I went to apply for a room and was told by the landlady that she does not take non-South Africans because they have no regular income and fail to pay their rent at the end of the month. When I pulled out my bank statement to show that I have a monthly regular income from disability grants, I was given a room (DG beneficiary from informal household, 2019).

Many participants of the FGD went as far as stating that the SASSA communication letters served as proof of address to sign short-term lease agreements, as the comment below indicates:

How can they say that we do not have proof of address and we cannot be traced, when we are beneficiaries of government grants and receive regular [government] communications? Surely that is enough proof of address? And it helps us to sign lease agreements (member of the FGD, 2019).

The role of social grants in ensuring access to accommodation and shelter in migrant communities was confirmed by responses from key informants. One representative indicated that,

Migrants do not have fixed assets which generate a regular income, they are also not entirely trusted by the landlords as they fear the inability of honouring lease agreements due to lack of income, and payslips. However, being in receipt of social grants act as a guarantee that at least at the end of the month, a person receives an income (representatives from the NGOs, 2019).

Deducing from participants' responses as reported above, the conclusion is that, similar to their investment role, social grants also act as a collateral when migrants are securing accommodation.

In relation to accommodation, water is an important livelihood resource and commodity, while energy for heating, lighting, cooking and communication is essential to reach livelihood outcomes. Both water and energy are basic human rights enshrined in the South African Constitution, where access to free, adequate, sustainable and clean water is one of the dimensions in the Bill of Rights (RSA, 1996). In this respect, the democratic South African government's vision is to ensure that all low-income households have access to fresh and clean water and households suffering from poverty and unemployment have access to sustainable and affordable energy services (RSA, 1996). Laudable improvements have been made in this regard – each poor household in registered areas is allocated six kilo-litres of clean and fresh water free of charge, per month, while low-income and impoverished households receive subsidised energy tariffs (StatsSA, 2017). Despite the relief and support measures, the national government policy of water and its programme to deliver electricity to all do not cater for non-citizens, because they have to pay rental fees, which include water and electricity, to their landlords.

Thus, a further question was posed to ascertain the role of social grants in access to water and electricity. The results indicate that social grants play an important role in bridging the gap in the policy that prioritises citizens and excludes foreigners from the constitutional rights of access to water and energy. The beneficiaries of the OAG, CDG, and the DG unanimously confirmed that they used the grant money to pay electricity bills, as well as to buy paraffin for cooking and lighting. Participants whose rental charges were more than the value of the grant, indicated that their social grants were used as subsidies. The use of social grants by migrant households to subsidise the cost of accommodation and to cover the water and electricity bills corroborate the findings of the study conducted in the Langeberg municipality of the Western Cape, in which Case (2005) and Case et al. (2005) reported that the OAG is versatile in covering all household expenses, including repairing beneficiaries' houses.

7.4.2.4. Improving food security and nutrition situation

South Africa produces sufficient food for both domestic and international consumption, but food insecurity and hunger in poor households remains a serious challenge (Devereux & Waidler, 2017). One of the possible reasons is that foods are not accessible to many because

the poor and vulnerable members of the population do not have the necessary purchasing power to afford enough, quality and healthy foods (National Centre of Excellence in Food Security, 2020). Malnutrition, which is an indicator of food insecurity, also remains at an alarming level, where stunting, underweight and wasting among South African children and obesity among adults continue to be significantly high (Devereux & Waidler, 2017). Numerous studies have shown that migrants in South Africa are not spared from these challenges of food insecurity and its accompanying malnutritional consequences (see for example, Apalata et al., 2007, Sithole & Dinbabo, 2016).

During the course of this study a question was posed to the household-heads and members of the FGD to unearth the effect and role of social grants on household food security indicators and the nutritional outcome. According to recipients of the OAG, CDG and DG, the food and nutrition situations improved after the receipt of social grants, as regular income from grants were used as a buffer to bridge the gap between the income from employment and businesses. According to the recipients of the DG and CDG, they prioritised the purchase of nutritious items like milk and food such as fruits, vegetables, eggs and meat, immediately after receiving social grants, while the CSG beneficiaries acknowledged that they bought groceries on a grant payment day.

Interestingly and surprisingly, the author of this thesis realised that findings from the qualitative results on the impact of social grants on access to nutrition and food security do not match with those from the quantitative results on hypothesis testing. A possible explanation for this mismatch is that in quantitative analysis, spending on food and groceries accounts for the biggest chunk of a household budget. It also emerged that migrants face many vulnerabilities, shocks and risks. The most frequently-used coping mechanisms, were: the reduction in the number of meals consumed, skipping meal intakes, and reserving the food for the children. The conclusion is that, in general, social grants improve the food security and nutrition situation, but the impact on food security and nutrition is not felt by individual households. To some extent, this is in line with Devereux and Waidler (2017) and the National Centre of Excellence in Food Security's (2020) reports that social grants improve the food security situation, but much still needs to be done on nutritional outcomes, as the food prices are rising faster than the social grant amounts.

7.5. Challenges and obstacles in accessing government social assistance grants

Despite the South African social grant system being one of the biggest social welfare transfer schemes in terms of number of beneficiaries and coverage on the African continent (Devereux, 2010), there are still obstacles barring citizens and migrants alike to access social grants in South Africa. Apart from the well-documented challenges inherent in the system, such as expensive and sophisticated methods of administration of social grants, which make means-testing and targeting very expensive (Reddy & Sokomani, 2008), high levels of fraud and corruption, SASSA staff attitudes and behaviour (Delany & Jehoma, 2016), there are other challenges peculiar to migration and migrant socio-economic conditions in general. In this regard, households that participated in this study were asked to elaborate on the challenges that they face in their efforts to access social grants – from the initial application, to the payment processes. Both the household-heads and participants of the FGD unanimously highlighted the challenge related to the documentation, namely, refugee status which only grants them a temporary stay in the country, with a short validity which sometimes requires a renewal after six months. As one respondent lamented,

We are only issued refugee status, which only lasts four years. When you go to the DHA for renewal, it is not automatic because sometimes you are told to come back the following week, and if you are unlucky, your status is only extended for six months. Every time you get a new document, SASSA wants it verified, so many people lose their social grants in the process (FGD participant, 2019).

Regarding the application process, many respondents confirmed some of the challenges that South Africans face when applying for social grants. These included, the tiresome bureaucratic and administrative process, which requires many documents, and raises the costs associated with the high cost of application in terms of transport money, and some officials from SASSA being unaware that refugees also qualify for social grants. Some applicants of the CSG complained that their applications were rejected on the basis that the child's name on the abridged birth certificate differed from the parent's surname on the refugee status certificate, because in their home countries and culture, children do not necessarily carry their parents' surnames, as reported by this respondent:

To apply for social grants is a nightmare, as it requires an investment and resources in a sense that one has to provide many documents, including bank statements, refugee documents and police affidavits and proof of address – which are difficult to get as a

refugee – making multiple trips to different SASSA offices to see if one can get accepted, because for some reasons SASSA employees at certain branches do not accept applications from non-South Africans – maybe they are not aware that refugees are eligible to apply for social grants. I had to move from Bellville office to Mitchells Plain and when I got there, I had to spend many hours standing in the scorching sun in the queues (female household-head, 2019).

Some respondents complained of the language used during the interview to assess their eligibility for the social grants. This participant narrated that the interviews were conducted in English and that the paperwork was completed in English, without the assistance of an interpreter:

You see, I'm a French speaker and when I went to apply for the CDG, there was no interpreter, with their fancy English. The first time I failed to pass the interview, until I took my own translator the second time (female CDG beneficiary, 2019).

In addition, during the FGD, many respondents complained of the negative attitudes of the welfare officers – rudeness and incompetence – and the lack of facilities at SASSA branches. In the words of one participant:

[There are] no recreational facilities in the waiting area for our children and [there are] blocked toilets. The situation is exacerbated by the 'sucking' attitudes and conduct of SASSA staff, in the sense that they speak to us in a rude manner (participant of the FGD, 2019).

Contrary to the allegations of corruption and fraud on the part of SASSA and its officials, as reported in some of the literature (see for example, Reddy & Sokomani, 2008; Delany & Jehoma, 2016), participants did not report any incidence of that sort of behaviour, except the complaints that people paid small fees to other applicants and beneficiaries to be at the front of the queue while waiting to be attended to by SASSA officials, as reported by this participant:

Some people wake up early in the morning to get a front place in the queue, then later sell it at R50 (FGD participant, 2019).

Some respondents highlighted the problem of being stigmatised and discriminated against by fellow South African applicants. Respondents who are white of foreign-born origin, reported

the problem of discrimination by other applicants, by hearing statements like this one, as reported by a white migrant beneficiary:

‘What are you whites doing here at SASSA? Social grants are meant for us black people who fought against apartheid and its ill-treatment [of black people], that we were subjugated to, by you. You whites, you hugely benefitted from the apartheid government, so you are not supposed to be here, fighting for grants, with us!’ (White migrant beneficiary of the DG, 2019).

Upon receipt of payments, many respondents complained that their grant pay-outs became inaccessible, following the Financial Intelligence Centre Act No. 38 of 2001 (FICA) regulations that require banking institutions to regularly verify information and profiles of their foreign national clients that they enter into transaction with and suspend their bank accounts upon expiry of their permits (RSA, 2001). Similarly, beneficiaries who received their grant money through banking institutions, complained that there are hidden bank charges, and unauthorised deductions, while those who collected their grant money via retail shop outlets and collection points, reiterated a problem associated with long queues and the presence of thieves that target the disabled, the elderly, and other vulnerable groups.

Furthermore, the beneficiaries of the CSG indicated that the transfer value of social grant money is very small and a big part of it remains in the banks due to banks charges, as reported by this beneficiary:

My child is supposed to receive R440, but when I went to withdraw the money, there was only R40 in the bank account. When I queried it with SASSA, I was told that there is nothing they can do, and that I must take it up with the bank (female CSG beneficiary, 2019).

Another head of a household had this to say:

I can assure you that apart from the information that we regularly receive from SASSA indicating that the grant money went up, every month when I go to the bank to transact, I get a different amount of money as my bank requires me to retain a certain balance to keep my account active (male CSG beneficiary, 2019).

In contrast to some respondents whose complaints were about high charges and transaction fees by private commercial and banking institutions, many respondents in the FGD

acknowledged that the best and cheapest option for small transfer value of the grant, was to transact using the SASSA card or to withdraw from the post office bank.

Regarding communication, respondents conceded that apart from using only the English language, that they are not fluent in, they further reiterated the issue of poor, unclear and inadequate communication and a general lack of information on the part of SASSA. During the FGD, members gave examples of where SASSA abruptly suspended their social grants (without notice), or sent emails and SMSs to people who cannot read and write, or sent letters to beneficiaries who live in informal settlements without physical addresses, which get lost. According to one respondent:

My social grants lapsed. When I inquired was told that they are still working on the validation of my document with the DHA, and now I missed my grants for two months and there was no communication sent to me during the document validation process (female beneficiary of the CSG, 2019).

7.6. Debunking the myth and dispelling negative perceptions about social welfare grants

The provision of social welfare benefits to the poor has prompted numerous negative claims, arguments, debates and discussions (see section 1.2). Also, various common perceptions, beliefs, and ideas about whether social welfare programmes lead to perverse behaviour have proliferated and been reported in the literature (e.g., Potts, 2010; Wright et al., 2015; Handa et al; 2018; Roelen, 2019). These include perceptions that social assistance creates dependency on the state, induces unnecessary spending, discourages participation in productive activities, distorts prices and leads to inflation, promotes corruption, raises pregnancies among teenagers, and perpetuates shame in recipients.

During the interviews, participants refuted and disproved all the negative perceptions and beliefs which are associated with government social assistance grants. However, when asked to elaborate during the FGD, there was consensus among the participants, especially among the beneficiaries of the child-targeted grants that social grants and their processes, from standing in queues during application and collection of cash at the retail shops, to the treatment by some welfare officers, erode their dignity and create shame. One possible reason for this shame and stigma-induced social grants is because poverty is likened to shameful experiences and social assistance transfers instil low self-esteem, self-confidence and self-respect among beneficiaries as well as diminish their dignity (Handa et al., 2018; Roelen, 2019).

On the view that social grants discourage people to seek paid employment and encourage them to depend on the state welfare, respondents dispelled this myth by saying that they do participate in the informal labour market, that the amount from social grants is small and insufficient, that the state is only approached for help when a person falls into a destitute situation – a situation which many participants describe as being a temporary arrangement until they can stand on their own feet.

On the question that social grants attract migrants to choose South Africa as their destination, both migrants and key informants were of the view that refugees were not even aware of the social grant provisions before embarking on a migration journey to South Africa. Forced migrants who were likely to be on welfare programmes, chose to come to South Africa for various reasons including peace, security and protection of human rights. The economic migrants chose South Africa for other reasons, chief among them being study and business opportunities, grants being the least or not on the cards. These reasons and motives for immigration are in contrast to the assumption of the welfare magnet hypothesis that the possibilities of receiving welfare assistance benefits are the key ‘pull’ and ‘stay’ factors of migration (Borjas, 1994, 1999; Jakubiak, 2019). However, they replicate and substantiate the findings from other studies in which political stability, safety and policies that allow refugees to work in South Africa (Dinbabo & Nyasulu, 2015; World Bank, 2018a). In the USA, the prospect of higher wages, and professional and personal development ranked among the highest ‘pull’ factors of immigration (Kannakutty & Burrelli, 2010; Abramitzky & Boustan, 2017).

On the exclusion of some categories of migrants such as asylum seekers, from the welfare grants, there was consensus among key informants that this was not surprising, as it was just like any other exclusion and discrimination that the South African government practices in other service provision where departments prioritise citizens. In this regard, migrant respondents perceived South Africa to be generous towards poor refugees, but regarded the system as unfair, in the sense that the selection process unfairly excludes many vulnerable individuals who would have qualified on the basis that they do not have refugee status, which is largely due to the mismanagement at the Department of Home Affairs.

On the view that a social grant creates dependency, members of the Focus Group Discussion (FGD) dispelled this myth. Instead, they stressed that the graduation from the social grants was likely to happen especially to the youth, but for the older persons and people with disabilities,

it was far-fetched. The participants of the FGD further highlighted that migrants worked hard to become self-reliant and those who were energetic, were constantly looking for ways to improve their situation. If their financial positions improved, they would not continue being on social grants. However, they cautioned that the automatic system of graduating a child the moment a child turned 19, was unfair. According to the respondents from many households, the age of 19 is when the child is likely to be entering a tertiary institution and would require more help than before because without citizenship and a South African 13-digit bar-coded identity document, migrant children are excluded from the National Student Financial Aid Scheme (NSFAS).

7.7. Chapter summary

This chapter presented and discussed the qualitative results from interviews with heads of the households and discussions with members of the FGD from migrant households that receive social grants, together with the representatives from the NGOs that provide support and services to migrants. In analysing the situation of households, similar to the previous chapter, this chapter brought to the fore the fact that a significant number of migrants performed various petty jobs and income-generating activities which were grouped into the three sectors and industries of service, manufacturing, and retail. The beneficiaries of the DG and the OAG in particular, practiced small-scale back-yard gardening, and provided home-based care services of caring for children, and the sick.

Migrants households that receive social grants are socially vulnerable and are categorised as the transient poor. In terms of vulnerability, they face personal risks and shocks (idiosyncratic) and general patterns of vulnerabilities from the external or exogenous environment (covariates) including, exclusion from social services, discrimination, xenophobia, unsafe environment, and poverty-related incidence. Migrants residing in informal settlements face problems, including poor housing and homelessness, food insecurity, lack of or insufficient energy for cooking and lighting (gas and paraffin).

With regard to other services, the chapter demonstrated that migrants and refugees are excluded from a wider spectrum of government initiatives which target the poor, non-working and low-income population such as the Unemployment Insurance Fund (UIF), Expanded Public Works Programs (EPWPs), National Student Financial Aid Scheme (NSFAS), housing subsidies and food parcels distributed by the DSD, as these programmes require the possession of a 13-digit South African identity document. However, migrant respondents indicated that they were able

to access few services such as primary healthcare, basic education, and claims from the Road Accident Fund (RAF).

The chapter also demonstrated that, apart from the social grants provided by the DSD, there are other irregular social protection programmes provided by the FBOs, CBOs and NGOs, which include supermarket-denominated vouchers, cash or in-kind transfers which are easily accessible for all categories of poor and vulnerable migrants including the undocumented. Similarly, a mixed bag of informal social protection mechanisms which are based on trust and reciprocity exist in migrant communities alongside government social grants and NGO-run social protection interventions. These community-based informal social protection networks play a central role in the survival and livelihoods of migrant who receive social grants, as they provide insurance against shocks, provide financial assistance during funerals and burials and offer credit- and loan facilities to members.

In addition, the chapter outlined the challenges and obstacles barring migrants from accessing social grants. Alongside the well-documented challenges in the administration and delivery which are inherent in the social grant system of South Africa, in conjunction with migration-specific challenges, the migrant beneficiaries of social grants complained of poor communication, high rejection and exclusion rates, untrained and rude SASSA employees, untimely termination of social grants and abrupt suspension of beneficiaries' bank accounts, as well as high and hidden transaction costs. Despite these challenges, the chapter demonstrated that social grants have a significant short- and medium-term livelihood protective effect in migrants, as the income from social grants is regular and timely and invested in productive assets, income-generation, and livelihood activities. Social grants also have long-term livelihood promotive effects, in the sense that they facilitate access to non-monetary livelihood outcomes such as education, health, accommodation, and food security.

On the basis of the promotive and protective effects of social grants, all the negative beliefs, claims, perceptions, and myths that social welfare programmes induce adverse behaviour, were refuted and disproved. Nonetheless, in dispelling the myths surrounding social welfare programs, this chapter and the previous ones showed that social grants are very crucial for the livelihood of the households, but they instil stigma and create shameful experiences, which eventually erode and diminish the dignity of the beneficiaries. The next chapter integrates all the key findings and provides recommendations on how access to social grants can be improved in the migrant population in South Africa.

CHAPTER EIGHT – KEY FINDINGS, CONCLUSION, RECOMMENDATIONS AND AREAS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

8.1. Chapter overview

Social welfare policies and international migration are inherently linked, in that prospective migrants usually emigrate to countries where they expect to be granted better protection and receive higher welfare assistance benefits. Previously, the South African social security system excluded people of colour and populations of foreign origin. It was only after the 1994 democratic dispensation that the system was overhauled to extend social assistance grants to refugees and migrants with permanent residence. Therefore, the aim of this study is to assess the effect of social grants on the livelihoods of migrants, and the purpose of this chapter is to triangulate, condense and present the findings from quantitative and qualitative data in conjunction with information from the relevant literature. In essence, this chapter seeks to highlight the salient findings from the study and provide concluding remarks and suggestions, as well as pinpoint the areas of future research.

8.2. Summary of key findings

When designing this research, a broad aim was to assess the South African social security landscape, and more specifically to investigate the salient features of the social assistance grant system that apply to international migrants. A number of subsidiary objectives stemmed from the main aim of the study, including: mapping the migrant households that receive social grants and evaluating their coping and livelihood strategies; probing the manner in which social grants affect household livelihood outcomes; investigating challenges and constraints which migrants face when accessing social grants; examining other social protection mechanisms that exist in the migrant communities and determine those that are implemented by the migrant supporting organisations and; providing suggestions and alternative policy options that can enhance the effectiveness of social grants and improve accessibility to social assistance in South Africa.

The study further used the Rawls' theory of justice as a tool to illuminate social problems, and a framework under which the process of distributing social welfare benefits was evaluated. The theory of social justice also provided the perimeters to evaluate the moral obligations of the South African government in creating a fair system that caters for the poor, including international migrants. Correspondingly, the sustainable livelihood framework (SLF) was employed to enable the profiling of migrant households that receive social grants, i.e., assessing their assets, livelihood activities and strategies as well as the determinants of their livelihoods.

In relation to the methodology, the study adopted a mixed approach where survey questionnaires were used to collect quantitative data from heads of the households that receive social grants, and interviews and a FGD were conducted to collect qualitative data. From this perspective, a summary of the key findings is presented in accordance with the objectives of the study.

8.2.1. South African social assistance system

Information from the literature revealed that South Africa has a fairly comprehensive and developed two-pillar social security system, comprising social insurance and social assistance grants (Devereux, 2010; Brockerhoff, 2013). The pillar of social assistance, which was the focus of this study, comprises non-contributory, unconditional and mostly means-tested social cash transfers distributed by the state through seven instruments of the child support grant (CSG), care dependency grant (CDG), old age grant (OAG), disability grant (DG), foster-care grant (FCG), grant-in-aid (GIA), war veterans grant (WVG) and the social relief of distress grant (SRODG) (Brockerhoff, 2013; RSA, 2019a). The South African social grant system underwent significant and remarkable policy reforms, from a system that provided benefits to merely “win minds and hearts” of a certain segment of the population, to a more inclusive system that covers all poor and vulnerable South Africans (Devereux, 2007; 2010).

Another remarkable milestone in the South African social assistance landscape, were the changes in the legislation and the removal of citizenship as a requirement to access some social grants, which were promulgated by the Minister of the Department of Social Development (DSD) to accommodate poor and destitute foreign nationals living in South Africa. In this regard, the literature indicates that out of these grants provided in South Africa, foreign nationals with refugee status and permanent residence in South Africa became eligible for all the social grants, except the WVG, of which South African citizenship is one of the eligibility criteria (RSA, 2019a; 2019b). The literature also tells us that the South African social grant system expanded its coverage, which puts it on par with that of the most developed nations (Devereux, 2007; 2010; DSD, 2016). In addition, findings of this study revealed that the extension and inclusion of refugees and migrants in the social grant system cause the South African government to be widely praised by migrant beneficiaries as a ‘generous country’ in comparison to other African countries.

8.2.2. Mapping migrant grant-receiving households

The migrant households used as a sample in this study were generally headed by married male adults with refugee status originating from African countries, with the exception of a few individuals with permanent residence permits obtained after being declared indefinite refugees in South Africa.

In profiling the socio-economic conditions of migrant households that receive social grants, this study established that the beneficiaries were predominantly and geographically dispersed in urban informal areas, and their households were inhabited by different categories of members, i.e., social grant recipients and non-recipients, who made households take all forms of structures and compositions – from nuclear and fluid to extended households.

In terms of assets and livelihoods, both migrants residing in the suburbs and in informal settlements, were lacking in the number of physical fixed and durable assets, but were rich in social resources and human capital, which led to very high entrepreneurial spirits and investment behaviour.

Information from both the literature and the findings of this study revealed that migrant grant beneficiaries engaged in various petty businesses and income-generating activities in the informal sector of the highly segmented South African labour market. Sectors and industries identified range from service, and retail, to manufacturing.

With regards to the receipt of social grants, migrants are eligible to apply for all the social grants provided in South Africa, except the WVG. However, the results of this study indicated that the highest grant uptake, was the CSG, especially among migrants from urban informal areas, followed by the DG and the OAG and to a lesser extent the CDG. The only regular income for these migrant households was from social grants, which was complemented by the unstable, irregular and unpredictable income from the informal sector, which was below the required amount to ensure food security. This threatened their existence and qualified these migrant households to be categorised as transient poor, or at risk (Muyanga et al., 2002; Slater, 2007; UNHCR, 2012b).

8.2.3. Household poverty situations and coping strategies

The literature points to the risks, vulnerabilities and conundrums of poverty that go along with migration (see for example, Sabates-Wheeler & Waite, 2003; Sabates-Wheeler, 2019). In this regard, the findings of this study revealed that migrants who received social grants were not

immune to these risks. They faced personal risks (idiosyncratic) that include risks and vulnerabilities from external or exogenous environments (covariates) including, exclusion, unsafe environment, discrimination, xenophobia, job insecurity and unstable income, and insecure housing tenure. In terms of poverty, the findings pointed to a number of poverty-related factors in migrant households, such as food insecurity, lack of energy for lighting and gas and paraffin for cooking and heating, which qualify them as being ‘socially vulnerable’.

To counter the effects of poverty, the study showed that migrants adopted anti-poverty coping strategies of diversifying income, such as trying to increase their earnings through economic activities, increasing income through operating small businesses, and maximisation of the use of social grants. To cope with vulnerabilities and cushion the household shocks and risks, they mainly used the strategies of ‘stinting and rationing’ which included skipping meals or changes in diet by relying on less expensive food, and reducing the number of meal-intakes per day, reduced meal size, and restricting food consumption only to children.

8.2.4. Other social protection mechanisms in migrant households

Due to the prioritisation of South African citizens and the exclusion of asylum seekers and refugees from many services and benefits provided by the government, this study found that the social grants provided by the Department of Social Development (DSD) are complemented by other supermarket food-denominated vouchers, cash and in-kind transfers, social protection programmes run by community-based organisations (CBOs), faith-based organisations (FBOs), and non-governmental organisations (NGOs), which are also extended to undocumented migrants. There are also parallel informal community-based initiatives and informal social protection mechanisms based on the rule of trust, reciprocity and exchange arrangements, providing financial assistance, credit and loans, as well as burial and funeral assistance to migrants.

8.2.5. Effect of social grants on the livelihood of migrants

The literature equates the social grants to ‘social wages’ provided by the government to those with no wage income, which are spread across the entire households (Woolard et al., 2012; RSA, 2019a), not only benefitting the intended beneficiaries. In this study, migrants likened the social grants to ‘manna from heaven’ given to the family to provide a short- and medium-term positive protective effect on the household livelihood systems, as income from social grants is invested in productive assets, income-generation, and livelihood activities. The hypothesis testing also showed that overall, social grants have a long-term developmental and

livelihood promotive effect, in the sense that they contribute to and affect household members' abilities to access livelihood outcomes such as education, health and accommodation, water and energy.

8.2.6. Challenges migrants face in accessing social grants

Despite the positive effect that social grants have on protecting and promoting livelihoods in migrant grant-receiving households, the literature pointed to a number of challenges related to the administration and delivery of grants, such as expensive means-testing and poor targeting that exclude many potential migrant beneficiaries (Reddy & Sokomani, 2008; Brockerhoff, 2013; Delany & Jehoma, 2016). Similarly, during this study participants pointed to some of the other challenges and obstacles, including stigmatisation and discrimination, lack of proper documentation, poor and insufficient communication, negative governmental staff attitudes, language problems, high application and transaction costs, suspension of beneficiaries' banking accounts, and the unannounced suspension of social grants. On the basis of these challenges, the following section provides preliminary suggestions and recommendations on the issues to be considered for easier access to social welfare grants by migrant population.

8.3. Suggestions and recommendations

The post-apartheid government's social welfare policies have long-term developmental goals and laudable objectives of reducing poverty and promoting access to social services (Devereux & Waidler, 2017; RSA, 2019a). The results of this study revealed that social assistance grants have played a meaningful and significant role in assisting poor households to improve their purchasing power, including achieving livelihood outcomes related to access to education and health, food security and nutrition, accommodation, water and energy. Despite these positive livelihood-wide impacts of social grants, the findings from the literature also pointed to the fact that regardless of the many government policy documents and legislation, as well as the DSD's multiple efforts and initiatives to remove the bottlenecks in the social grant system, there are still numerous administrative and delivery challenges (DSD, 2016; RSA, 2019a).

While social assistance in South Africa is delivered to migrants under similar conditions as those that apply to the citizens, migrants continue to face stark and unacceptable migration-specific hardships, shocks, deprivation and vulnerabilities. Therefore, in a bid to enhance the effectiveness, improve the accessibility to social grants, and reduce the exclusion of migrants from social assistance, this study puts forward a set of suggestions and recommendations to the governing authorities. These include: introducing a Basic Income Grant (BIG) to all refugees

and migrants with permanent residence; scaling up of social grants to include the most vulnerable group of asylum seekers; bolstering communication and strengthening training of South African Social Security Agency (SASSA) officials; collaborating with banking institutions and other government departments; linking social assistance grants with other social services; bridging the divide between formal and informal social protection mechanisms; and combining the income means-testing with other targeting methods.

8.3.1. Introduction of the Basic Income Grant (BIG) to all unemployed refugees and migrants with permanent residence

This study has identified the four types of social grants which are applicable to the sampled migrant households, namely the CSG, CDG, DG and OAG. Child support and care dependency grants target children up to the age of 18 years, whilst people with disabilities who fall between the ages of 19 and 59 years are covered by the Disability Grant, and when they turn 60 years and the disability grant elapses, the old age pension grant kicks in (RSA, 2019a; 2019b). Based on this, there is a case of the ‘missing middle’ in the population of migrants consisting of the unemployed able-bodied individuals and persons without an income in the age category between 19 and 60 years of age. This group of the migrant population is without government financial assistance, support and relief. Therefore, for the sake of fairness, equity and promotion of social justice, as promulgated in the Rawls’ theory of justice, it is recommended that the South African government introduce an income grant to cover the unemployed refugees and those with permanent residence in the “missing middle”.

There have been several concerns around the state capability to finance and afford the basic income grant (BIG) for South Africans (Patel, 2005; Dinbabo, 2011; DSD, 2016; Gordhan, 2016). However, in the case of migrants, the South African government could start by delivering a small package with a lower amount of money, probably equivalent to the lowest food poverty line of R575 (StatsSA, 2018b). The BIG will have several benefits, such as alleviating many aspects of poverty and vulnerability in the migrant population, stimulating economic growth through consumption, improving livelihoods, and creating jobs.

Regarding job-creation, the findings of this research indicated that migrant populations are entrepreneurial and that social grants are invested in the income-generating activities. Perhaps the basic income grant could create an opportunity for the beneficiaries to participate in the labour market again and once they start earning an income, and become self-reliant and self-sufficient, the government could discontinue the basic income grants. In essence, given the

high level of unemployment in South Africa, the introduction of the BIG to the ‘missing middle’ migrant population would be one way of empowering the beneficiaries and unemployed South Africans to participate in the labour market, especially since it has been proven that informal migrant businesses employ South Africans and contribute to the public finance through taxes such as Value Added Tax (Kalitanyi & Visser, 2010; ILO, 2018).

8.3.2. Scaling up of social grants to include the most vulnerable group of asylum seekers

The scaling up social grants could work together with the universalisation of social grants in the sense that, the principle of universalism would target migrants without an income falling between the ages of 19 and 59 years who hold permanent residence and refugee status permits. Scaling up would also target migrants with asylum seeker visas and holders of special dispensation permits (from Angola, Lesotho and Zimbabwe). Ordinarily, if social grants were universalised, refugees would be eligible to claim social grants, whereas the asylum seekers would only qualify if social grants were scaled up. Scaling up a programme means increasing or expanding it in size – this can either be done horizontally, by extending programme support to additional clients or beneficiaries, or vertically, by providing additional support to already existing beneficiaries or clients (Devereux, 2002; Devereux & Nzabamwita, 2018).

In **horizontal scaling up**, the South African government should consider extending the social grants to include vulnerable groups, such as pregnant and lactating women, the elderly, and people with sickness, ill health, and disabilities from the population of asylum seekers and migrants with special dispensation permits. By virtue of humaneness, dignity and *ubuntu*, together with the consideration of the non-discrimination principle underpinned in the Constitution of South Africa (RSA, 1996), in conjunction with the rights-based approaches discussed throughout this thesis, the Minister of Social Development could make changes to the SASSA legislation to accommodate this group of migrants. This is especially important, since, prior to the Zimbabwean dispensation programme and the declaration of the Angolan cessation clause, which resulted in the discontinuation of these refugee status permits, many migrants from these countries could thus be granted access to social grants (Scalabrini Centre, 2020).

Currently, to qualify for the war veterans grant (WVG), one should have performed military services or fought in the wars that involved South Africa, including the Korean War, First World War, Second World War, the Zulu Rebellion and Uprising, and the Anglo-Boer War (Nyeti et al., 2007; Hagen-Zanker et al., 2011). However, the South African National Defence

Force (SANDF) members' deployment and intervention in the Angolan civil war from 1981 to 1986 is well-documented (see e.g., El-Khawas, 1995; Bvirindi, 2019) and was re-iterated by respondents during the findings of this study. There are numerous foreign-born white migrants who fought in the Angolan war. Although they receive old age pension grants, they indicated that they would prefer to receive the WVG and access other welfare programs and initiatives designed for military veterans such as housing subsidies, burial and business supports (Heinecken, & Bwalya, 2013). However, they do not qualify because their South African identity documents categorise them as 'Non-citizen'. Therefore, it is recommended that the criterion of citizenship be removed, as it applies to other social grants, so that the WVG is extended to non-citizens, especially those members of the SANDF who were recruited by the apartheid government to fight in Angolan civil war.

In **vertical scaling up** of the social assistance programme, the government should increase the amounts of the different social grants. Migrants have complained that the amounts of the social grants, especially the child support grant, are insufficient to sustain their livelihoods. It was shown that the paltry R440 given to the child-caregivers is still below the national poverty line of R575 (World Bank, 2018b) and its effect on food security is not significantly felt in many migrant households. Therefore, it is recommended that the amount of the child support grants be raised, not only adjusted to match and compensate the level of inflation, but at least close to, or above the minimum amount of R2000 which, according to the Bureau for Food and Agricultural Policy (BFAP, 2020) is deemed adequate to afford essential and basic commodities and required to meet the cost of a healthy and thrifty basket of food of an average household in South Africa.

8.3.3. Bolstering communication with beneficiaries and intensifying training of SASSA officials

The literature showed that the SASSA has a plan of action which highlights the training of its staff, introduction of community outreach programmes including mobile satellite offices to help potential applicants with information on the grant registration, house-to-house campaigns to increase grant take-up rates (DSD, 2011). However, the results of this study revealed that inadequate and poor communication, language problems, and the unhelpful attitudes of grant administrators are still causing bottlenecks in accessing social grants. Thus, the SASSA should intensify and improve its communication and training strategies. In order to reach higher numbers of migrant beneficiaries, the SASSA needs to use a wider range of media platforms and introduce the use of additional African languages. In the current proliferation of digital

mass media technologies, the SASSA should take advantage of the many online platforms such as, Facebook, WhatsApp, Twitter, and YouTube to disseminate information on grants, as these are powerful tools to broadcast messages.

The outdated practices of serving written notices, and posting documentation by mail, to physical addresses, are no longer feasible, as migrant beneficiaries, especially those living in the informal settlements, indicated that they did not have a reliable physical location. Likewise, sending SMS messages via cell phones, is not effective to the illiterate, disabled and elderly beneficiaries. The DSD social workers should rather conduct more home visits to the migrant beneficiaries to ascertain their problems. To bolster communication on services and ensure that outreach programmes reach migrants, the SASSA should design special campaigns, with messages and information specific to migrants or tailored to their needs. Furthermore, all the communication messages, including grants application forms, should be provided in the migrant communities' languages; the SASSA should also have translators and interpreters in different languages, or they should strive to employ grant administrators who are able to speak at least French, Portuguese and Kiswahili which, according to Vandeyar (2010) are the most dominant and widely spoken languages among black immigrants in South Africa.

The findings of this study pointed to the problem of the negative attitudes of SASSA officers towards migrants. In some instances, respondents highlighted that grants administrators were unaware that certain categories of foreign migrants are eligible to claim social grants. Hence, to address the problem of staff attitude and conduct, this study recommends that the current 'Training plan of action', which places more emphasis on means-testing and the application process of social grants (DSD, 2012; 2016), should be redesigned to include improved customer service, and knowledge of refugee rights and other international legislation governing the protection of foreign nationals.

8.3.4. Collaborating with the Banking Association of South Africa (BASA)

Beneficiaries receiving social grants through commercial banks indicated that they incurred high transaction charges, and reported the problem of long queues at social grant collection points, Automatic Teller Machines (ATMs) in shopping malls and other grant payment outlets during the first few days of grant pay-outs. In this regard, it is recommended that the SASSA enter into collaboration with relevant grant stakeholders and negotiate with the Banking Association of South Africa (BASA) to reduce or remove transaction fees, so that beneficiaries can withdraw social grants at any banking institution using their SASSA bank card or Post

Bank card at lower transaction fees or free of charge, or use any ATM without having to pay Saswitch fees. By lowering or waiving the transaction and withdrawal charges, beneficiaries will receive the full or maximum value of their grants. The commercial banks must be convinced that they will be contributing to the welfare of the citizens of South Africa and fulfilling their Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR).

In a similar vein, since the migrant beneficiaries indicated that they used their bank accounts only to receive social grants, which were immediately withdrawn for use at high withdrawal fees, this is an indication that they preferred to deal with cash. For that reason, the SASSA should consider placing greater emphasis on other alternative cash payment methods, such as the 'e-wallet'. The benefits of the 'e-wallet' payment option can also be extended to the beneficiaries whose bank accounts have been suspended or frozen while waiting for the validation of their refugee documents. Likewise, to reduce queues and prevent beneficiaries from congregating at the social grant collection points, ATMs and other grant payment outlets to withdraw money, SASSA can stagger the payments at the end of the month, and consider paying different grants on different dates.

8.3.5. Linking social assistance grants with other social services

This study found that social assistance grants enabled migrant households to achieve livelihood outcomes linked to access to income, education, health, food, accommodation, water and energy. However, cash transfers alone are short-term solutions and money cannot achieve a lot, as food insecurity and malnutrition still persist in South Africa in spite of social grants (Devereux & Waidler, 2017). Therefore, social grants should be accompanied or supplemented by other services. In view of this, the DSD should intensify or introduce other instruments such as in-kind transfers and food-denominated vouchers. This is because a plethora of studies have demonstrated that the migrants' situation in South Africa resembles that of a humanitarian crisis (UNICEF, 2009; Palmarty, 2009; Sloth-Nielsen & Ackermann, 2016). In fact, migrants have pointed out that they are often excluded from receiving food parcels distributed by the DSD. Regardless of the administrative complexity, in-kind transfers in the form of food parcels have been proven to work well and have been more effective in promoting livelihoods and building resilience, especially in conflict-stricken and shock-sensitive communities like refugees and migrants (Bailey, 2012).

To harness development in migrant households, the DSD should strive to harmonise and integrate social grants with the range of services provided by other departments, e.g., health,

labour, trade and industry and higher education and training. This can be achieved to ensure that the receipt of social grants is accompanied by training programmes such as those that equip beneficiaries with project management skills to run informal businesses and income-generating projects, health and nutrition, as well as hygiene practices. The DSD should ensure that the soft conditions which require children to attend schools and use healthcare facilities become hard conditions or compulsory for the receipt of the CSG. Similarly, it should be compulsory for the children to attend nutrition and health programmes where their height and weight are regularly recorded and monitored, and where breastfeeding, lactating and pregnant women attend regular pre- or post-natal check-ups.

In addition, there is a need for the Department of Social Development to ensure that beneficiaries from migrant grant-receiving households are included in other services such as the Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP) and the National Student Financial Aid Scheme (NSFAS). In essence, being a beneficiary of social grants should be a qualifying criterion in all other programmes that target the poor. This means that grant beneficiaries should automatically be entered into the programme or migrated to the next programme that they are eligible for. The SASSA must work in harmony with the Department of Higher Education and Training (DHET) to see the removal of citizenship criteria which exclude refugee children who were beneficiaries of the CSG from accessing the NSFAS.

8.3.6. Bridging the divide between formal and informal social protection arrangements

Government formal social protection programmes and informal social protection structures built around reciprocity, trust and networks of household members have always co-existed in poor, vulnerable and marginalised communities (Verpoorten & Verschraege, 2008; Dafuleya, 2018). In this study, the literature demonstrated that social grants are temporary and short-term measures to alleviate poverty (Devereux, 2010; DSD, 2016). The findings of this study also showed that community and family-led initiatives and NGO-run social protection programmes complemented social grants in cushioning and smoothing consumption. The DSD should therefore bridge the divide between formal and informal social protection, and capitalise on the already existing informal social protection initiatives in the migrant communities. There should be collaborative agreements and arrangements between different institutions involved in the provision of social protection, i.e., SASSA, NGO leaders and community leaders who are heading these social protection initiatives.

The DSD can play a leading role of promoting, coordinating and monitoring services provided by different organisations and stakeholders. During the interviews, both community members and NGO leaders pointed out that their biggest challenges were lack of resources and insufficient funding. In this regard, the DSD ought to provide the financial and logistical support in the registration of the community-led organisations as non-profit organisations (NPOs), as well as capacity-building in the form of training, and provide more financing to the NGOs that are providing social services to international migrants. The DSD should help in designing an integrated social protection model to ensure that social assistance provided by those that are funded by DSD, are not competing for, but rather complementing social grants. This will help to avoid the duplication and double-dipping effect where people could benefit from more than one organisation.

8.3.7. Combining income means-testing with other targeting methods

In chapter three, the challenges related to the use of income means-testing were identified and the same chapter touched on other potential targeting approaches used in other countries. The literature revealed that the current method of income targeting has flaws of inclusion and exclusion errors (Deacon et al, 2015; Delany & Jehoma, 2016). Since this study showed that the majority of migrant households derived their income from the informal sector, they might easily conceal their income or not bank it, out of fear that their bank accounts would be suspended or frozen while waiting for the renewal of their refugee permits. Migrants are not registered at the Department of Labour (DOL), nor are they registered on the South African Revenue Service (SARS) database because they conduct their business in the informal sector, which means that verifying their income might be very difficult (Barker, 2007; PMG, 2012). Hence, it is recommended that the DSD should consider dropping the targeting method based on income, and rather use means-testing of income in conjunction with community-based targeting together with other proxies of poverty. A proxy means-testing model (PMT) uses readily available and easily observable characteristics of household poverty, while community-based targeting (CBT) applies where there is a high cohesion among a small proportion of the population (Pauw & Mncube, 2006; Gentilini, 2015; Dodlova et al., 2016). On the one hand, in a PMT, the SASSA could use indicators such as household ability to afford meals, asset ownership, ability of the breadwinner, and the number of able-bodied persons who are working. In a CBT on the other hand, SASSA could capitalise on the strong social capital that exists among migrants and use leadership structures in the communities to identify the poor and deserving beneficiaries of the social grants.

8.4. Future research areas

Although participants of this research study did not reveal any overt acts of corruption on the part of the SASSA and its officials, a large number of studies pointed to the fact that the South African welfare system is susceptible to corruption (Brickenstein, 2015; Delany & Jehoma (2016). This, together with the potential of targeting errors of including ineligible beneficiaries in the grant system, coupled with the corruption at the Department of Home Affairs (DHA), which is responsible for issuing documents to foreign nationals, remains a massive concern (Landau et al, 2005; Crush et al, 2017). Therefore, further and thorough research study is needed to ascertain if the ineligible and underserving migrants, such as economic migrants, are not disguising themselves as refugees and using the loopholes in the migration system, and end up benefitting from social grants.

In a similar vein, this study has suggested the introduction of the basic income grant to the ‘missing middle’ (migrants without an income in the age group of 18 to 59 years), and an extension of social assistance to the vulnerable group of asylum seekers. These suggested measures might be expensive to implement and pose a problem of financing which was beyond the scope of this research. Therefore, the macro-economic impact of these social grants needs to be investigated further to see if they would not overburden the welfare system and attract more welfare migrants who would easily pass the means-test. Future studies could focus on the cost-benefit analysis of providing social grants to the wider population of migrants, since this study revealed that in one way or another, money from social grants is channelled back into the South African economy, ends up being invested in more productive informal businesses, which increases opportunities for South Africans.

No matter how crucial social grants are in supporting and enhancing migrant livelihoods, social grants should not be treated as perfect substitutes to employment because they are not sustainable in the long-term. Instead, social grants must be used as a short-term measure to uplift the poor from immediate destitution, hence, future research priorities should focus on how migrants can be integrated into the formal labour market and how the government could increase their labour-absorption capacity in the mainstream economy of South Africa.

8.5. Concluding remarks

In this study, the literature demonstrated that South Africa has been and will always be an immigration destination, particularly for migrants from other African countries. Its prosperous economy was built at the backdrop of international migrants (Peberdy & Crush, 2000; Peberdy,

2009). Also, migrants played a significant role in bolstering South Africa's development and upholding its industrial revolution (Breytenbach, 1979; Adepoju, 2003; Peberdy, 2009). In light of this, cross-border migration in South Africa is an unavoidable and necessary component for the success of South Africa. Therefore, the question should not be, how to curb migration, but rather how to deal with it effectively and manage it properly so that its detrimental effect is minimised and its potential benefits maximised (IOM, 2013).

The findings of this study further revealed that in the South African liberal policy of self-integration and self-settlement, international migrants especially refugees and asylum seekers live in precarious conditions that require humanitarian emergency, characterised by perceived environmental risks, vulnerability and poverty as well as deprivation and exclusion from some services which they would legally and constitutionally be entitled to.

In response to the migrants' plight, South Africa made changes in its legislation to accommodate foreign migrants who meet the legislated criteria in the social protection system, particularly a social grant system which has been widely described to be among "the best and advanced welfare system" in developing countries because it emulates welfare elements found in most advanced economies (Seekings, 2005; Devereux, 2010). South Africa has also been deservedly and widely praised to have the "most generous welfare model" on the African continent for including non-citizens in the social assistance scheme of cash transfers (Deacon et al., 2015).

This study found that social grants constitute the only stable and predictable income which do not only benefit beneficiaries, but are shared among all household members. For this reason, apart from its reactive and residual role of poverty alleviation, social grants have direct short-term livelihood protective effects of raising household income, sustaining consumption, facilitating investment, and participating in the informal labour market. Grants also have a significant long-term indirect livelihood-wide promotive impact in the household, such as enhancing access to education, skills and training, supporting access to and utilisation of health services, and increasing household chances of securing accommodation and accessing water and energy.

Despite these livelihood protection and promotion benefits brought by the social grants, much still needs to be done to address problems of the ineffective means-testing and targeting methods that exclude many migrants. Other challenges include, language and poor

communication, poorly trained staff with unhelpful attitudes, complicated application procedure, exorbitant bank charges and high deductions, and suspension of bank accounts.

To overcome these challenges, and increase effectiveness of social grants in sustaining the livelihoods of the migrant population, this study proposed: the introduction of the BIG to refugees and migrants with permanent residence aged between 19 and 59 years; extension of social grants to pregnant and lactating women, disabled and older persons with asylum seeker and special dispensation permits; extending the WVG to the white migrants who fought in the Angolan liberation war; adjusting the amount of the CSG to the level of a healthy food basket in South Africa; bolstering communication and training; reducing or removing transaction charges on social grants by the BASA; linking social grants with other services; bridging the divide between formal and informal social protection programmes; and contemplating the use of multiple targeting methods.



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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Survey questionnaire to the household-heads.



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Survey questionnaire to the household-heads

My name is Jonas Nzabamwita, a PhD student at the University of the Western Cape. You are kindly invited to participate in a study that "Assesses the effect of government grants on the livelihoods of migrants in Cape Town, South Africa". The research is for academic purpose and, it aims to explore the salient features of South Africa's social security system that are relevant to international migrants, to understand the role of social grants in sustaining the livelihoods in migrant households, as well as identify challenges migrants face in accessing social grants and to make informed policy recommendations that can enhance migrant's access to social welfare programmes in South Africa. Your views/ opinions in this survey will be completely anonymous and will be treated with the highest confidentiality.

A. HOUSEHOLD-HEAD DEMOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

1. Country of birth

2. Age category

| | | | |
|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|------------------------|
| 15-25 years (1) | 26-35 years (2) | 36-45 years (3) | 46 years and above (4) |
|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|------------------------|

3. Gender:

| | | |
|----------|------------|-----------|
| Male (1) | Female (2) | Other (3) |
|----------|------------|-----------|

4. Marital status:

| | | | | |
|-------------|-------------|--------------|------------|-----------|
| Married (1) | Widowed (2) | Divorced (3) | Single (4) | Other (5) |
|-------------|-------------|--------------|------------|-----------|

5. Who is the breadwinner in the household?

| | | | | |
|------------|----------------|---------|--------------|-----------|
| Myself (1) | My partner (2) | Son (3) | Daughter (4) | Other (5) |
|------------|----------------|---------|--------------|-----------|

6. What is your highest level of education?

| | | | | |
|--------------------|---------------------|-------------|----------------|-----------|
| Primary school (1) | Secondary school(2) | College (3) | University (4) | Other (5) |
|--------------------|---------------------|-------------|----------------|-----------|

7. Immigration status: What type of document do you use in South Africa?

| | | |
|------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------------|
| South African ID (1) | Refugee status (2) | Permanent residence permit (3) |
| Partnership permit (4) | Retirement permit (5) | Other (Specify) (6) |

B. HOUSEHOLD CHARACTERISTICS

8. What is your household dwelling type?

| | | | |
|------------------|--------------------|------------------|--------------------|
| Rural formal (1) | Rural informal (2) | Urban formal (3) | Urban informal (4) |
|------------------|--------------------|------------------|--------------------|

9. Tick all the type of assets and resources that are present in your household?

| | | | |
|--------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|-------------|
| 1. Fridge | 5. Shower outside | 9. Washing machine | 13. Bike |
| 2. TV | 6. Water in the house | 10. Landline/Cell phone | 14. Bicycle |
| 3. Shower in house | 7. Communal tap | 11. Computer/Laptop | 15. Other |
| 4. Toilet in house | 8. Microwave/Stove | 12. Car running | |

10. The assets that you have ticked, please describe how helpful there are in your household?.....

11. How many people are in your household?

12. How many of them that are attending school?

13. What type of schools do members of your household mostly attend?

| | | | |
|----------------------------|-------------------------|---|--------------------------|
| Public primary schools (1) | Public universities (2) | TVET colleges and training institutions (3) | Private institutions (4) |
|----------------------------|-------------------------|---|--------------------------|

14. How many people in your household are working?.....

15. What type of sector do they mostly work or employed in?

| | | |
|------------|--------------|------------------------------|
| Formal (1) | Informal (2) | Both formal and informal (3) |
|------------|--------------|------------------------------|

16. Describe the reasons why they chose to pursue work/ employment in this sector?

17. How would you classify your household in terms of finance?

| | | | | |
|--------------------|----------|----------------|----------------------------|----------------|
| Extremely poor (1) | Poor (2) | Struggling (3) | Adaptive / Survivalist (4) | Better off (5) |
|--------------------|----------|----------------|----------------------------|----------------|

18. If you answered 1, 2, 3 and 4, please elaborate on the financial position and poverty situation of your household?

18. 1. Financial position.....

18. 2. Poverty situation.....

19. What type of healthcare services do your household members mostly use?

C. INFORMATION ON SOCIAL GRANTS

20. How many people in your household that receive social grants?.....

21. How are they related to you?

22. What is the type of social grants received in your household?

23. In terms of amount, what is the main social grants in your household?
24. Who is responsible for social grant collections in your household?
25. Describe how the decision to spend social grants is taken in your household?
26. In general, how do social grants alter or affect the decision-making process in your household?
27. Describe how social grants help to alleviate poverty in your households?
.....
28. Describe other informal social protection initiatives that exist in your household?
.....

D. HOUSEHOLDS' INCOME AND EXPENDITURE PATTERNS

29. What is your household's total average monthly income?
30. Please indicate your household's approximate income components per month

| | Source of income | Amount in Rand |
|---|--------------------------|----------------|
| 1 | Salaries and wages | |
| 2 | Self-employment/business | |
| 3 | Rent | |
| 4 | Remittances | |
| 5 | Social grants | |
| 6 | Donation | |
| 7 | Assistance from NGOs | |
| 8 | Other (please specify) | |

31. On average, how much does your household spend on the following items in a month?

| | Expenditure items | Amount in Rand |
|----|--|----------------|
| 1 | Bill of water, electricity and other energy | |
| 2 | Purchase of groceries (food, beverages and clothing) | |
| 3 | Purchase of alcohol, cigarettes and tobacco | |
| 4 | Transport expenses | |
| 5 | Entertainment | |
| 6 | School and education | |
| 7 | Medical expenses | |
| 8 | Insurance and licences | |
| 9 | Communication | |
| 10 | Gambling activities such as betting and Lotto | |
| 11 | Savings | |
| 13 | Other (Specify) | |

32. Would you say that social grants money or a portion of it is spent on sustaining livelihoods in your household?

| | | | | | |
|--------------------|----------------------|-----------|-----------------------|-------------------------|--------------|
| Strongly agree (1) | Moderately agree (2) | Agree (3) | Strongly disagree (4) | Moderately disagree (5) | Disagree (6) |
|--------------------|----------------------|-----------|-----------------------|-------------------------|--------------|

33. If you have answered 1, 2 and 3, please indicate whether social grants contribute or support your household to achieve the following livelihood outcomes

| Livelihood outcomes | | Responses | |
|---------------------|--|-----------|------------|
| 1 | Access to education, training and acquiring new skills | [No (1)] | [Yes (2)] |
| 2 | Access to healthcare services and facilities | [No (1)] | [Yes (2)] |
| 3 | Access to housing, i.e. accommodation (paying rent and energy) | [No (1)] | [Yes (2)] |
| 4 | Access to labour market and employment | [No (1)] | [Yes (2)] |
| 5 | Access to food and nutrition | [No (1)] | [Yes (2)] |
| 6 | Access to water, sanitation and hygiene (WASH) | [No (1)] | [Yes (2)] |

34. Please describe in details how social grants support or facilitate members of your household to access education, health and food, water, sanitation and hygiene, energy and shelter as well as access to labour and jobs?

34. 1. Education
34. 2. Health
34. 3. Labour and employment
34. 4. Accommodation and energy
34. 5. Food security and nutrition
34. 6. Water, sanitation and hygiene (WASH)

35. Describe any other financial benefits, activities and investments brought by social grants in your household?

36. In general, describe how social grants changed spending patterns in your household?

E. HOUSEHOLDS' RESILIENCE LEVELS AND COPING MECHANISMS

37. Based on questions 14 and 15 on employment, what are the livelihoods and income-generating activities members of your household are predominantly engaged in?

.....

38. Describe what motivated the people of your household to choose these activities?

.....

39. How often did your household experience difficulty situation in the last two years

| | | | | |
|-----------|-----------------|------------------|------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Never (1) | Very rarely (2) | Twice a year (3) | Three times a year (4) | More than three times a year (5) |
|-----------|-----------------|------------------|------------------------|----------------------------------|

39. 1. If you answered 3, 4 and 5, please describe the difficult situation that your household succumbed to?

40. How long did it take your household to recover from that difficult situation?

41. How do you usually cope with the uncertainty/ vulnerability and shocks that come with being an immigrant in South Africa? Tick all that apply

| | | |
|---------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------|
| 1. Income diversification | 4. Seeking help from NGO | 7. Skipping meals |
|---------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------|

| | | |
|---------------------------------|------------------|----------------------------------|
| 2.Reduction in spending/consume | 5. Bulk purchase | 8. Saving stock |
| 3. Acquiring loan/credit | 6. Sale of asset | 9. Moving/ relocating/ migrating |

42. Describe the role that the South African government played in your household recent recovery from shocks and bad situation?

.....

F. CHALLENGES IN ACCESSING SOCIAL GRANTS

43. Did you have access to social grants in your home country before coming to SA?

| | | |
|---------|--------|--------------|
| Yes (1) | No (2) | Not sure (3) |
|---------|--------|--------------|

44. If you answered yes, what type of grants?

45. Are you aware of your constitutional rights when it comes to social grants in SA?

| | | |
|---------|--------|--------------|
| Yes (1) | No (2) | Not sure (3) |
|---------|--------|--------------|

46. If you answered yes to question 43, please elaborate on your answer?

47. At SASSA's offices, are you treated differently, because you are immigrants?

| | | |
|---------|--------|--------------|
| Yes (1) | No (2) | Not sure (3) |
|---------|--------|--------------|

48. Rate your experience and treatment when you went to apply for social grants?

| | | |
|----------|---------|----------|
| Good (1) | Bad (2) | Both (3) |
|----------|---------|----------|

49. Describe your experience/treatment at the SASSA offices?

.....

50. Rate your experience and treatment at the social grant collection or payment points/ centres?

| | | |
|----------|---------|----------|
| Good (1) | Bad (2) | Both (3) |
|----------|---------|----------|

51. Describe your experience and treatment at the grant collection and payment points

52. If you answered 2 and 3 in questions 46 and 48, please describe in details the challenges that you encountered during the social grant application and payment processes?

53. By which medium do you receive your social grants?

54. From the grant payout day, after how long do you wait to withdraw or use social grant money?

55. Are you aware of the total deductions made on your social grants?

| | | |
|---------|--------|--------------|
| Yes (1) | No (2) | Not sure (3) |
|---------|--------|--------------|

56. If you answered 2 and 3, please elaborate.....

57. Do you receive any other form of financial/ material assistance from other organizations? Yes (1) No (2)

58. If you answered yes, please describe the type or level of assistance and its impact on your livelihoods?

F. MIGRANT’S OPINIONS AND VIEWS ON THE SOUTH AFRICA’S SOCIAL SECURITY SYSTEMS

59. How would you rate the whole process of social grants to immigrants in SA from application to payment? Good (1) Bad (2)

60. What would you recommend to the SA government to improve the grant process?

61. What would you suggest for migrants to have easy access to social grants in SA?...

62. Social grants are blamed for promoting negative behaviour, please indicate your views on a scale of: Strongly agree (1), Moderately agree (2), Agree (3), Strongly disagree (4), Moderately disagree (5), Disagree (6)

| Behavioural | Respondents’ views | | | | | |
|---|--------------------|---|---|---|---|---|
| Perpetuate dependency | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| Discourage people to work | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| Crowd out market and private investment | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| Promote corruption | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| Misuse on unnecessary items | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| Raise pregnancy among teenager female | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| Erode the beneficiaries’ dignity | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| Encourage people to migrate to SA | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |

63. If you answered 1, 2 and 3 on question 41, please elaborate your answer

64. Do you think the SA government is obliged to provide social grants to poor migrants?

| | | |
|---------|--------|--------------|
| Yes (1) | No (2) | Not sure (3) |
|---------|--------|--------------|

65. If you answered yes, please elaborate?

66. If the government was to terminate grants, how would you feel and how would you survive?

67. Suppose your financial situation improves, will you ask to be graduated from social grants?

| | | |
|---------|--------|--------------|
| Yes (1) | No (2) | Not sure (3) |
|---------|--------|--------------|

68. What are your views on the exclusion of poor migrants in the social grant system?

Thank you very much for participating in this survey

Appendix B: Interview questionnaire guide to the representatives from NGOs.



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Interview questionnaire guide to the representatives from NGOs

My name is Jonas Nzabamwita, a PhD student at the University of the Western Cape. You are kindly invited to participate in a study that "Assesses the effect of government grants on the livelihoods of migrants in Cape Town, South Africa". The research is for academic purpose and it aims to explore the salient features of South Africa's social security system that are relevant to international migrants, to understand the role of social grants in promoting the livelihoods in migrant households, to identify the challenges migrants face in accessing social grants, and to make an informed policy recommendation that can enhance migrant's access to social welfare programmes in South Africa. Your responses in this interview will be completely anonymous and will be treated with the highest confidentiality.

A. Information about organization and migrants

1. What is the name of your organization?

| | |
|---|---|
| University of Cape Town Legal Clinic | Legal Resource Centre (LRC) |
| Scalabrini Centre of Cape Town (CCCT) | Cape Town Refugee forum |
| Scalabrini Institute for Human Mobility in Africa (SIHMA) | Adonis Musati Project |
| Catholic Welfare and Development (CWD) | Peoples Against Suffering Oppression and Poverty (PASSOP) |
| Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR) | Somali Association of South Africa (SASA) |
| Black Sasha | United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) |
| South African Red Cross Society (SARCS) | South African National Zakah Fund (SANZAF) |

2. What type of services or assistance do your organization provide to poor and vulnerable migrants in South Africa?

3. What are the poverty-related challenges migrants face in South Africa in general and Cape Town in particular?

4. What is the situation with regards to migrant livelihoods?

5. How does your organization contribute to the promotion of livelihoods of poor migrants?

6. What are the strategies that poor migrants in South Africa adopt to cope with the risks, shocks and uncertainty that comes with migration?
7. Why do you think migrants choose to use these coping strategies in South Africa?
8. How does your organization help migrants in times of crisis (shocks, risks and xenophobic attacks)?
9. How does the South African government respond in times of crisis (shock, risks and xenophobic attacks)?
10. Do you think setting up a camp for refugees in South Africa can lessen the burden on the government and your organizations? If yes, please explain how?
11. What impact a refugee camp would have on the livelihoods of migrants and their households in South Africa?
12. By comparing the poverty situation in citizens' households with that of the international migrant in South Africa, what would you say?

B. Access to social services and grants

13. Based on the needs of South African citizens, please describe the needs of migrants with regards to social grants?
14. In your view, what are the livelihood benefits/ outcomes that social grants bring to migrant households?
15. Besides social grants, what are the informal social security mechanisms that migrants use to cope with the challenges of poverty in their communities?
16. What are the social services migrants are [not] able to access in South Africa, and why?

C. Opinions on South Africa's social security system

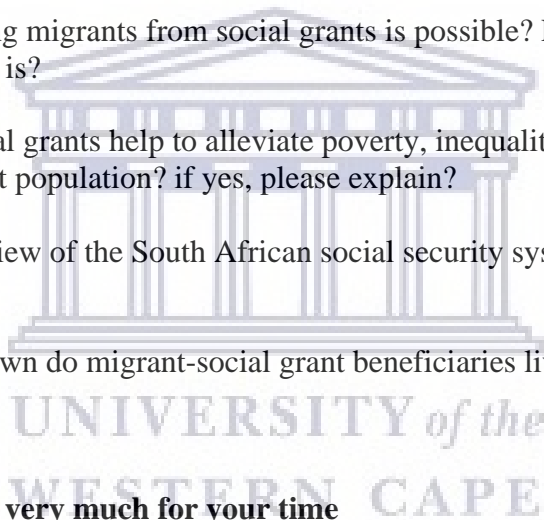
17. What are the challenges for the South African Social Security Agency (SASSA) in providing social grants to immigrants?
18. In your view, do you think the South African government is doing enough to assist poor migrants through the provision of social grants? please elaborate your answer
19. What are some of the success and positive stories that you have heard about social grants to migrants in South Africa? And what are the negative stories?
20. How would you describe the whole process of social grants to immigrants in SA from application to payment?
21. What are your views on the methodology that SASSA uses to qualify migrants for social grants?

22. What are your views on the allegations that social grants promote negative behaviour to the SA citizens?
23. Following up on question 22. Do you think the situation is different to immigrants, please explain how and why?
24. What are the challenges migrants encounter in their attempt to access social welfare programmes in South Africa?
25. What do you think the South African government should do to improve migrants' access to social grants?

D. Opinions on graduation from social grants

26. What do you think would happen to migrants if the government stopped providing social grants?
27. Do you think graduating migrants from social grants is possible? Please explain why or how possible/impossible it is?
28. Do you agree that social grants help to alleviate poverty, inequality, economic shocks and vulnerability in the migrant population? if yes, please explain?
29. What is your general view of the South African social security system and its application to migrants?
30. What areas of Cape Town do migrant-social grant beneficiaries live in?

Thank you very much for your time



Appendix C: Semi-structured list of questions for the Focus Group Discussion (FGD)



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Semi-structured checklist of questions for the Focus Group Discussion

1. What activities are poor migrants involved in and why?
 2. How is the poverty situation in migrants as opposed to the citizens in South Africa?
 3. What is your understanding of social security provision to immigrants in South Africa?
 4. Describe the situation about social grants in your home country before coming to South Africa?
 5. How decision to spend grant money is made in migrant households?
 6. What are the positive and negative effects of social grants on household spending patterns?
 7. What challenges do immigrants encounter in the process of accessing government services and grants in South Africa?
 8. Who benefits most from social grants in the households?
 9. How do social grants change migrant behaviour?
 10. What can you suggest and recommend to the South African government concerning migrants' accessibility to social grants?
 11. How true are the allegations and negative comments that have been levelled against the South African social security system in general?
 12. Please describe the livelihoods of grant-receiving households before and after social grants?
 13. What is the impact of social grants in accessing education, health and nutrition, water, sanitation and hygiene, energy, settlement and shelter as well as access to jobs?
 14. What impact setting up a refugee camp would have in lessening the burden on the SA government in terms of social security provision to immigrants?
 15. What are your views on graduating social grant recipients in SA?
- Thank you very much for participating in this discussion**

Appendix D: Information sheet for all participants



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INFORMATION SHEET (All participants)

Project Title: International migration and social welfare policies: Assessing the effect of government grants on the livelihoods of migrants in Cape Town, South Africa.

What is this study about?

My name is Jonas Nzabamwita, a student at the University of Western Cape in South Africa. I am conducting a research to assess the effect of government grants on the livelihoods of migrants in Cape Town. The study is for academic purpose and its aim is to explore the salient features of the South Africa's social security system that are relevant to international migrants, to understand the role of social grants in promoting the livelihoods in migrant households, as well as identifying challenges migrants face in accessing social grants in order to make an informed policy recommendation that can enhance migrant' access to social welfare programmes in South Africa. In view of this, as a social grant-receiving person/ representative from the NGO or department that support immigrants, I am inviting you to participate in this research project. Your ideas and opinions will be of great value, and your participation as well as your input in this study will be highly appreciated.

What will I be asked to do if I agree to participate?

If you agree to participate in this research project, you will be asked to answer questions pertaining to social grants in migrant households. The interview will take about one hour and will be held at a place of your choice.

Would my participation in this study be kept confidential?

All your personal information, including your name will be kept confidential and will not be disclosed to anyone. Only pseudonyms will be used in the final report and in all published reports to protect your privacy. Your identity will be protected to the maximum extent possible.

This research project involves making audiotapes. The interview will be recorded so that I can accurately transcribe the conversation. All information obtained from the interview will be treated with strict confidentiality and will be used for research purposes only. The recorded notes during the interview will be kept securely in a

locked file cabinet in my study room that will only be accessed by me. Furthermore, you and I will be asked to sign a consent form that binds me to keep to what we would have agreed upon.

What are the risks of this research?

There are no known risks associated with participating in this research project.

What are the benefits of this research?

This research is not designed to help you personally, but the results may help the investigator learn more about government grants in South Africa, and the degree to which social grants effect livelihoods in migrant households that comprise grant-recipients. It is hoped that this study will uncover the problems and challenges migrants face in accessing social grants in order to come up with an informed recommendation to the policy makers and other development practitioners on how to improve welfare of immigrants in South Africa.

Do I have to be in this research and may I stop participating at any time?

Your participation in this research is completely voluntary. You may choose not to take part at all. If you decide to participate in this research, you may stop participating at any time. If you decide not to participate in this study or if you stop participating at any time, you will not be penalised or lose any benefits to which you otherwise qualify.

Is any assistance available if I am negatively affected by participating in this study?

This research will not expose you to any harm as a result of your participation.

What if I have questions?

If you have any questions feel free to contact Jonas Nzabamwita, the researcher on email address: 3371818@myuwc.ac.za , or on phone number: 0027 813442200.

If you have any questions about the research study itself, please contact my supervisor Prof. Mulugeta, F. Dinbabo at The Institute for Social Development (ISD), University of Western Cape. His telephone number is 0027 219593858

Should you have any questions regarding this study and your rights as a research participant or if you wish to report any problems you have experienced related to the study, please contact:

Doctor: Abdulrazak Karriem
Head of Department: Institute for Social Development
School of Government
University of the Western Cape
Private Bag X17
Bellville 7535

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



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