International Migration and Social Inclusion of Migrants in South Africa: The case of Cameroonian Migrants in the Western Cape

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PLAGIARISM DECLARATION

I know that plagiarism is wrong. Plagiarism is to use another's work and to pretend that it is one's own.

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ABSTRACT

The focus of my research is on the experience of Cameroonian migrants, and their relationship with the City of Cape Town. This work focuses on agency on the part of the migrant in understanding the mechanisms/strategies they use in their integration process within their host communities. This thesis argues that those migrants with the weakest social position and tenuous links to their home country are forced to live a marginal and precarious existence while those with stronger ties and independent means of existence adopt a transnational existence. There are also those migrants who, having selected and made South Africa their home, have transformed local cultures and attitudes. The latter was the ideal type that drove and motivated this research, for it is through these processes that community members in South Africa can be made aware of the benefits that come with migrants. This is a global challenge and different countries have responded to it in different ways. Through a qualitative method, I argue in the thesis that despite the "otherness" experienced by migrants within their host communities, authority and institutions, migrants lay claims of social belonging in South Africa and as a result through ethnic solidarity embedded within their Home Town Association - defensively combine as a strategy for existence within their host communities.

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Chapter 1

1.1 Introduction "My Story"

I grew up in a small rural area in the North West Region of Cameroon. One of the things that stood out for me was the communal spirit within my rural community. The African proverb that a child is born by a parent (mother and father) and raised by the community found expression in my place of birth. For example, almost everybody was known by name. A father or mother was not necessary your biological father or mother. Being disciplined was enforced at the community level. For example, whenever an elderly person caught you doing something wrong, you were being disciplined instantly. There was a great spirit of commensality as children were not expected only to eat from their mother's pot but also from that of their neighbours when they are hungry. Commensality was not only within families or households but at the community level. There was a strong bond between members of the community. We shared our sorrow and happiness as a common unit exemplified during birth and death celebrations. For example, when someone dies, most of the community members do not go to work but visit the home of the bereaved and share in their sorrow. It is a widespread belief that going to work during such moments is an invitation to ill fortune or "bad luck". Young boys will organize themselves and assist by clearing the bushes during farming seasons to households other than theirs. I only realised that one of our neighbours was Nigerian when the wife passed unto glory, and members of the community were contemplating where the corpse would be buried – in Cameroon or repatriated to Nigeria. A decision was made - in consultation with the family, and she was buried in Cameroon.

I did my primary and high school studies where I was born. In the quest for higher education, I had to leave my area of birth for university studies - since there was no University within my Region. I had to move from a rural area to an urban area far away from my community and region to study for three years at the University of Buea in the South West Region of my country, Cameroon. My first few weeks in Buea were so traumatising and depressing as I felt homesick. There was a stark difference between my rural environment and the urban area, where life seemed to be on a "fast lane". People seldom greet each other as everybody "minded their own business". My stay in Buea exposed me to

positive and negative experiences in my journey in life. My integration process into the University of Buea and the surrounding communities had its challenges which included complexities. From a rural area, I viewed myself as inferior and shied away from many activities, for example, excursions, that brought course mates together. I looked down on myself and my capabilities even though I earned my position to be in one of the top-rated universities in my country. I allowed my rural community - considered "backward and inferior" to define me. My self-esteemed was reinvigorated by my excellent class performances, and that is when I realized I had something to contribute to my class and my society. This self-realization facilitated my integration process not only within the University structure in Buea, but also in the larger Buea environment.

My experiences in the urban area triggered my thoughts with regards to how people migrate internationally and make a home so far away from home. I had to live in my imaginative world when I completed my university studies and had to come to South Africa. Like my experience in Buea, I had challenges integrating myself into the city of Cape Town, among which were understanding the ethnic languages and accents of the people. However, friends and family members who were in Cape Town before me helped me to navigate the different spaces in which I found myself. They provided a soft landing for me by educating me about life in South Africa and providing me with the necessary tools that facilitated my economic and social integration in Cape Town and South Africa. The reality of urban living from Buea in Cameroon to Cape Town in South Africa as compared with my rural living experiences are two different scripts of my life history. However, while in South Africa, I had the opportunity to visit a rural area in the Eastern Cape, Matatiele, which reminded me of my rural community life in Cameroon. People were so welcoming, friendly, and even provided their homes for us to spend the night. Simple etiquette like greeting someone you don’t know, evident in my rural community in Cameroon, is alive in Matatiele. This begs the question – do we have two different codes of conduct in rural and urban areas?

However, my story is just one in a multitude of stories of migration and integration. The challenges, difficulties, and successes that come with it are numerous. This platform has allowed me to get into

the narrative of not only my own life but that of others as no one can tell our stories better than us. These life stories will help gauge people's opinions/perceptions of what informs the choices people make with regard to migration and the role, if any, they play in the integration process in their host communities. A qualitative data approach through purposive sampling will be the best suited methods to conduct this research as the nature of the research is grounded on the stories/narratives of immigrants. More on the rational of this research method is provided in chapter 4 of the study.

1.2 Setting the Scene

From 2010, there have been recurrent attacks on foreign nationals in South Africa which has led to the loss of lives and damage to property owned mostly by foreign nationals. These acts have tainted the image of the country within the international community as they see South Africa as unwelcoming. What is revealing about such attacks is that it is mostly targeted towards African migrants in what the President of the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF), Julius Malema, calls "self-hate – blacks fighting their fellow black brothers" (Sunday Times, 2019). These recurrent attacks and their negative effects on the country within the international community prompted President Cyril Ramaphosa in 2019 to send special envoys to some African countries to apologise on behalf of the government, calling the attacks "acts of criminality and violence" (News 24, 2019). While on the one hand many think these acts are xenophobic, on the other hand, there are many, especially within government circles, who think these are violent acts of criminality. It is against the backdrop of these sporadic attacks coupled with these divergent views, and my quest for understanding how foreign nationals desire to make a home out of home, that precipitates this research.

1.3 Integration/Social Inclusion

The concepts of integration and social inclusion are concepts that are common and widely used in the literature pertaining to the study of disadvantaged groups. While the concept of integration is more relatable with migrants (refugees, asylum seekers, and international migrants), social inclusion is more relatable with disadvantaged nationals. According to Rico, Fielden, & Sanchez (2019:4), social

inclusion is the process of improving disadvantaged people participation in society. Social inclusion entails having equal access to the political, social and economic processes and drawing benefits from them (Ogata, 1998). It involves the availing of equal opportunities to all in a given society. Social inclusion is therefore, a characteristic of a society that is appreciative of human differences, a society that facilitates human development, and encourages broad-based participation. On the other hand, according to Heckmann & Schanapper (2003:10), integration is the inclusion of the migrant population into the existing social structures of the receiving country through four dimensions – "*structural, cultural, social, and identificational*". In essence, integration is the process of becoming part of a society through the acquisition of certain traits, for example, language, that will facilitate the integrated person to gain access to the social, political, economic, and cultural processes of the host country. The main difference between the two concepts is that while integration places agency on the individual (migrant) in the adaptation process, social inclusion focuses on the role of the public and private institutions in addressing structural obstacles that inhibit participation. Despite the difference in the concepts, the desired objective of both concepts is to facilitate access to services fairly and equitably, which creates a sense of belonging. To this effect, both concepts will be used interchangeably throughout the study.

1.4 Research Question

The pull-push factor often provides determinants for migration. Push factors amongst other reasons include persecution based on national origin, race, religion, or political ideology, the political instability and the increasing operation of terrorist activities within parts of the continent, and the search for economic opportunities can be cited as principal "push" factors affecting movements within the continent. Pull factors can be traced to the changing legal cultures of each state and the rise of new rights-based politics. In the South African case, the demise of apartheid and the establishment of a welfare state, and adherence to political and civil rights, and the democratic nature of the country are part of the "pull" factor affecting movement into the country.

Studies of migration in South Africa are mostly preoccupied with the study of the causes of migration, emphasising the macroeconomic determinant (Migration Data Portal, 2021b). However, migration is not only driven by economic necessity but how migrants see more secure spaces for themselves and their families. While most studies tend to focus on the macro-structural causes of migration, this study will focus on the agency of the migrants themselves in integrating within their host communities. I will set out to demonstrate that the migrant experience, based on the study that I have done in Cape Town within some Cameroonian communities, alludes to the fact that during their integration process, migrants experience otherness in relation to members of their host communities that easily subjects them to scapegoating which also manifests itself through migrants' experience with institution and authority. However, migrants cling to their historical past by laying claims of social belonging in their host country while retaining their home citizenship (bi-homing). Amidst all the challenges migrants encounter in their host communities, I will demonstrate how they defensively combine to be able to survive even in a very hostile environment. More specifically, the work posits that the interplay between links to the home country and the receptivity of the local culture will depend on whether migrants choose one of several cultural strategies: acculturation, transculturation, or a transnational existence as modes of social integration. Some international migrants integrate through *acculturation* i.e., by assimilating into the already existing culture in their host communities. Others integrate through *transculturation* i.e., by negotiating with other existing cultures to come up with new sets of cultural values that will better suit both parties. Yet, another group of migrants, resorts to transnationalism, by maintaining strong links to their home country while maintaining instrumental linkages with the host country. There are also those migrants who are completely vulnerable and whose agency is severely diminished by both an absence to home countries and living in a hostile local environment. This framework will be used to make a qualitative assessment of the cultural strategies that most migrants use in Cape Town. However, in the future, this can be extended to other parts of South Africa, if not to the entire country.

The study will be guided by a heuristic framework that can be imagined as consisting of four quadrants. In the bottom left quadrant (Quadrant A) would be a migrant who has weak links to his home country and finds himself in a hostile local environment. This person is in a position of almost complete vulnerability. Moving clockwise would be the person in the top left quadrant (Quadrant B). This person still has weak links to the home country but finds herself in a socially receptive environment. This person is likely to choose the strategy of assimilation in the local environment - we will describe this cultural strategy as acculturation. The third scenario is in the top right quadrant (Quadrant C), which is one in which a person finds herself in a socially receptive community but with strong links to the home country. This person is likely to adopt a strategy of transculturation, picking and choosing from the local culture as she wishes, and impacting the local culture as a result. This person is in the strongest position, and the community is likely to benefit the greatest from her contributions. Then there is the person who is in the bottom right quadrant (Quadrant D). This person is in a hostile local community but still retains strong links to the home country. This person is likely to adopt a transnational cultural approach. Most likely to adopt a transnational existence. This person's link to the host country may thus be more instrumental. This framework will be used to evaluate the stories of different migrants in Cape Town.

Despite the xenophobic attacks on foreign migrants of African descent in South Africa as expressed in different spaces, I identify with quadrant C – transcultural lifestyle. My choice is informed by the fact that I was received in Cape Town by friends and family members who guided, assisted, and facilitated my integration process. Upon my arrival in Cape Town, my family members introduced me to the Pinyin Family Meeting (PIFAM), and I had someone willing to hold my hand daily and assist me to navigate the different spaces. Throughout the process, I was able to build networks that allowed me to live a transcultural lifestyle. These networks include Pinyin people in Cape Town, South African friends, and social media platforms (WhatsApp groups) - where we receive advice on available opportunities, where to go, and where not to go.

1.5 Research Objectives

The main objective of this research is to provide insight and understanding on how the interplay of events in the home country and the receptivity of the host country determines which of the four quadrants (acculturation, transnationalism, transculturation, and marginalization) a migrant identifies within their integration choices. In realising the above objective, the research is therefore going to look at the different cultural strategies that migrants use in integrating within their communities. The following objectives will therefore inform the study.

- Explore the different cultural strategies that inform the migrant choices in their integration process within their host communities
- Explore the role of the Home Town Association in the integration process of migrants
- Explore the mechanisms that inform the migrant survival strategies
- Explore the perceptions of migrants about gaining access to apt information and responsive services that are available to the wider community, for example education, housing, health, policing, labour market, and sports.

1.6 Significance and/or Rationale for the Study

While studies on migration and related aspects of it are on the rise - at best, the focus is on how migrants are integrated within their host communities or the challenges they face that impede their integration process. There is still a paucity of studies that focuses on how the interplay between links in the home country and receptivity of the host cultures play a central role in determining the integration choices of migrants. Furthermore, the study seeks to go beyond the traditional narrative of how migrants are integrated within their host communities to understand how migrants integrate themselves within their host communities in South Africa and the Western Cape of South Africa in particular. This study, therefore, seeks to fill this academic gap as mutual understanding among migrants and nationals is a life and death issue in South Africa. Grounded in the notion that movement is not only out of necessity, but that movement is part of human existence, the outcome of this research will provide additional insights that will guide government and other stakeholders in

shaping policies about international migration and social inclusion in South Africa and beyond. The study will also help to add valuable knowledge which will help sensitise community members in South Africa on the relevance of having international migrants within their communities and how it can enhance diversity, ensure cohesion, boost economic growth, and enhance mutual understanding among locals and migrants.

1.7 Scope of Study

This study will focus only on Cameroonian migrants from Mankon and Pinyin residing in Cape Town, thereby limiting the generalization of the findings to other migrant groups. Limiting the analysis to Cameroonians alone will allow the researcher to develop a more in-depth understanding of the types of cultural strategies they adopt in integrating themselves within their host communities. The choice of the researcher in this study is driven by several factors amongst which are: (1) gaining access to the Cameroonian community; (2) they constitute one of the early immigrant groupings in the country; (3) they also constitute one of the most highly populated migrant groupings in the country; and (4) they are organised structurally in a home base or ethnic association. The Cameroonian community in the Western Cape is organised structurally through some form of association, for example, there is a national association: Cameroon Association of the Western Cape (CAASWECA), a defunct regional association: Cameroon Association of North Westerners in Cape Town (CANOWACAT), and there are over 40 ethnic/home base associations, for example, Pinyin Family Meeting (PIFAM), Pinyin Development Organisation (PDO), Mankon Cultural Development Association (MACUDA), Upper Bayang Development Cultural Association (UBACDA), etc. These associations are created to promote their culture, customs, values, and beliefs, in Cape Town, South Africa. In an attempt to achieve these values, a) they meet and promote love, unity, and integration amongst their members, for example, through the organisation of meeting sessions, sporting and cultural events; b) they encourage and support each other when needed - be it in times of joy or sorrow; c) they meet and resolve problems, if any, among members in an amicable manner; d) they encourage the development of members, as well as that of the association, through the creation of

stokvels commonly called “Njangi”; e) they act as advisers, security, and assist members both individually and collectively; f) they promote solidarity and hospitality amongst members; h) they encourage, support, promote the development of the home community through remitting, in support of development projects like the provision of electricity and potable water; and i) they encourage and promote their relationship with other groupings in Cape Town through cultural exchanges, etc. The creation of these associations and the aforementioned aims is a pointer to the fact that despite being away from home, they still desire to uphold their cultural values, beliefs, and customs. This research will therefore look at how these individuals use these cultural values, beliefs, and customs to integrate themselves within the wider community in Cape Town, South Africa.

Because South Africa only became an inclusive society after 1994, the research is going to focus on first-generation migrants who came into South Africa after 1994, who are 21 years old and above, and who have been in the country for more than 3 years. Based on the fact that the sample size is limited only to members belonging to either one or more of the Home Town Associations and in order to have a sample size that will be reflection of the population make-up of the study group, for example, occupation, gender, age, duration in the country, marital status, and educational level, a purposive sampling method will be the most appropriate method to identify respondents.

1.7.1 Cameroon

The Republic of Cameroon is a central West African nation on the Gulf of Guinea. It is bordered to the west by Nigeria, to the northeast by Chad, to the east by the Central African Republic, and to the south by Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, and the Republic of Congo. Present-day Cameroon was initially a German territory (spelled “Kamerun”) from 1884-1914, and by 1916, with the defeat of Germany in World War I, the territory was partitioned between France and Britain. French Cameroon got its independence in 1960, and British Cameroon, in 1961 through a plebiscite in which they voted to join French Cameroon in an arrangement that was called the Federal Republic of Cameroon, comprising East (French) and West (English) Cameroon. The federal arrangement that brought these two

countries together has dissipated and the country is now called the Republic of Cameroon as it was prior to 1961.

Cameroon is a low-income country with a population of about 25 million people and a population growth rate of 2.5% (World Bank, 2021a). Due to its colonial history, Cameroon has two official languages: English and French which were inherited from its colonial masters (Britain and France). From 1961 to 1979, the economy of Cameroon grew at a rate of between 3% and 5% per annum, which was a result of the rising prices of primary exports to the international market, like cocoa, coffee, banana, and petrol (Djomo, 2012). Emigration during this era was very low. By the mid-1980s the economy of Cameroon experienced a downturn as the world market prices of its export commodities dropped. Cameroon is commonly referred to as "Africa in miniature" due to its cultural diversities and endowment of resources (wood, cotton, refined petroleum oils, unwrought aluminium, etc.). Its top 3 export markets are the Netherlands, India, and China, with South Africa in the 18th place, while in terms of import, its top 3 import markets are China, Nigeria, and France, with South Africa in the 14th place, including the Western Cape exporting apples, pears, and quinces to Cameroon (Wesgrow, 2017). Cameroon has approximately 250 ethnic groups, making the population extremely heterogeneous. Despite its wealth of resources, it paradoxically has a low Gross Domestic Product per capita of USD1.499.4 (World Bank, 2021). From 1990 to 2019 the Human Development Index (HDI) for Cameroon increased from 0.448 to 0.563 an increase of 25.7% (United Nations Development Programme, 2020). Despite economic growth, poverty and hunger continue to rise. The CIA World Factbook (2021), records that the economy of Cameroon has a "*stagnant per capita income, relatively inequitable distribution of income, a top-heavy civil service, endemic corruption, and a generally unfavourable climate for business enterprise".* These factors stifle economic growth. With the unfavourable climate for private business investment, the state remains the main employer of labour. According to criteria adopted by Transparency International (corruption perception index), in September 1999, Cameroon was ranked the world's most corrupt country (Nyamnjoh, 1999), and in 2019, Cameroon still featured amongst the top most corrupt countries in the world (Transparency

International, 2019). The state, unable to absorb the growing number of job seekers, pushes the unemployment rate upwards. According to Knoema (2021), the unemployment rate in Cameroon stood at 3.6% in 2020. Cameroon has a youthful population of which two-thirds are under 30 years with an unemployment rate of 20% (Tasha, 2019). This bleak picture of the socioeconomic and political situation of the country has led to the loss of the economically active population, especially youth with greater mobility, and has led to a brain drain as experts travel abroad in the hope of achieving *"a better life for themselves and their families"* (Jua, 2003). Many support their extended families back home through remittances, and these have become an important factor in the Cameroon economy (Atekmangoh, 2011).

1.7.2 Pinyin Rural Community

Pinyin is located in the Grassfields of the North West Region of Cameroon, about 45km southwest of the regional capital, Bamenda, as a District under the jurisdiction of Santa Sub Division. According to oral history, Pinyin people migrated from Widikum because of a chieftaincy squabble sometime in the 17th century and settled in their current location (Nyamnjoh, 2013:9). It is the biggest rural community in Santa Sub Division, made up of 5 main villages with a total territorial space of 750km^2, a population of about 41, 000 inhabitants, is 95% Christian, and is very common for a man to have more than one wife (Nyamnjoh, 2013:9). As cattle owners/traders and bush traders, pinyin people embarked on rural-rural migration to areas like Nkambe, Maseje, Sabong-gari, Fonfuka Wum, Bafmen, Belo, Njinikom, Fundong, and Konene, to trade in their cattle business, and also petit merchandise like kola nut, palm oil, tobacco, etc. when they also visit neighbouring villages like Bali, Ashong, Santa, Guzang, Bawaju, and Widikum on weekly market days. According to Nyamnjoh, (2013), there was also international trade between West Cameroon and East Cameroon which saw the introduction of coffee farming in west Cameroon – (Pinyin) as coffee seeds were brought into the community from East Cameroon. That is why a customs post was set up at Santa - one of the gateways between West Cameroon and East Cameroon during the colonial era, and it still functions today as a checkpoint. (Nyamnjoh, 2013). Currently, the main economic activity of the area is

agriculture, which is done by both men and women. Currently, some of the main cash crops within the community are potatoes and vegetables which are being heavily cultivated by both men, women, and youth. The clearing of the farmland is being done by men, while the women do the cultivation. These cash crops are harvested four times a year and sold to traders who sell mostly in the economic capital, Douala, and the political capital, Yaoundé, as well as in neighbouring countries, like Gabon and Equatorial Guinea. In addition to the business of agriculture, Pinyin indigenes are known in and beyond the North West Region of Cameroon as business-minded people who engage in other areas of small- and large-scale businesses in the country.

1.7.3 Mankon Urban Community

Unlike the Pinyin rural community, Mankon is more of an urban area which is located in the Grassfield, 8km away from the regional headquarters of Bamenda along the Mezam River. According to Mankonkingdom (2014), Mankon is bounded in the South by Mbatu and Nsongwa Fondoms, in the North by Bafut, in the West by Ngymbu, Meta, and Bali, and in the East by Bamendakwe and Nkwen, and it harbours a population of about 250,000 inhabitants. According to Nyamnjoh (2013), the Mankon people, who originated from Nsahnyom in North East Africa, migrated to the Mbam Valley, the land of the Tikars, during the 13th century in the quest for arable land, and because of war. During the colonial era, most Mankon indigenes migrated to the coastal area in the current day South West Region to work on the plantations, and others embarked on long-distance trading, buying palm oil from Metta and selling in Calibar, Nigeria, and bringing back kerosene, gunpowder, and dane guns, while those at home were involved partly in farming, and short distance trade within the region. The main economic activity of the indigenous population is agriculture.

1.8 Reflexivity

As a researcher, it is important to explain the epistemological, ontological, and theoretical as well as the emotional and interpersonal assumptions that influenced our data collection and analysis

(Mauthner, & Doucet, 2003). Data analysis is a "*reflexive means through which meanings are made rather than found*" (Ibid, 2002:414). According to Mauthner, & Doucet (2003), with reflexivity, the data and the researcher have a symbiotic relationship as data integrates the "*epistemological, ontological, and theoretical"* presuppositions of the researcher who developed them. However, the trust worthiness of the researcher's interpretation of the data is judged based on how they demonstrate how such readings were reached. In this respect, my position as a Cameroonian migrant and a researcher based in South Africa will provide pragmatic understanding to the stories that will be told. Bryman (2008:682), argues that *"reflexivity entails sensitivity to the researcher's cultural, political and social context"*. I agree with Bryman that when analysing my result, I need to reflect on my position as a researcher, as a man, a student, and a migrant. I consider my opinion on the subject matter and do my best to prevent my opinion from influencing my interview, questionnaire, observation, and analysis. However, I admit that as a researcher, I cannot be completely objective throughout the research process. I am a Cameroonian and an active member of one of the groups under study – PIFAM. As part of the community I was studying, I was familiar to most of my respondents and can, therefore, not claim to be a passive gatherer of information. I therefore agree with Magnusson (2014:30), that as researcher, the best a person can do is to conduct our studies with lucidity so that the reader can trail "*the process of data collection, as well as to include how we have affected our research".*

1.9 Conclusion

In providing a contextual understanding of this thesis, in this chapter, I have provided my story of migration and the challenges I faced during my integration process - both in Buea and in Cape Town. I have also presented a background of the study through which I locate the two ethnic groups – Mankon and Pinyin, whose indigenes and Home Town Associations will constitute my unit of analysis. The chapter also presents the research question that guides the study, the objectives, and the significance of the study. The chapter also presents the scope of the study and reflects on my positionality as a migrant and a researcher.

1.10 Chapter Outline

Chapter 1: Introduction to the study

The study is introduced to the readers in this chapter. To provide a sense of migration and integration from my personal experience, I provide my life story. The chapter also provides a background to the study, research question, the specific objectives of the study, and significance of the study.

Chapter 2: Literature review

This chapter presents a literature review of international migration and social inclusion, drawing from the experiences of South Africa and other countries. The chapter presents the trend of migration to South Africa and contextualises the main concepts used in the study.

Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework

This chapter develops the theory of the study which informs the integration decision-making process of the migrants that is premeditated on an interplay of what is happening in the host and home countries. The three choices of the migrant examined in this chapter are; acculturation, transnationalism, and transculturation.

Chapter 4: Methodology

This chapter provides the research design and methodology used in the study: research outline, qualitative interview as data gathering method, observation, critical discourse analysis as data analysis method, and the ethical statement that guides the researcher.

Chapter 5: Presentation of data

This chapter presents the data under various themes which emerged during the presentation phase.

Chapter 6: Data analysis and discussion

This chapter looks at the positionality of migrants within their host communities and how they use their cultural formation as a survival strategy within their host communities. I also look at how,

through their cultural formations, they do not only defensively combine but give agency to every member for his/her growth.

Chapter 7: Conclusion and Recommendations

The chapter reinstate the key findings, provides a conclusion of the study and highlight future research direction.

Chapter 2

2 Literature Review

2.1 Intoduction

As presented in the previous chapter the background, the basis on which this study is grounded, and the central position which this study seeks to explain, this chapter will seek to provide a literature review of migration in the global north and global south with a focus on southern Africa and South Africa in particular, while indicating the gaps in the existing literature that triggered this study. There is a rich repository of literature on migration and integration but inadequate research on what informs the integration choices migrants make in their host communities to which this study seeks to contribute and strengthen. While this chapter examines some of the tools used by migrants in their integration process, for example sports and education, this chapter will also look at institutions such as Home Town Associations, not only as drivers of integration but how they also shape and reinforce migrants' identity in the host communities. This chapter also examines the role of the migrant as agents who drive their integration process within their host communities.

Human existence is inextricably linked to mobility/migration which takes different forms – internal mobility, international mobility, or forced displacement. Migration is interwoven into the history of humanity (Dokos, 2017). Migration and mobility have become a way of life for many people today because of globalisation and remarkable technological advances in communication and transport networks. While some people migrate voluntarily, others migrate out of necessity. Because of its socio-economic, political and cultural implications, cross border migration has gained increasing attention from policymakers as migratory flows have grown in scale with mutual impacts and benefits for both sending and receiving countries (Kuckulenz, & Buch, 2004; Maphosa, 2005; Englama, 2009; Yang, 2011; Massey et al., 1998; Molua, 2009 & OECD, 2014). The changes that occur nationally or internationally have a bearing on migration. Unlike in the past, where international migration was predominantly male labourers, currently, international migration comprises qualified professionals, students, and increasingly, female workers who need to provide for their family (Donato & Gabaccia,

2016, Nathan, 2014 & Dadush, 2014). International migrations are therefore heading increasingly towards stable and fast-growing economies, where they are safe and have more chances of finding income-earning opportunities. These movements are difficult to measure as there are always characterised by regular and irregular migration flows.

According to Nathan (2014) & Dadush (2014), the differences in regional income, growing inequality, increase in per capita income, and the demand for high-skilled and low-skilled labour are some of the most identified reasons for the rapid increase in the scale of global migration. Also, important to note is the fact that political instability, terrorism, natural disasters, and economic hardship, have contributed enormously to the flow of international migration, most especially in Africa. Broadly speaking, migration, can be categorised into political, economic, socio-cultural, and climate factors. According to the Migration Data Portal (2021a), international migrants worldwide estimate increased between 2000 and 2020, reaching 281 million in 2020. This figure indicates an increase from 173 million in 2000, 191 million in 2005, 220 million in 2010, 248 million in 2015, and 281 million in 2020, indicating a 2.4% average annual growth rate (ibid). In Africa, the international migration stock stood at 25.4 million (Ibid). The concept of globalisation has gained a lot of momentum in this age and the concept of the nation-state requires governments to keep the ideals of the nation-state alive – "*unity, common historical affinities, and cultural values*" (Hobsbawm, 1984, Hobsbawm, 1991 and Gellner, 2006) have declined, thus affecting the structure of society as there has been increasing individualisation and decreasing, fluid, and varying patterns of identification with the nation-state. However, the presence of immigrants in a nation-state remains a challenge to the government as they have economic, social, cultural, and political implications amongst individuals, groups, and communities where they live.

2.2 Migration and integration in the global north

In Europe, the approach to immigrant integration is different, with each country drawing from their historical connections and notions of belonging and identity using different models. Hallifield (1997)

identified three models – the guestworker model - which sees immigrants as temporary workers, the assimilation model - where immigrants are required to assimilate to the dominant culture and the ethnic minorities model - that recognises immigrants' values and culture as constituting an ethnic minority. The alleged failure of the guestworker model and the establishment of a multicultural society in Europe prescribed immigrant acculturation as an alternative. Through policies, inter alia; tests that evaluate immigrants' understanding of the host language and cultural practices are used to evaluate immigrant levels of integration within their host societies. In essence, they see migrants as different, and there is a need for the state to manage the difference (Dahinden, 2016:2219). To this effect, most European countries have put in place different integration policies to drive the government's objective of integrating immigrants. For example, in Netherland, the government introduced the 2007 civic integration Act that obliges immigrants to take part in language classes and courses on Dutch culture, write an exam, and pass the exams as a measure of their levels of integration. In Italy, the Integration Academy promises language training, behavioural coaching, and job readiness to ensure migrant integration. In a study conducted across 98 origin countries and 32 European settlement countries to determine the impact of origin country cultural values in the integration process of immigrants, Ng (2022:3641) posits that although "*Muslim immigrants have more traditional gender roles than non-Muslim immigrants"*, Muslim immigrants are more likely assimilated into the cultural value system of their host countries that are at variant with their cultural values, for example, cultural norms pertaining to gender values. It entails that similarity in cultural values should not be misconstrued as having a default effect on integration.

However, it is important to note from the analysis above that the drive towards integration in these European countries is design towards adopting, acculturating, or assimilating immigrants into the mainstream cultural values. These programmes are deeply rooted in the French assimilatory model of integration that focuses on programmes, for example, providing educational programmes to assist with understanding the French language, providing employment assistance programmes, and forging social cohesion through local community associations (Escafre-Dublet, 2014). In Europe, economic,

political, and social equality are underpinned by conformity to the mainstream culture, while differences are framed as conflicting and disadvantaged (Eliassi, 2017).

Conversely, the United States and Canada - largely considered settler or historical immigrant societies, theoretically adopt the multicultural approach/model to immigrant integration that embraces cultural pluralism by embracing the characteristics, for example, culture, and religion, that immigrants bring with them (Alber & Foner, 2014). This model of integration is embedded in the hyphenated national identity within these countries that gives the impression that immigrants belong to two different societies. Hypothetically, integration discourse within these countries preaches tolerance to different cultures, but in reality, they are intolerant to cultural values that are not similar to theirs. For example, in the case of Canada, as espoused by Li (2002:315) when he states that "*becoming similar to Canadian is integration and maintaining cultural difference is the opposite to integration*". This entails that different terminologies might be used in the discourse on migration and integration in the global North, but the ultimate end goal is integrating immigrants within the mainstream culture. In other words, immigrants are expected to be assimilated/acculturated into the cultural values of their host communities.

2.3 Migration in the Global South (Africa)

There are three major waves of African diaspora/migration - the first being the Trans-Atlantic slave trade when Africans were transported as forced labourers to the Americas and Europe; the second wave was during the decolonisation of the continent of Africa, which prompted a movement of African students in their quest for knowledge in the Americas and Europe; and the third wave began in the 1980s, which has been engendered by the political, social and economic crises influenced by the damaging effects of the structural adjustment programmes (SAPs) and neo-liberal policies of the World Bank (WB) and International Monetary Fund (IMF) (Garba, 2017). These policies required that before any African country could obtain financial aid in terms of the loan from these multilateral institutions (IMF and WB) they had to meet certain requirements like the government staying out of

the market, privatization of government assets, and cut down on government services like education and health (Graaf, 2004). This has resulted in the low allocation of welfare services, which has affected Africans adversely, leading to an upsurge in the living cost, and a rise in unemployment rates prompting many Africans to migrate in search of greener pastures. The third wave of migration includes, amongst others, refugees, professional elites, traders, economic migrants, etc.

During the first wave of migration, referred to as historical migration by Zeleza (2005), there was a challenge to navigate migrants' identities and relationships with their host communities, whereas with the rapid changes in telecommunications and travel, which has reduced the world into a global village, offered the third wave or modern-day migrants, opportunities to be transnational or transcultural – living in different spaces at the same time.

In explaining the diasporic movement within the framework of neoliberal economic and social policies, the Third African Diaspora at the University of Cape Town looks at the formations initiated by the diasporic movement, the livelihood arrangements created by migrants, and the vulnerabilities, fears, and insecurities that the migrant confronts. Their analysis is based on two main assumptions: the most dynamic phase of migration today is a working-class movement that has increased the spatial terrain of African migrants enabling them to create translocal livelihoods at both home and host regions, and, depending on the configuration of class forces within a specific country, migrants are either pushed by centrifugal forces towards similar social groups/movements of the proletarian, or pushed into marginal positions by centripetal forces linked to nationalist, right-wing anti-immigration sentiments in the places of migration (Sitas and Lorgat, 2010).

The third wave of migration has witnessed a different trend of migration within the continent. The first two waves of migration saw Africans leaving the continent for developed nations but, increasingly, migrants within developing countries (Africa) are growing steadily from 2000 – 2019 - for example, the number of Africans living in different countries other than that of their birth within the continent grew from 17 million to 19 million between 2015 - 2019 (International Organisation for

Migration (IOM), 2020). This is a clear indication that migration within the African continent is gaining a lot of momentum partly because of the socio-economic and political growth (a pull force) happening within some countries on the continent, for example, South Africa. According to IOM (2020), in 2005, 2.8% of South Africa's population were international migrants from other African countries; by 2019, this figure had risen to 7%. More on South-South migration, will be discussed in section 2.5.

In Africa, Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) play a pivotal role in the integration process of migrants through specific organisational activities. Through research commissioned by the "Migrant and Refugee Section of the Dicastery for Promoting Integral Human Development", the Scalabrini Institute of Human Mobility in Africa (SIHMA) compiled a report of 40 good practices enacted by the Catholic Church in Africa in 2020 during the pandemic, grounded in the practices of welcoming, protecting, promoting, and integrating migrants within their host communities in 25 African countries (SIHMA, 2022). These activities include, inter alia; the provision of social services, education, and advocacy for migrants and refugees in need (SIHMA, 2022).

In the past, some of the reasons for the protection of people were political persecution, generalized violence, and public disorder. However, today, the spectrum of protection has widened to include environmental disasters, state fragility, and livelihood failures (Betts, 2010). Nationals of most African countries tend to migrate internationally in search of a better life because of the precarious economic and political situation in their home countries informed, for example, by the introduction of the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP), the fall of oil prices and agricultural products in the late 1980s and 1990s, compounded by high levels of corruption, and political instability. To many migrants, migration is their only means of survival, income, and food security.

Concerning integration, the global discourse focuses more on the role played by the host (receiving) communities in the integration of foreign migrants within their communities and less focus on how

migrants have been able to integrate within their communities (Slootjes, 2021, De Vroome et al, 2014, UNDP, 2021 & IOM, 2017). The assumption that comes to mind is that the host communities are viewed as a docile set of people whose responsibility it is to integrate foreign nationals, while little or no agency is required from the immigrant in what role they play in integrating themselves within their host communities. Notably, communities that are accommodating to international migrants enhance the migrants' ability to attain their desired goals. Thus, creating an enabling environment through which migrants can integrate and contribute positively to the growth of their host communities.

2.4 Regional Perspective of Integration in the Global South (ECOWAS and SADC)

Within the continent of Africa, migration largely exhibits continuity with historical patterns before colonisation and the creation of borders with high volumes of movement within neighbouring states. Due to colonisation, many ethnic groups were divided, for example, Nigeria and Cameroon, South Africa and Zimbabwe, Ghana and Togo, Nigeria and Benin, Rwanda and Burundi, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and Angola, Somalia and Ethiopia, Gambia and Senegal, etc. A typical example of such ethnic division across present-day international boundaries is the Luo, Kuria, and Masai along the borders of Kenya and Tanzania. With the porous borders at independence, movement across established colonial borders is considered by many as an extension of internal migration. The conceptual shift in borders during colonial and post-colonial eras and the subsequent creation of the nation-state prompted national governments to enact laws and promulgate regulations to prevent the once free movement of people across space. In an attempt to reimagine these colonial borders as not spatial entities but as social constructs and processes, the Abuja Treaty of 1991 established regional bodies which provide a working framework through its Regional Economic Communities (REC) that seeks to facilitate regional economic integration between members of individual regions and through the wider African Economic Community (AEC).

ECOWAS is notably one of the key drivers of the integration discourse within the continent of Africa. It remains the only regional economic community in the continent that has implemented the OAU

Free Movement Protocol with its Articles 2(2d) and 27(1, 2), which recognizes the need to facilitate and encourage international migration within the region (SIHMA, 2022). The initiation of several legal frameworks, for example, the 1979 agreement for the free movement of people within member states and the Protocol of Free Movement of Persons, Right of residence and Establishment, are indicators of the regional bloc's commitment to the pursuit of regional integration (Ibid). Under this current legal dispensation, nationals from ECOWAS member states do not need to obtain permission to enter, reside and establish themselves within member states. The regional bloc views migration from a positive perspective as they acknowledge the contribution of migration in both receiving and sending countries. Therefore, integrating migration into their policy framework constitutes an integral part of the development process - as it allows for its proper management.

In the same light, within the SADC region, the SADC Protocol on the Facilitation of the Movement of Persons seeks to achieve greater economic integration within the region among member states. Even though some member states because of economic reasons, rejected the first draft protocol for the free movement and residency of nationals of member states, they, however, accepted a new daft proposal that aimed at developing policies that will facilitate the free movement of people and progressively eliminate barriers to movement within the region (Nshimbi & Fioramonti, 2013). Contrary to the desired objective of the legal framework that seeks to ease the free movement of people within the region, according to Tevera (2020), member states have paradoxically tightened their borders through increased security surveillance to prevent the free movement of people. For example, the heightened level of policing in the border post between South Africa (Musina) and Zimbabwe (Beitbridge) (SIHMA, 2022). Except for Botswana in the SDAC region that exhibits pro-migrant migration policies, other SADC member countries apply immigration policies that seek to "*enforce, control, and exclude"* immigrants (SIHMA, 2022 as cited in Crush, Peberdy, & William, 2006). The facilitation of the movement of people plays an essential role in the integration process within the region as it strengthens the historical familial ties and people are able to establish new social networks (Mudungwe, 2015)

Even though a comprehensive economic integration framework can greatly be achieved through the peaceful coexistence of people from different ethnic backgrounds, the African Union through its regional economic framework focuses more on economic integration driven by its policy of the free movement of people, goods, and services across borders and very little attention is paid to the dynamics of the home country and the receptivity of the host cultures in determining the integration process of immigrants in their host communities.

2.5 South-South Migration

Unlike in the past, when the focus was on South to North migration, South to South migration is gaining popularity within the academic discourse as there is a growing number of migrants within and across developing countries. While there is a decline in South to North migration because of their selective migration policies that favours skilled immigrants and the rise in racism, right-wing nationalism, and anti-immigration sentiments, there is an increase in South-South migration. Gagnon & Khoudou-Casteras, (2012) indicates that of the close to 3% of the world's migrant stock, 50% constitute South-South migration. Looking at the migration stock from an African continental lens, the migration stock is much higher. For example, more than 80% of international migrants in East, Central, and West Africa come from a country in the same region (Fiddian-Qasmiye & Carella, 2020). However, this growing volume of the migration stock should not be misconstrued as being seamless and that migrants within the continent integrate easily within their host environment as Maunganidze & Formica (2018:8) postulate that the myths and misconceptions regarding migrants and migration hinders the efforts to achieve integration as migrants are generally viewed within the region as a danger to state security and economy and the issue of migration is politically heated and used to serve political agenda. Just like in the North, migration policies in the global South and more specifically, in Africa are very restrictive - with the government paying very little attention to formulating policies that will foster integration. In African countries where there are attempts to formulate policies around creating an enabling environment for immigrant integration, governments have shown a lukewarm

attitude to its establishment. For example, in South Africa, after the xenophobic attack on African immigrants, the government, through the Department of Justice and Constitutional Development, committed itself to finding lasting solutions to the malice and initiated a process of drafting a plan to prevent its reoccurrence duped - the "*National Action Plan to Combat Racism Racial Discrimination Xenophobia and Related Intolerance"* approved by the cabinet in 2019 (Republic of South Africa, 2019). The plan was presented to the cabinet 15 years later, and it is still under review by the Department of Justice. Since the initiation of the plan in 2000, there have been recurrent xenophobic outbreaks on African immigrant in the country.

Exclusionary immigrant reaction is not a novel phenomenon in Africa. Back in 1983, Nigerian expelled two million West African immigrants, half of whom were Ghanaian (Phiri, 2017), Angola forcefully expelled immigrants from the Democratic Republic of Congo in 2008 (Neocosmos, 2008), Omar Bongo in Gabon encouraged violent attacks and mass expulsion of foreigners in 1975 and the recent sporadic Xenophobic attack in South Africa. Currently, within the context of South Africa, the exclusionary measures put in place is partly around making it tough for immigrants to legalise their status in South Africa. According to Yordanos et al, (2019) the status of many Ethiopian immigrants in South Africa is in limbo as they are finding it increasingly difficult to obtain an asylum permit, refugee status and other resident permits which prevents them from getting access to services within the country, including getting employment within the formal economy. In addition to the challenges of getting access to services, their undocumented status increases their vulnerability as they are exposed and targeted by criminal and corrupt officials for extortion. Smit and Rugunanan (2014) looking at women immigrants from Burundi, Zimbabwe, and the Democratic Republic of Congo in relation to how they are integrated economically, posits that access to formal economy by immigrants within South Africa is constraint by several factors, inter alia; opportunity structure in the host economy characterised by low economic growth and development, institutional response to immigrants informed by xenophobia and hatred, and the disregard of human capital of immigrants. As a result of these barriers, most immigrants through ethnic niches are involve in the informal economy

that compels most of them to survive under precarious working conditions. Looking at the social spectrum of immigrant integration in South Africa, Rugunanan (2011) posits that the integration process of refugees within their local communities from Central African countries – Congo and Burundi, is constrained by some of the challenges confronting refugees that includes lack of shelter and eviction, lack of protection against crime and xenophobic attacks.

Within the region, the government of South Africa instituted special permits for immigrants from some countries within the regional block (Angola, Zimbabwe, Lesotho, and Mozambique). The decision was welcomed by many immigrant groups as it regularised the status of thousands of immigrants in the country. According to Moyo (2021) by 2021, more than 180,000 Zimbabweans held the Zimbabwe Exemption Permit (ZEP) instituted in 2010 and extended in 2014. In 2021, the government decided to terminate the extension of these special permits by December 31, 2022, putting holders of these permits in a very precarious situation. However, in September 2022, the government further extended the permit from December 31, 2022, until June 30, 2023. Also, exclusionary political rhetoric within the political landscape in South Africa that is scapegoating immigrants to galvanize grass-roots support by blaming immigrants as a cause of the growing unemployment rate in South Africa increases the vulnerability of immigrants as they are targets of xenophobic attacks. Moyo (2021) asserts that political formations that campaign along such lines, for example, in the recent municipal election made some political gains at the grass-root level.

The migrant integration discourse within the global South and more specifically within South Africa is overwhelmed with the discourse around the ability/inability of the government to initiate programmes/policies that will enhance and facilitate the integration process of migrants within their host communities. However, the receptivity of the home culture is only a part of the puzzle in determining the choices that migrants make in this process because dynamics in their country of origin also influence their decision-making process.

2.6 Migration and Integration Strategies

There is a rich volume of literature on the processes of integration using one or more of the various strategies – assimilation, transnationalism, or transculturation. However, the literature has a gap in that it fails to reconcile the fact that the choices migrants make in their integration process is informed by an interplay between links in the home country and the receptivity of the host culture. For example, in providing a rationale for the transnational engagements of immigrants, Portes and Rumbaut (2006:137), in their study of the American society, highlights the numerous programs of sending countries' government aimed at incentivizing migrants to engage in transnational activities as a deterrent to the assimilation process of migrants. On the other hand, in a study of Muslim Senegalese immigrants in Italy, Carter (2010) argues that the Senegalese transnational lifestyle is informed by the Italian hostility and rejection of immigrants. Riccio & Ubert degli (2013), through an analysis of Senegalese immigrants in Italy breaks the dichotomy between transnationalism and assimilation by examining their integration strategies within Italian public spaces, for example, economic integration, as a means of cementing and enhancing their transnational connections. Within the context of South Africa, Bacishoga & Johnson (2013), in understanding the role of mobile phone in the integration of refugees in South Africa, states that in as much as the usage of mobile phones enhances economic and to a limited extent social integration, it greatly, enhances the transnational lifestyle of refugees in South Africa as it facilitates the connections with family members, friends, and relatives from the country of origin. Meyers & Rugunanan (2020:656) concur with assertion of the role played by mobile phones in enhancing transnational lifestyle by examining how Somali mothers "*mediate mothering using mobile platforms through remittances to children, sustaining emotional bonds, teaching religious beliefs, and encouraging educational pursuits"* via Imo, Viber, Skype, and WhatsApp. Polzer (2004), in understanding the integration process of Mozambicans in the Bushbuckridge municipality in South Africa provides a dichotomy of what the author terms "negative" national policies in the integration process versus more welcoming local realities that are informed by regional historical mobility, language, and common cultural practices that facilitates and

enhances the integration of Mozambican refugees within the Bushbuckridge communities. His analysis of the Bushbuckridge municipality resonates with my experience in the rural area of Matatiele, where people are more welcoming and communal, as juxtaposed to my experience in the Cape Town city area, where people are more individualistic. Gebre, Maharaj, & Pillay (2011), in examining the integration process of Ethiopians in Durban, posits that Ethiopians have integrated only economically in the province and not socially and politically. They argue that despite the xenophobic attacks on migrants in Durban, the benefits of staying in the country outweigh the challenges they face.

The analysis above is constrained by the fact that what informs the choices migrants make in their integration process is not holistic - as emphasis is laid only on either the receptivity of the host cultures or the dynamics in the home country. Little or no attention is given to how a combined understanding of events in both the receiving and sending countries are very central in determining the integration decisions migrants make in their host country.

2.7 Migration Trends in Cameroon

Despite the current widespread regional political instability in the two English-speaking regions of Cameroon, the country has enjoyed relative peace from independence until October 2016, when common law lawyers and English teachers of English-speaking North West and South West regions took to the streets in protest, against what they termed “their marginalisation” in what has been dubbed “the Anglophone crisis” (Ekah, 2019). This crisis, in addition to the Boko Haram insurgency in the Northern regions, has adversely affected the entire country, and in particular, the two Anglophone regions, as the resistance has moved from a peaceful public demonstration by teachers and lawyers and has now fully developed into an armed conflict in the two regions (Simpeh, 2019 & International Crisis Group, 2017). The demand for most of the Anglophone Cameroonians relates to the form of the state, ranging from those who want the current dispensation to be maintained (centralised system of government), those who want decentralisation, and those who want a return to

the two-state federation as obtained during reunification, while some are gunning for an autonomous state. Some Anglophone Cameroonians no longer consider it a fight against marginalisation but a fight for existentialism (Simpeh, 2019). This crisis has fuelled the migration trend in Cameroon, particularly from these troubled regions of the country, as the number of forced migrants has increased significantly. For example, the number of refugees and asylum seekers from Cameroon increased from 11,032 in 2017 to 78,560 in 2020 (World Bank, 2021c). As a result of the ongoing Anglophone crisis, as of May 2021, there were 66,899 refugees (men, women, and children) registered in neighbouring Nigerian 4 states – Akwa-Ibom, Benue, Cross River, and Taraba (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), 2021a).

The United Nations Development Report (UNDP) report of 2009 indicates that between 1970 and 1980 Cameroon registered an upward trend with the numbers of international migrants coming into the country estimated at 143,611 in 1970 and 237,689 in 1987. During this period there was economic prosperity and political stability in Cameroon which acted as a pull force. From 1987 onwards, the report indicates that there has been a constant decline in the numbers of those migrating into Cameroon while emigration has been on the rise. According to the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division (2013), Cameroon out-migration stock has experienced an increase from 265,344 in 1990 to 291,792 in 2013 with France being the top destination country. South Africa is notably the only African country amongst the 5 top destination countries for Cameroonian migrant students (Stats SA, 2014). However, it is imperative to mention the fact that force migration into Cameroon is increasing due to the current political unrest in the Central African Republic, and the Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria. According to UNHCR (2021b), there are approximately 458,901 asylum seekers and refugees in Cameroon. With the crisis still ongoing, the number will certainly be increasing. Even though Cameroon is well-known within the region for its role in receiving refugees, with the current political crisis in the Northern Regions and especially the Anglophone crisis in the two English-speaking regions, Cameroon is now a refugee sending country.

In Francophone Cameroon, migrating out of the country is referred to as “aller en adventure a mbeng”, which loosely translated will mean going for adventure to the North (the North being a symbol of developed economies), while in Anglophone Cameroon it is described as “bushfaller”. Bushfaller metaphorically means someone who goes into the bush/forest to hunt and bring home food (Nyamnjoh, 2011). While other African countries are not considered a “bushfalling” destination, South Africa is considered a “bush” and migrants from South Africa are considered “bushfallers”. However, “bush” to others is anywhere out of the country people go to develop and improve on their living conditions and that of their families.

The political instability in Cameroon, further compounded by the dire economic situation in the country, has translated to hardship, economic stagnation and high unemployment levels as compared to the success stories of most migrants. This stimulates the migratory desires of those left behind as they “equate bushfalling with success”, to the point where if anyone has a contrary opinion, he is seen as someone attempting to restrain or prevent them from succeeding. This perception of equating bushfalling and success is so ingrained in the minds of the youth regardless of the horrific stories about a sunken boat carrying undocumented migrants trying to enter Europe, bushfalling perceptions remain one of the mainstreamed discourses as a way of survival in Cameroon.

2.8 Migration Trends in South Africa: Pre- and Post-Apartheid era

International migration into South Africa started as far back as 1652 when the first European settlement in Africa was established by the Dutch East India Company. By the 19th century, South Africa was a white settler colony that subsequently saw European migrating in thousands permanently into South Africa (Peberdy, 1997). Before the opening of the diamond field in Kimberly in 1870, there had been a migration stream into South Africa. Wentzel and Tlabela (2006) posit that due to the growing levels of foreign aggression and advancement in the economy of most African states, the Bapedi men from Sekhukhune land, and Tsonga and Basotho men had worked on South African

farms from the 1850s to obtain cash to buy rifles and consumer goods. The movement was further compounded by the introduction of colonial taxation policies, forced labour laws, and also the desire to earn cash to pay lobola (bride price) (Katzenellenbogen, 1982:37-38). With the opening of the Kimberly and Witwatersrand diamond fields in 1870 and 1886, there was an uptick in the demand for cheap and unskilled labour, readily available in the neighbouring SADC countries. In as much as domestic labour was crucial in upholding the South African economy, foreign migration and cheap labour supply remarkably boosted the economy. South Africa was host to about 97,000 foreign mineworkers by 1899 (Van der Host, 1971) who were mostly from neighbouring countries. To ensure an abundant supply of cheap labour, the apartheid government was passive to clandestine black immigration - however, black immigrants were not allowed to apply for Citizenship (Republic of South Africa, 2017:16). Notwithstanding, semi-skilled and skilled white immigrants from neighbouring Southern African countries (Zimbabwe, Zambia, and Kenya) were given citizenship (Peberdy, 1997).

There was no legislative distinction amongst workers from other African countries and South African indigenous workers before 1963 when the first migratory law came into effect (Wentzel and Tlabela, 2006). This implies that all African workers from different countries were considered as "one" and this enhanced inclusivity within these black communities. Migration policies in apartheid South Africa were racially segregated as the apartheid government "*established racially orientated policies favouring white immigrants*" (Peberdy and Crush, 1998 & Peberdy, 1997), for example after 1910, the government imposed increasingly tight immigration policies from anywhere other than Europe, and by 1948 such racially immigrated control policies were further tightened (Parnell and Crankshaw, 2004). According to Cooper (1989), between 1960 and 1987 more than 900,000 Caucasians immigrated into South Africa, and they were recruited to fill the 25 to 40 top managerial positions as it was reserved only for those who were classified as white according to the Population Registration Act of 1990. However, it is important to point out here that blacks were also recruited into the country

as contract workers in the mines, mostly from neighbouring Southern African countries, like Mozambique and Lesotho.

After 1990, the demise of the apartheid-led government and the coming to power of an inclusive led-ANC government, whose doctrine was premised on building an inclusive society, where your ability and not the circumstances of your birth determines your position in society, motivated many foreign nationals (workers, tourists, students, traders, and asylum seekers) to come into the country. In the opinion of Klotz (2000:831), although the newly democratically elected government retained elements of the old immigration policy that focused on control and enforcement (Alien Control Act of 1991), the end of apartheid rule in South Africa created new prospects for internal and international mobility. According to Landau (2007), while the other migrant-receiving countries on the continent are becoming poorer and politically unstable and experiencing post-colonial economic decline (for example Zimbabwe and Cameroon), South Africa has come to embody both a "greener pasture" and a "safe haven" for those escaping these states of affairs.

The bulk of those who migrate into South Africa are from within the SADC region. Meny-Gibert and Chiumia (2006), postulate that amongst the 75% of migrants in South Africa, 68% come from the Southern region of Africa. However, it's important to note that migrants from other African countries further afield, like Nigeria, Cameroon, and the Democratic Republic of Congo, are on the rise. From the colonial to post-colonia era, Wentzel and Tlabela (2006), identified three streams of movement from Africa to South Africa: "*contact migration, other categories of voluntary migration, and refugee migration".* Cameroonian migrants will fall under these three streams of movement.

In mid-1995 there were about 23,000 Congolese in the country while between Jan 1994 and April 1997 a total of 2,862 Nigerians had applied for political asylum (Kadima and Kalombo, 1995 and Morris, 1998). According to the World Bank, (2021b), the international migrant stock in South Africa in 2010 was estimated at 1.9 million. The International Organisation for Migration (IOM) (2021),

estimated that in 2013 there were 2.4 million migrants in South Africa, including some 1.5 million from Zimbabwe. According to the Migration Data Portal (2021b), by mid-2020 South Africa was host to an estimated 2.9 million immigrants. This indicates a steady increase in the numbers of migrants in South Africa.

Despite undergoing three successive periods of recession since 1994 (Mail & Guardian, 2020), South Africa has one of the most stable and fastest-growing economies, with an estimated population of 60.6 million people in 2022 (Stats SA, 2022) and an estimated growth rate of 2.1% in 2022 (Businesstech, 2022). The former president, Jacob Zuma in his State of the Nation address in February 2015, promised *"industrialisation, boosting agriculture and manufacturing, as well as adding value to the country's mineral wealth which will help open up economic participation to all who live in South Africa*" (Republic of South Africa, 2015). This move will go a long if realized to make South Africa an attractive destination for most migrants within and beyond the continent. During his reign though, the country's economy had been dwindling, with the economy being downgraded, his removal from office by the ANC and replacement by Cyril Ramaphosa has given the country an economic boost and reinstated investment confidence (CNBC, 2018).

2.9 Social Inclusion/Exclusion

Social inclusion and exclusion are twin concepts that seek to explain each other. Peace (2001) argues that both terms (social inclusion and exclusion) are derived from the terms - poverty, deprivation, and marginalization. In most instances, the relevant literature in its definition of social inclusion does not problematize the concept as it is defined in relation to social exclusion. According to Francis (2000:76), as cited by Monjur-Ul-Haider (2019), exclusion may not always be viewed negatively - if inclusion entails exploitation and violent relationship. Like integration, social inclusion is a practice through which programmes are put in place to guarantee equal opportunities for all regardless of their origin, race, political or religious affiliation, and sexual orientation. Spoonley et al., (2005:99) posit that inclusion is premised on the fact that there is "*equity of opportunities and outcome with regard to*

labour market participation and income, and access to education and training, social benefits, health services, and housing". The definition above stresses equality of access to all community members including migrants regarding services rendered by the state.

Everyone, while growing up, learns to integrate within society. Integration is therefore not a concept limited only to migrants. Integration/Social inclusion can be explored at all levels of human relationships ranging from interpersonal, inter-group to social relationships at the macro level, such as local and national levels. Despite the uncertainty and differences in the definition of the concept of social exclusion, with one school of thought arguing that social exclusion provides a clearer understanding of disadvantaged groups, others argue that it's ambiguous, multidimensional, and elastic, evoking different meanings (Rawal, 2008), while some view it as a dyad that creates a divide within society between "us" and "them" (Cohen, 2015 and Du Bois, 1897). However, certain tenets/characteristics are evident when one talks of social inclusion/exclusion by looking at variation in certain factors which include amongst others: socio-demographics – national and foreigner, economic-financial and labour market, political – individual and community, and socio-cultural – basic needs, housing, and cultural values. On the one hand, social inclusion uses the differences between people in terms of race and cultural heritage in creating rich and diverse societies in which every individual stand to benefit – whereby differences are not only accepted but are respected as well. Social exclusion, on the other hand, uses these differences between people to create divides and animosity within society between its members from different backgrounds. However, it is important to indicate that it might be misleading to assume that if one is not included (social inclusion) one is excluded (social exclusion). Social inclusion/exclusion being a multidimensional concept, one can experience both incomplete inclusion and incomplete exclusion as Cohen (2015) postulates that conducts, and options chosen by social actors may oscillate within a dyad as a result of time or certain external factors. The sources of social exclusion, amongst others, include poverty and the competition for scarce resources, racism, fear of difference or lack of political clout, and ethnocentrism. Social exclusion can beduring the come a major threat to economic prosperity and social cohesion. Rispel,

Molomo, & Dumela (2008) posit that the process of social exclusion may function both at the macro-level – "*lack of access to affordable education, equal employment opportunity, legislation, cultural and gender norms, and at the micro-level - occupational status, and social network"*. In line with the above assertion, Aasland and Flotten (2000), contend that social exclusion is a multidimensional phenomenon that manifests in one or more of the following ways: *"exclusion from formal citizenship rights, from labour, from participation in the civil market and social arena".* Social exclusion, therefore, is all about limiting access to institutions - private and public.

Gidley, Hampson, Wheeler, and Bereded-Samuel (2010:2-4) view social inclusion/exclusion as a multi-faceted concept, firstly, on how it pertains to the inclusivity of individuals, in this case migrants, to a variety of areas of social grouping that include, amongst others, education, employment, health, religion, language, etc. and secondly, the varying degree of inclusion: access: neoliberalism – *"investing in human capital and improving skills shortages"*, participation: "*enforcement of human rights, egalitarianism of opportunities, human dignity and fairness for all"*, and empowerment: "*seeks to maximise the potential of each human being"*. According to Saloojee & Saloojee (2011:2), social inclusion has the political ability to build what he terms "*universal bridges of solidarity that transcend the potential fragmenting and soiling effects of identity politics*". In this regard, social inclusion has the potential to open the floodgates of harmonious living between migrants and members of their host communities (see theories – transculturation). Walker and Walker (1997:8) states that social exclusion is "a *comprehensive formulation which refers to the dynamic process of being shut out, fully or partially, from any of the social, economic, political or cultural systems which determines the social integration of a person in a society*". Cardo (2014:13) posits that according to the world development report the poor are often treated badly by state institutions and society and, as a result, are silenced and excluded from participating in such state institutions. Sen (2000) and Aasland and Flotten (2000) argue that there is a strengthening relationship between social exclusion, deprivation, and poverty, and that social exclusion captures more facet of people's lives than the concept of poverty. This explains why in the late 1980s the European Union adopted and replaced the concept of poverty with the

concept of social exclusion (Rawal, 2008). The denial of civil, political, and social rights are features of social inclusion. Wilsson (1995), Room (1995), Byrne (1999), and Sen (2000) concur with Walker and Walker on the power dynamics but argue that exclusion ignites the desire for action (agency) from those excluded and not be passive victims requiring others to act on their behalf. This entails that the attainment of social inclusion requires activism on the part of the socially excluded (migrants) to become active citizens within their host environment. Saloojee (2003:1) further distinguishes two versions of social inclusion: *"weak and strong versions".* The weak version is the ability of the host community to change and integrate the migrant within the host community (assimilated into the dominant culture); this version therefore posits that people are not excluded but included from a disadvantaged position, and the strong version, which can bring about change, focuses "*on power relations between the excluded"* (migrant community) "*and those doing the excluding"* (host community) (Saloojee & Saloojee, 2011:3). The power relation negotiation remains one of the key challenges in the social inclusion discourse, as it is through this process of negotiation that both communities can find a common ground to reconcile their different cultural heritages, amongst other things, for harmonious living. Esser (2001:13) provides a classification of integration concerning its validity in the host and home societies: integration in both is called multiple integrations, marginality is failed integration in both, integration only in the home society is called segmentation, and integration only in the host society is called assimilation.

Early studies of migration in South Africa concentrated heavily on the study of the determinants of migration, emphasising the macroeconomic determinants (Crush and Frayne, 2007, Peberdy, 1997, Peberdy, 2001, Crush, 2008). But migration is not only driven by economic necessity but how migrants see more secure spaces for themselves and their families. Instead of focusing only on the macro-level, this study will examine the micro-level processes of social inclusion with an emphasis on the strategies migrants use to have access to, participate in, and benefit from their host government and communities, and feel a sense of belonging (Spencer and Rudiger, 2003). In socially inclusive communities, an enabling environment is being created where international migrants not only feel that

they are safe and welcome, but that they also have opportunities to contribute to the social, economic, and cultural development of their host communities. However, this work seeks to go beyond the traditional norm that limits the integration process into the host communities and government, to interrogate the role and the agency to which migrants seek to integrate themselves within their host communities. This begs the question: what is agency?

2.10 Agency and Social Integration/Inclusion

As social beings, individuals are expected to respond to situations differently under different prevailing circumstances. Agency, therefore, shapes social action in terms of how individuals respond to a situation in the present while taking cognisance of the past and safeguarding the future. In this light, Emirbayer and Mische (1998:963) reconceptualize human agency by looking at it as a temporally entrenched process of social commitment informed by the past, preoccupied with the present, and working towards the future. An analysis of agency gives one the ability to understand why humans, as actors are bound or choose to make certain decisions at a given time and space in reconstructing the conditions of their lives. According to Emirbayer & Mische (1998:970), agency can be defined as "*the temporally constructed engagement by actors of different structural environments – the temporal relational context of action - which, through the interplay of habit, imagination, and judgment both reproduces and transform those structure in interactive response to the problem posed by changing historical situation"*. Agency, therefore, can be viewed as the ability of man as a social being to shape and redesign his "world". However, it is vital to note that human agency is also being influenced by structural forces, for example, our agency can be influenced by other people within our communities, government, and other entities as they shape the rewards and penalties, whether economic or social, which follow from our choices. According to Karl Marx (1852:1), "*men make their history, but they do not make it as they please; they do not make it under self-selected circumstances, but under pre-existing circumstances, given and transmitted from the past*". Just like the study of history which has three key elements: past, present, and future, agency as well, according to Emirbayer and Mische (1998:971), can be analysed at three different levels: the iterational element,

which is expressed through the temporally entrenched process of social commitment informed by the past, which allows social actors to recall, select and appropriately apply action based on their past experiences; the projective element, which is action-oriented towards the future, as this allows social actors to distance themselves from the past and apply action that projects into the future; and practical-evaluative element which is an analysis based on the past and current evolving situation thereby striking a balance in their actions between the past and the present, moving into the future.

Considering social inclusion/integration an understanding of agency and its elements: iterational, projective, and practical-evaluative, provides one with the platform to be able to understand the basis on which migrants (1) are being acculturated within their host communities, (2) live a transnational lifestyle or (3) greatly get involved within their host communities through a transculturation arrangement. It is important to note that these elements are interwoven as they overlap each other and are therefore not examined separately in analysing agency and its role in informing the choices migrants make in their integration processes. A recollection (iterational) of negative memories about his home environment, for example, a repressive government, and the receptivity (projective) of his host environment – if unreceptive, the migrant will acculturate. On the other hand, a recollection of good memories of the home environment - habitual lifestyle, preserving identity, and a standoffish attitude of the host environment - strict host country immigration policies, visa quotas, difficult labour market conditions, or xenophobia - the migrant will assume a transnational lifestyle. If there is a recollection of good memories about the home environment and a friendly reception in the host environment creating an enabling environment for cohesive interaction between migrant and members of the host communities to collectively plan for the future (practical-evaluative), the migrant will assume a transcultural lifestyle. This implies that comparatively enduring repertoires of knowledge inform the strategies that migrants will adopt in their integration process.

2.11 The role of Education, Sport, and Participatory approach in the Integration Process

Structural explanations do not take us into the world of the migrant as a social actor - not someone who is integrated but who integrates himself as he sees fit. For that, a more cultural approach is needed. The textbook definition of culture is that of a way of life of a people, their language, beliefs, values, social behaviour, and organisation (Mestheneos and Charapi, 1999). This research in line with Swidler (1986) looks at culture to consist of "*symbolic vehicles of meaning, including beliefs, rituals practices, art forms, and ceremonies, as well as informal cultural practices such as language, gossip, stories, and rituals of daily life*". Most Sociologists agree that our behaviour patterns are shaped by culture and social learning, not nature. Because humans cannot rely on instinct to survive, culture is a "tool kit" for survival. According to Swidler (1986:273), culture is a "*tool kit*" of symbols, stories, rituals, and world view which can be divided into two parts: "*material culture*" which consists of tangible creations and "*non-material*" culture which consists of the abstract for example language, beliefs and values which people may use in different ways to solve different kinds of problems. In this regard, culture is seen as a strategy which the individual (immigrant) uses as a means of integrating within host communities.

The culture of schooling (education) is one of the key cultural strategies which immigrants use to integrate within their host communities. According to Muller and Salinas (1999), "education is the key to integration", as it induces higher productivity levels amongst immigrants in their host communities. They however note that education should not be a one-way process of teaching skills and rules to an "unknowing" person, with adaptation as its ultimate aim (acculturation); education should rather be a two-way process during which both sides - teacher and student, host society and migrant community - can learn from each other (transculturation). The knowledge brought by the migrants should be used to enhance the diversity of the host society. In a study conducted in Finland by Alitolppa-Nitambo (2001) in which he looks at Somali youth who arrived in their early adolescences in the 1990s, he postulates that through their intense contacts with educational institutions, understanding of the Finnish language and peer groups, teens gain new influence which

often leads to "*dissonant acculturation*" and "*intergenerational conflict*" in their families. This conflict arises because these teens, unlike their parents who are not exposed to their new society, understand the functioning of the society, and the roles of the family becomes reversed, particularly in contact with mainstream society. Alitolppa-Nitambo (2001), argues that to strike a balance between teens and their parents' (second and first-generation) education, social policy, and employment measures should be applied to expose the adult population to mainstream society. In South Africa, Section 29 of the South African Constitution states that everyone has the right to basic education making it a positive right that is not subjected to progressive realisation, and it further states that "*the state must make further education progressively available and accessible"*. Education remains a key element of integration within the Cameroonian community. They do not only view education as a platform for experiencing other cultures, customs, and values but as a tool that could take them out of poverty in their host and home country.

Another key component that can make communities inclusive is the culture of sport and leisure, as sport is considered a global language that goes beyond cultural and linguistic limitations. Sport can be seen as a psychological support mechanism for the treatment of the most vulnerable within our societies, including refugees and asylum seekers, as it can facilitate their healing process. Amara et al., (2004), in a study of organisations working in the areas of education and sports in Britain, posit that sports, leisure, and cultural activities have the potential of helping to shape social inclusion amongst asylum-seekers and refugees and members of their host communities. They postulate that sport can be used as a valuable tool for starting dialogue, thus lessening tension between community members including immigrants and creating avenue of interaction between the law enforcement agencies and communities, which may contribute to crime reduction within those communities. Amara et al., (2004), further demonstrate how sport has been used in East Midlands to tackle two problems: to promote the social inclusion of refugees and asylum-seekers into the host communities, and to reduce urban violence and tensions between two minorities, Pakistanis and Kurdish, which share similar culture, religiosity, and social status but could not get along. This means that sports can

be used as an important instrument in attaining social cohesion and economic growth within communities. Sport, particularly football, among Cameroonians is seen as a unifying factor. It is the most celebrated sport in the country and takes precedence over all other sports. According to Vidacs (2007), it is the "king sport" and most people refer to it as a "religion". The love for football still resonates very much amongst Cameroonians in Cape Town in the form of training sessions organised on Sundays popularly known as "Sunday Sharp", as well as regional and inter-ethnic competitions. The training sessions on Sundays and other designated days, are always open for any football lover who wishes to play, but the regional and inter-ethnic competitions are usually restricted to registered members. However, the intrinsic nature of how these events are organised (particularly soccer competitions), makes integration within the host community using sport as a "cultural toolkit" very difficult and therefore poses the need for such events to be organised to include nationals from these communities. This research will therefore interrogate the necessity of such events to be organised on a broader scale that will include South African community members.

Social inclusion can also be attained in host communities when it's seen as a form of participatory approach whereby policymakers enlist the participation of immigrants and refugees within the community in formulating policies of social inclusion. However, this work is going to interrogate the role migrants are playing in terms of how they use the available platforms within their community, for example Home Town or Ethnic Association, to engage with the government on issues related to social inclusion. These migrant communities have their views and aspirations on how inclusion can be achieved. According to Korac (2003), the integration of refugees can be facilitated through the appreciation of the complexities of integration from the refugees' points of view on how they view integration and how it should be attained. Korac (2003) further postulates that refugees perceive and desire integration as a functional aspect that finds expression in community participation. Therefore, policymakers should recognize these complexities and acknowledge migrants as social actors rather than turning them into policy objectives to facilitate integration, as in Italy and Netherlands.

2.12 Social Inclusion/Integration in South Africa

Within the context of South Africa, the white government of the National Party, upon accession to power in 1948, began enforcing existing racial segregation policies. Under such policies, non-white South Africans would be forced to live in separate areas from whites and use separate facilities. Resistance to such policies and the advocacy for an inclusive society was championed by movements like the African National Congress, amongst others. With the demise of apartheid and the birth of a new constitution in 1994, the vision of the new democratic government of South Africa was deeply rooted in their desire to undo racially-based and exploitative apartheid laws and to integrate South Africa into the SADC region, the African continent, and the world at large (Department of Home Affairs, 2017). The National Development Plan (NDP) and the Radical Economic Transformation policies of the ANC-led government are the country's development blueprints, which are deeply rooted in the social inclusion agenda as both policies prioritise the social inclusion of previously disadvantaged communities and persons. Unlike in the past, during the apartheid era, when blacks from different parts of the continent (Africa) could live peacefully together (as explained in section 2.8), with the demise of apartheid, and within the current dispensation, blacks from other parts of Africa are experiencing some forms of hatred perpetrated against them by black South Africans.

The Department of Home Affairs, in its proposal for the management of international migration amongst other things, proposed that international migration policy should be African-oriented, strategic granting of residency and naturalisation to foreign nationals, attract and retain high-value foreign nationals, and manage continental and regional migration flows to and from South Africa, in line with the African Union 2063 agenda for a visa-free regime for African citizens (Republic of South Africa, 2017). These policy suggestions give the impression that the ANC-led government is championing an inclusive society for all those who live in South Africa. However, there is a disjuncture between the existence of a constitutional framework that is welcoming to migrants and the actual treatment that migrants receive in most parts of South Africa. For example, the preamble of the 1996 constitution of South Africa states that "South Africa belongs to all who live in it." Section 1

confirms the value of "*non-racialism and non-sexism*"; Section 9 (1) states that "*everyone is equal before the law and has the right of equal protection and benefit of the law*"; section 9 (3) states that "*the state may not unfairly discriminate directly or indirectly against anyone on one or more grounds, including sex, race, gender, pregnancy, marital status, ethnic or social origin, colour, sexual orientation, age, disability, religion, conscience, belief, culture, language and birth*"; and section 10 states, *"Everyone has inherent dignity and the right to have their dignity respected and protected*". South Africa's 1994 constitution has been viewed by many as one of the most inclusive and liberal constitutions in the world. Despite all these values and protections, international migrants always encounter difficulties with restrictive government policies (Carciotto, 2021).

In South Africa, even though refugees and asylum seekers are issued permits that allow them to work and study - enabling their temporary integration within their host communities, most employers, including some government departments, refuse to recognize the document (Landau, 2006). The disregard of these permits denies its holders the ability to translate these rights into socio-economic protection. The exclusionary policies and experiences of migrants within the labour market in the South African economy, for example, have propelled migrants, in most cases, to develop alternative survival strategies, pushing most of them into the informal economy in which the work they are involved in is precarious; for example, hairdressing, hawking, petty trading, domestic work, seasonal farm work, operating tuck shops, prostitution, dealing in drugs (Smit and Rugunanan, 2014). Policy-wise, The Employment Service Act (2014) Section 8(2a) clearly states that before a foreign national is hired for any position, the employer must make sure that there is no suitable South African candidate for such a position. These policies have made migrants vulnerable to exploitation as, in an attempt to reduce cost and avoid legal obligation, employers have devised various strategies such as casualisation and "informal" recruitment of migrants (Johnston, 2007 and Ewart & Du Toit, 2005).

The South African government and the UN view migrants from other African countries residing in South Africa as mostly economic migrants (Kriger, 2010:9 & Migration Policy Institute, 2021). This perception constructs migrants as an economic competitor to the already scarce economic resources in South Africa, thus affecting their integration process within communities as migrants are seen as a threat to community livelihoods. McGregor (2010) postulates that although many migrants from especially neighbouring SADC countries, for example Zimbabweans have merged into their host communities, the scale of movement, the exclusionary state response, and xenophobia continuously act as a bulwark against successful integration of these foreign nationals. South Africa has not been a "safe haven" for migrants as exemplified by May 2008, April 2015, and most recently, March 2019's repeated occasional attacks on the lives and businesses of mostly African migrants, perpetrated mostly by poor and unemployed sections of the country who view immigrants amongst others as direct competition to job opportunities within the country (Human Rights Watch, 2020; Misago et al, 2015 & Migration Policy Institute, 2021). Even though these attacks are considered xenophobic by foreign nationals, the government insists that they are acts of criminality. Even though migrants are potential resources for their communities, and are therefore entitled to government resources, they are often seen as a drain on public resources. Some community members feel that they should be privileged over migrants while other community members blame migrants for crime, disease, and unemployment. Through unsubstantiated reports against "illegal migrants" the government and the media have aggravated the problem. The media subscribes to the link between crime, violence, and migration, and such observations have adversely affected popular imagination towards migrants (Modi, 2003:1760). Neocosmos (2010:13) explained that the core reason for xenophobia in South Africa is because of the state politics, which in the face of the economic challenges, the government has very little to offer to its citizenry and turn to blame foreigners as a major part of the problem plaguing the country. The state resort to identity politics by defining citizenship in terms of indigeneity, thereby creating the "other" and "us" in the nation-state. This then led to the categorisation process of migrants into the following: Amakwerekwere, illegal, alien, foreigners, etc., (Crymble, 2010; Ukwandu, 2017; & Solomon & Kosaka, 2019) or boxing migrants into one of the

following nationalities: Zimbabweans, Nigerians, Congolese, etc. These attitudes have subjected migrants to scapegoating thus rendering some migrants vulnerable. This hatred for foreigners has been captured by Neocosmos (2015), who states that South Africa is "sick" because it treats fellow human beings who display differences from them as enemies thereby subjecting them to all forms of xenophobic attack. He further argues that the government is doing very little or nothing to protect these foreigners. In 2011, the UN delegation to South Africa also saw with dismay the poor state of migrants within South Africa and recommended that South Africa should "*improve social cohesion and measure against discrimination, exploitation and the tendency by the police to ignore the rights of migrants and the overall lack of a comprehensive immigration policy that incorporates human rights protection*" (CORMSA, 2011:14). It is important to mention that migrants from other parts of the world, for example Europe, are in most cases not discriminated against as are the migrants from Africa. Those who face the brunt of the worst xenophobic attacks are black African migrants. According to Crush and Peberdy (2003), despite the restrictive government migration policy, the rising numbers of international migrants in South Africa is an indication that South Africa remains a chosen destination for so many migrants, especially within the continent (Africa) and beyond.

While there is a school of thought that portrays South Africans as xenophobic, there is another that depicts South Africans as welcoming and tolerant. According to Rugunanan, (2017), in her analysis of married Indian migrant women in South Africa, she established through the women that South Africans are tolerant. However, she further states that despite the tolerant nature of South Africans, the fear of crime impedes their integration process, and they prefer to be involved in their home country's ethnic associations or religious groups and not to integrate into broader society. It concurs with the government position that attacks on foreign migrants are acts of criminality and not xenophobic. In other words, the above study explicates that HTA creates a niche through which expressions of belonging can be found.

Unlike other studies that look at other factors that shape migration and integration, for example, sports, education, and access to the labour market, as examined in the literature review (see Alitolppa-Nitambo, 2001; Amara et al, 2004; SIHMA, 2022, & Muller & Salinas, 1999) - this study gives pride of place to the role played by Home Town Association (HTA) not only in creating an avenue through which a sense of belonging can be found but also emphasized its role in shaping the integration process of migrants within their host communities.

Furthermore, membership in a Home Town Association constitutes an important aspect of the study because other studies have demonstrated that migrants without any source of support in their host country from other members of their kinship are more marginalized and vulnerable.

For example, Djundeva & Ellwardt (2018), in a study of Polish migrants in the Netherlands, posits that migrant with restricted social networks, for example, not belonging to a Home Town Association - that connects migrants and non-migrants, are highly likely to be lonely thus increasing their chances to be vulnerable and marginalized within their host communities.

2.13 Home Town Associations and Social Inclusion

Home Town Associations originated in the 19th and 20th centuries (Somerville et al., 2008). Since then, the numbers are increasing with the popularization of migration and the desire by migrants to create a sense of belonging away from home. Home Town or Cultural/Ethnic Association is a constellation of individuals usually within the migrant population from the same city/region or ethnic group, usually living within the same region or community in their host Country, who come together as they adjust to life within their host environment, seeking to support their place of origin and to maintain a relationship with local communities while upholding their cultural values. The importance of migrant Home Town Associations (HTA) in recent times is imperative in the study of migrant populations and social inclusion as they (HTA) give one an understanding of the "*associational behaviour*" of migrants in their integration process (Schrover and Vermeulen, 2005:823). Home Town Associations can be seen as part of the *"diasporic movement as they are complex social and cultural*

communities created out of real and imagined genealogies and geographies of belonging, displacement, and recreation, constructed and conceived at different moments and distances from the recognised homeland" (Zeleza 2005:41-42).

During early modernity, migrant religious organisations were very central to migration policies in both host and receiving countries as they presented and facilitated a platform whereby government policies could easily be implemented. Schrover and Vermeulen (2005) postulate that in the past, during the European Early modern period, where there was the formation of umbrella migrant organisations to represent Turkish and Moroccan groups, host countries' governments, for example Netherlands, used the organisations to mould migrants into coherent communities. Through their organisational structures, the leaders of such groups could provide accounts of their members to the government. This implicitly means that the attitude of the government played a very crucial role in the formation of HTAs and the integration of migrants. The integrating role of the state is restricted in countries where migrants are seen as foreigners, and in countries that consider themselves as migrant societies, where new migrants are considered as "*new citizens*", the government initiates and directs programmes that are aimed at making use of their potentials thus stimulating integration. In such pro-migrant communities, the migrant organisation can attract funding from the government (Peenix and Schrover, 2001). It's important to point out here that countries oscillate between these positions at different historical moments, as in the case of South Africa, which was so attractive and open for migrants (especially black qualified migrants) immediately after 1994, yet from 2010 onward it experienced numerous waves of xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals.

Massey et al., (1987:145) postulate in their study of migrant associations in the USA that HTA is an institutional mechanism that facilitates the formation and maintenance of social ties promoting interpersonal contact that facilitates the process of "adaptation" and "mutual assistance". During the early years of its inception, HTAs were more focused on supporting developmental projects in their country of origin but as time progressed their aim has been widened to include the welfare of its

members. Most HTAs raise their resources from their membership, and the agenda of their activities varies according to the availability of their resources. Although most HTAs are small in terms of membership, they are, however, involved in building the organisational skills of migrants and creating an outlet for domestic civil participation, while also being involved in organisational networking to lobby both their host and home governments to gain favourable policies and legislation affecting immigration (Serageldin et al., 2005:11). Though it is difficult to say precisely what might encourage certain groups of people to participate in a Home Town Association, some of the overriding reasons for participation, according to Orozco & Garcia-Zanellos (2008) include, amongst others, issues related to *"political culture, family links, material circumstances, cultural identity, and levels of integration*". However, it is argued by many authors that the overarching reason for the formation of HTA is the cultural difference between migrant communities and members of their host communities as migrants will in most instances want to maintain, uphold, and strengthen their cultural identity (Breton, 1964, Bloemraad, 2005, and Schrover and Vermeulen, 2005). Breton (1964) argues that social and cultural variations between host and migrant communities are determinants of the creation of HTA. The vast the differences, the higher the probability. Apart from the challenges of how cultural and social differences can be measured, Schrover and Vermeulen (2005:826), goes beyond cultural and social differences to include factors like "*migration trends, opportunity structure in the host community, and the characteristics of the immigrant community"*. One can therefore add that the formation of migrant HTA is greatly influenced by circumstances and conditions in which the migrant population finds itself. Migrant organisations are therefore an indication of how migrants see differences between themselves and the rest of society, or how these differences are perceived by others. It's important to highlight that in as much as HTA can be a source/avenue in facilitating the integration process of its members, as seen in the case of Ukrainian-Canadians, where strong Home Town-based Ukrainian organisations combine the protection of community concern with an outward-looking orientation, in terms of economically and socially integrating their members within communities, other HTAs, for example the Korean-Canadian organisation that is more "offensive and defensive" and inward-looking in creating a dense network that enforces and protects their enclave

economy – self and family employment (Couton, 2014, and Schrover and Vermeulen, 2005) impedes the integration process.

2.14 Home Town Associations: Identity and Identification Formation

There is a connection between the migrants' identity and his/her social context as one's identity is shaped by his/her socio-cultural surroundings. Individuals therefore can express their identities through social channels around them by engaging in activities that allow them to experience both a sense of belonging and identification with the broader community. How one identifies one's self and/or how others identify us is part of our social reality. Brubaker and Cooper (2000), in unpacking the concept of identification, provide two categories of identification: relational – in which people identify themselves or are identified by others concerning kinship, friends, family, etc., and categorical – in which one may identify one's self or be identified by others as they share certain attributes, for example, race, ethnic group, nation-state, belonging to an HTA, class, etc. Ptaff-Czarnecka (2013:8) posits that there is an interplay between individual choices: commitments, practices, quests, hopes, desires, on the one hand, and collective processes on the other, with individuals mostly taking collective constellation as context. One can therefore argue that there is a relationship between the individual and the collective to which they belong (for example, HTA), and the action of one can influence or readjust the action of the other. This implies that "belonging" to an HTA does not only help the migrants in defining and/or identifying themselves but also provides channels through which migrants can make a difference in their countries of settlement and origin. Somerville et al, (2008) posits that HTA plays a central role in the integration of its migrant members into the wider community in that they can be a helpful institution of immigrant socialization, point of contact, and coordination between migrants and the various stakeholders (government and civil society).

Saksela-Bergholm (2009), in explaining the relationship between migration and association in her study of migrant Associations in the Metropolitan Area of Finland, uses the Layton-Henry model that

describes the two phases of migration; she added the phases of associations and the third phase of both migration and association, whereas the fourth phase of migration and association has been added by the author.

Stage of migration	*Stage of the association*
1st stage of migration: arrival	*1st stage of association*
Character: Recent immigration, looking for social contacts, temporary jobs, housing etc.	*Establishment of informal networks and associations to improve living conditions in the country of origin. Interest to organise religious activities for their ethnic community*
2nd stage of migration: socio-economic inclusion	*2nd stage of association*
Character: more stable social networks, familiar living area	*Establishment of association to improve the living conditions of immigrants in the receiving society. More established transnational activities with the country of origin, e.g. transnational development projects and organisation of religious practices in the receiving society*
3rd stage of migration: socio-economic inclusion and maintenance of ethnic identity	*3rd stage of association*
Character: looking for receiving society social capital – education and training and search for a stable job, differences between 1st and 2nd generation immigrants living in one household	*Establishment of association with the goal of improving inclusion of the second-generation immigrants (children and youth) to the receiving society and assisting in the search for a stable job*

4th stage of migration: socio-political inclusion	*4th stage of association*
Character: looking for investment opportunities in receiving society and the desire to be involved in the socio-political life of the receiving society to be able to influence decision-making processes	*Establishment of associations to achieve social justice, respect, and fair treatment without compromising their national identity. Increased interest in political participation in the receiving country. Focus is more on the local living area than on the country of origin*

Source: Saksela-Bergholm (2009:36)

With advanced technological developments during this era, the first stage of migration within the first year in the host country is characterised by the desire of the migrant to stay in contact with the country of origin with the ease of new cutting-edge- technology. This phase, according to Layton-Henry (1990), is the temporary labour recruitment stage. During this stage, migrants are still struggling to grasp their new environment, and the association helps in providing guiding information (legalising his/her stay, currency, accommodation, food, business opportunities, etc.) that will help the migrant to settle.

The second stage is the awareness stage – migrants become aware of their rights. According to Layton-Henry (1990:102), this stage is the time of mediating and claims to make that deal partly with a family reunion and the relevance of "education" and the "mother tongue". Saksela-Bergholm (2009:37-38), posits that this is the stage where the association and informal networks can intercede between the local authorities and the migrant groups.

The third stage is where the migrant shows agency in search of host country social capital. The migrant in the third stage desires to improve his/her working conditions by looking for permanent jobs and better wages. This is the stage whereby the migrant makes personal decisions on what choices to make in mapping out his/her life within the receiving society, for example, what kind of academic

programme to pursue. During this stage, the association plays mostly an advisory role and, in some cases, provides financial assistance through short-term loans.

The fourth stage is when migrants have amassed some kind of wealth and are now looking for investment opportunities in their host country. During this stage, migrants seek to be involved in the socio-political life of their host community, most especially being willing to participate in local elections and make their voices heard. The association at this phase seeks to meditate on the migrants' quest for respect, social justice, and fair treatment and upholding without compromising their national identity.

In as much as the role of the ethnic association in assisting its members in the integration process cannot be underestimated, the individual within the collective plays the most crucial role in his/her integration process. Ptaff-Czarnecka (2013), states that capturing belonging through an individual's perspective from different places has the advantage of focusing on the interplay between individual and collective practices. This begs the question; what is belonging? According to Ptaff-Czarnecka (2013:13), "*belonging is an emotionally charged, ever-dynamic social location, that is, a position in social structure, experience through identification, embeddedness, connectedness, and attachments*". Anthias (2006:21) concurs with the above definition of belonging by stating that belonging is about formal and informal experiences with the latter about issues such as membership, rights, and duties, with the former relating to how social place has a connection with the self, expressed through the feeling of being part of a larger whole – emotionally and socially bonded to it. This implies that belonging is not only a question of citizenship or identification, but also requires active participation and having a stake in one's host community. Ptaff-Czarnecka (2013) distinguishes between two levels of "belonging", namely "belonging to" and "belonging with" or "togetherness". The former refers to an person's relation to a perceived collective constellation, and spaces such as HTA, family or nation-state, which are defined by the person's embeddedness in a collective, while seeking access to collectives that jealously guard their interests, and trying to abandon his or her peer-group; while the

latter denotes collective dynamics of belonging and processes of social boundary-making, which includes: a) commonality – sharing with others for example language, religion, and lifestyle; b) reciprocity – this relates to interrelations in any communal setting between individuals for example HTA expects participation and recognition of shared goals and a adequate input of resources and time, while members expect some form of protection from the association in times of crisis. This implies that belonging goes together with expectations and c) attachment – which links people to material and immaterial worlds indicating that it's not only individuals that belong but that individuals and things can live together, emphasising the value people attach to material and immaterial items. In our real world, "belonging to" and "belonging with" cannot be demarcated as they are all closely intertwined. For example, "belonging to", though undergone by individuals, is largely shaped by collectives and is therefore a subject of constant negotiation as well as collective social boundaries and are affected by individuals moving between and within collectives.

Belonging is a fluid concept as it changes from time to time and also intersects with one another in different ways, for example belonging cutting across nationalities, profession, and religion. This fluidity of belonging, therefore, allows the individual to have multiple forms of belonging. In his analysis of belonging and identity, Anthias (2006:19-20) argues that belonging and identity are neither necessarily "coterminous" nor "mutually exclusive", in the sense that one may identify and not belong with regard to being accepted within his community, or alternatively one may feel belonging, that is, being accepted, but may not fully identify, or one's allegiance may be split, enabling one to have multiple identities making identity a process, not a possessive property. This view is in line with Bauman's (2011:428) theory on "liquid modernity", which presumes that durable identities cohering over time and space have become close to impossible, as he argues that a natural home as a unique place for the individual no longer exists. It is imperative to point out here that migrant communities, in most cases, usually endeavour to reinvent their local identities through cultural dynamics in their host environment, as many migrants still nurse the idea of one day returning to where they call home. Gergen (1991) acknowledges the existence of identity but argues that it constantly changes and cannot

be quarantined as a fixed construction. Lee (2006) posits that even though migrants' identities are subject to change as a result of "individualisation" and "globalisation", as they are connected to different cultural and social contexts, this does not mean that local identities have vanished. However, as migrants move from their locality into new spaces in the global world, they constantly negotiate their local and global identities in what Bauman (2011) refers to as "*glocalisation*", a blend of global and local identities. In this light, Schartz et al., (2006) view identity as the combination of personal, social, and cultural self-conception - with personal referring to goals, values, and beliefs of an individual, while social refers to identification with one's group value systems, and cultural self-conception refers to the sense of solidarity with similar ideals, values, and beliefs. This begs the question – what is the function of identity? Adams and Marshall (1996: 433) posit that identity functions to provide; *"meaning and directions through commitments and goals, a sense of personal control, consistency, coherence, and harmony between beliefs and commitments, and the ability to recognise potentials in future possibilities and choices".*

This typology provides a kind of mechanism that is relevant in directing the life course of migrants either through *"imitation and identification"* (acculturation), *"exploration and construction"* (transculturation), and "*creating fluid spaces"* (transnationalism). This work, therefore, seeks to understand how these concepts: identity and identification in an HTA guides the migrant in their integration decision-making processes in choosing one of the options of acculturation, transnationalism, and transculturation.

2.15 Conclusion

This chapter provides a literature review of the study with insight into migration and the integration process in the global south and the global north while indicating the lapses in the existing literature. Within the global north, the chapter explores the role of regional organisations within the framework of the African Union in the integration discourse within the continent. The chapter explores the migration trends in Cameroon and South Africa indicating factors that underpinned such movements. The chapter also provides a contextual understanding of the concepts of social inclusion/exclusion and

how agency plays a huge role in the migration discourse on issues around integration. The chapter also analyse the role Home Town Associations play through the lens of identity formation in the integration discourse.

Chapter 3

3. Theoretical framework

3.1 Introduction

While the previous chapter provided the literature review of the study with a focus on establishing an understanding of some of the key concepts, it also looked at the role of the Home Town Association in the integration process and identity formation. This chapter will provide an overview of some of the theoretical understandings of migration and social inclusion while also indicating some of their shortfalls.

Several theories seek to explain the socio-cultural and economic integration of migrants within their host communities, for example, assimilation theory, multiculturalism, and structuralism. These theories are not without their shortcomings. For example, the levels of inclusion among diverse migrant groups cannot be explained by assimilation theories. However, it is important to note that despite the shift from one theory to the other, none of the theories of socio-cultural and economic integration provides a holistic understanding of immigrant integration taking into cognizance the dynamics of the home culture and the receptivity of the host cultures which are very central in informing the choices migrants make in their integration process. It is of importance to note that no single theory can explain integration outcomes, thus the need for a multidimensional approach to understanding migration and integration outcomes. For this study, two selected theories will be examined – structural and prejudice theories. In as much as these theories focus only on the host environment, they are relevant for this study because they x-ray the receptivity culture of the host communities.

The structural theory as espoused by Galtung (1968:375-380), differentiates between the definitions of integration on the one hand with the conditions promoting integration and the consequences resulting from it. On a general scale, the theory argues that there are three major conditions promoting integration (1) integration as value-integration embedded in two models – the egalitarian model -

where "*actors are seen as having coinciding interests*" and the "*hierarchical model which is the integration of values*" (2) integration as actor-integration characterized by the similarity model where integration is seen as growing similarities between actors and interdependent model where integration is seen as increasing interdependence, and (3) integration as an exchange between parts and whole characterized by the loyal model where the existence of the integrated whole is dependent on the support from the component parts and the allocation model where the whole existence is based on what it has to offer to the component parts. However, it is important to note that these conditions by themselves are not sufficient to drive a complete integration process as it is limited only to the levels of interactions between the actors. Galtung (1968) argues that structural theory goes beyond interaction to see how the interaction between actors can produce something completely new. Integration in his view "does not yield a set of actors but a set that can act a new actor" (Galtung, 1968:377). Drawing from the analogy above, the structural theory on an individual scale posits that integration is grounded on three principles – a common geographical or territorial entity defined by spatial proximity, an organizational structure that is interdependent, and an association defined by social proximity. Looking at the structural theory from an individual perspective, Blau and Schwartz (1984) argue that societies are delineated by varying lines of social structure differentiation, for example, ethnic, religious, social, and political affiliation. Based on the presumption that people prefer to socialise with others of the same standing, structural opportunity theory argues that macro distinction between people can, therefore, limit an individual's opportunity to meet people different from themselves (Magnusson, 2014). Structural theorists are of the view that familiarity with locals generates cultural integration as it provides an opportunity for cultural adaptation, for example, through language acquisition. Thus, migrants' sociocultural integration depends on their structural opportunities (group size, segregation, inequality, and intersection) to meet natives (Magnusson, 2014; Blau, 1969). The structural theory of migration and integration views society as a homogeneous environment once people are of the same social standing.

According to Abound (1988), as cited by Westby (2021:1), there is a symbiotic relationship between prejudice with one's race and ethnicity based on three components – "*a negative evaluation, and evaluation elicited by race/ethnicity, not personal qualities, and an organized predisposition to react negatively*". Theories of prejudice have two distinctive dimensions – social-psychological dimension and sociological dimension. The social-psychological dimension as espoused by Adorno et al., (1950), emphasizes authoritarian personality with adherence to certain values, for example, obedience to authority, rigid adherence to rules, and low acceptance of people not like oneself (out-group). Still, under the social-psychological strand, there is the frustration or scapegoat theory as espoused by Dollard et al., (1939), which posits that individuals who experience any kind of problem blame their troubles on "disliked" groups (out-group) as the source of their problems.

On the other hand, the sociological dimension finds expression in the social learning theory that seeks to explain prejudice as a form of cultural conformity and the group theory that explains prejudice based on economic and political competition that are made manifest in competition over jobs and scarce resources and disagreement over contending political issues (Quilliam, 2006: Hughes & Tuch, 2003). Prejudice theory posits that people have positive attitudes towards their group - "in-group" and negative attitudes towards other groups - "out-group" (Magnusson, 2014:19). This theory is grounded on the psychological assumption that people's desire for positive "self-concept" is derived from identifying with "in-group" and creating negative attitudes towards "out-group". Such attitude could lead to hatred, violence, and the killing of "out-group" members. To understand this theory through the lens of migration; three key assumptions are considered; native identity is linked with country and countrymen, native considers migrants as the out-group, and negative attitude of locals result in discrimination and low opportunity for migrant groups (Magnusson, 2014:19). Esses (2021) provides 6 macro, meso, and micro determinants of prejudice against immigrants which include construal of national in-group and forms of national attachment, ideological climate, personality and individual differences, perceived threat and competition, emotions, and stereotype, and contact with immigrants.

This indicates that being part of the out-group lowers migrants' social, cultural, and economic integration and opportunities as they are being discriminated against by natives.

According to Magnusson (2014), migrants should not be misconstrued as a homogeneous group that are different from nationals. Magnusson further argues that native attitudes towards migrants are premised on several factors, including the number of out-group members, visibility, scarcity of goods at stake, race, class, language, and religion with native having a positive attitude towards those in the out-group similar to them.

The prejudice theory is too generalised as it sees society as two groupings of individuals pitting the one against the other (nationals vs. migrants) with the one having a common ideology against the other. It reduces a very complicated situation between two groups; "in-group" and "out-group" pitting each other. The prejudice theory is pessimistic in its view towards integration as it makes integration unattainable. This theory is relevant to this study as it lays the foundation through which one can understand the challenges confronting migrants within their host communities that can stifle their integration process. However, the research will be mindful of the "messiness" of these theories and how it relates to migration and integration.

3.2 Towards a theory of Social Inclusion

Adopting from D. Lockwood, Esser (2001:3) makes a distinction between two forms of integration: system integration – the integration of system as a whole, and social integration – the integration of the parts, i.e., the actors, into the system. According to Vermeulen and Pennix, (2000:2), before 1960 assimilation was used as the main tool to attain integration but because of its unpopularity and the negative connotation associated with it, the concept of social inclusion was introduced in the 1960s and 1970s, as a move to replaced assimilation – showing more tolerance for ethno-cultural differences. Assimilation is a concept that focuses on the process of making migrants similar to natives in terms of customs, and values of the native population (Diaz, 1993: 16-17). This, therefore,

begs the question – how does a community attain social inclusion? Social inclusion is a complex phenomenon that is multi-dimensional as it cut across structural, cultural, social, and identificational spectrums of society (Heckmann and Schnapper, 2003). Acknowledging its multi-faceted nature Diaz (1993), established a model through which social inclusion can be assessed within a community which includes "*economic, social, political, communicative, family, and residential integration"* (Diaz, 1993: 76)

This research argues that there are three main ways (acculturation, transnationalism, and transculturation) that enlighten the choices people make in relation to their integration process that are informed by the interplay between the link in the home country and the receptivity of the host country. These concepts are, by definition - abstract, and are attempts to derive generalised and broad nuanced processes.

3.3 Acculturation/Assimilation

The study of migration and integration has largely been dominated by theories of assimilation. How immigrant lose their foreign qualities to resemble members of their host communities (Fitzgerald, 2013). Until the late 1960s, in the United States of America and other parts of Europe, assimilation theory was the dominant theory to explain migrants' settlement processes (Zolberg, 2009). The theory was embedded in the belief that over time, as a result of cultural contact with the mainstream values, immigrants will completely be absorbed into the host society and differences over time will dissipate. The adaptation was beyond socio-economics adaptation into cultural and behavioural changes. Gordon (1964) was the pioneer in classical assimilation theory, and he introduced seven stages of assimilation that include cultural or behavioural, structural, marital, identificational, attitude receptional, behavioural receptional, and civic assimilation. In essence, assimilation based on the classical theorist was a one-way process that has been criticized on the basis that assimilation is not a linear process which has led to the emergence of new approaches which include, for example, the new assimilation theory (Alba and Nee, 1997) argue that assimilation is not a one-way process but a two-

way process which could change a person in an opposite direction and that it is a bumpy process, the racial-ethnic disadvantaged model (Galzer & Monyihan, 1963, and Glazer 1993) argue that societal constraints can inhibit the assimilation process, for example, racism and discrimination, and the segmented assimilation theory (Portes & Zhou, 1994) argues that immigrants might have upward economic mobility in their host society but still retain parts of their cultural values. Due to the criticisms of the theory of assimilation as espoused by the classical theory, and the emergence of new approaches to the study of the theory, other scholars (Berry, 2006, Taylor, 1991, Popoola, 2002 & Schwartz et al., 2006) prefers using the theory of acculturation. However, these two theories based on the new approach to understanding assimilation are the same and will be used interchangeably. According to Berry (2006), acculturation pertains to the process by which a dominant cultural group adopts the beliefs, customs, and values of a non-dominant cultural group. Sam and Berry (2010:472) defined acculturation as a "*progression of cultural and psychological change as a result of contact between two or more cultures*". Acculturation as a means of social inclusion of migrant communities has been challenged in the discipline of sociology, referring to it as a cover-up for assimilation (Magnusson, 2014, and Diaz, 1993). Acculturation is the process whereby an immigrant retains his/her cultural value within a dominant culture but because the immigrant cannot live in isolation, he/she is affected by the dominant culture in such a way that the migrant adapts to some aspect of the majority culture. This entails that, unlike assimilation which is a complete adaptation of the cultural practices/ideals of the dominant culture, acculturation is, therefore, the adaptation of some of the cultural practices/ideals of the dominant culture in what Popoola (2002:72) refers to as "partial assimilation". According to Taylor (1991), acculturation is most evident in countries with a dominant cultural group(s) as they have no interest in cultural exchange as they fear the loss of a sense of privilege that mutuality demands. While disregarding the sense of cultural loss that acculturation might mean to the non-dominant culture, the dominant groups require the migrants to fine-tune while they "*resist losing what they see as their rightful place at the economic, historic and cultural centre of things*" (Taylor, 1991:103), for example, the Republic France. Acculturation does not have a uniform approach to both the migrant group and receiving societies. For example, while it can be stress-free

and easy for societies with similar cultural and phenotypic dispositions between immigrants and members of the host society, it can be difficult for immigrants with a wide range of distinction from members of a host society as they will be labelled as "other", "foreigner". and discriminated against (Schwartz et al., 2006**).** Likewise, one may be tempted to conclude that within the context of Africa, acculturation of Africans within other African States may occur with very little or no resistance. Nonetheless, it is important to note that this is not a linear process – whites being integrated into white communities easily and blacks easily integrated into black communities – as other factors, such as the number of migrants, and the labour market, come into play (Jewish and Irish migration into America and France, and Zimbabwean and Cameroonian migration into South Africa, which led to anti-Semitism and xenophobic attacks respectively).

3.4 Ethnic Identity Formation and Acculturation

Ethnic identity is a very crucial contributor to an individual's wellbeing as individuals derive positive self-attitude from belonging to groups that are relevant to them. Phinney (1990:17) defined ethnic identity as an aspect of "*awareness, self-labelling, attitude and behaviour that relates to an individual's identification with a particular group*" with emotional attachment to said group. This implies that ethnic identity is a conscious decision that one makes about a particular group thereby creating boundaries between the "self" and "others". Rotherman and Phinney (1987) go further to identify three developmental stages of ethnic identity focusing on the process of ethnic identity formation which comprises (a) stage one being a situation where individuals have not to explore their identity – this is the stage whereby people are ignorant or are not interested in knowing who they are, this is mostly during childhood; (b) stage 2 being the situation where individuals come across situations that necessitate them exploring their ethnic identity – this might be as a result of xenophobic attacks or migration; (c) stage three is characterised by acceptance, internalisation and clear understanding of one's ethnicity – this is the stage where people have an intense sense of belonging and commitment to a particular ethnic group during adulthood. Within migrant communities, this can be attained by belonging to a Home Town Association.

Researchers concur that ethnic identity is defined by certain key elements, which include *"(a) self-identification as a member of a particular ethnic group, (b) belonging and commitment to that group, (c) firm attitudes towards the group, (d) shared approaches and beliefs, (e) specific ethnic traditions and practices"*, (Phinney, 1990; Rosenthal & Feldman, 1992 and Rotherman & Phinney, 1987) that function to attain certain objectives (See literature review - HTA). This implies that, at least from the opinion of the aforementioned researchers, the formation of ethnic identity is highly driven by commonalities, context, and individual.

The concept of ethnic identity varies depending on the underlying theory which it seeks to explain, as there is no single conceptual meaning of ethnic identity. Phinney (1990:500) notes that there are widely discrepant explanations and measures of ethnic identity which make generalisation and comparison across disciplines difficult and ambiguous. With regards to acculturation, this work will be looking at two varying theories that seek to explain the formation of ethnic identity concerned with acculturation – the "*development theory"* as espoused by Erikson (1968), and the *"social identity theory"* as postulated by Tajfel and Turner (1986). According to Erikson (1968), ethnic identity formation develops through the interface between context and individual, that ethnic identity is developed through the constant negotiations between the person and the community. This in essence means that identity is not something that people are born with – it develops over time. Erikson (1968:22) states that it begins in childhood through what he termed a process of "reflection" and "observation" though salient but ultimately can attain a form of identity in adulthood. In his analysis, Erikson (1968), explains through a "pseudo species mentality" how individuals and groups resist change by upholding their views when they come into contact with knowledge that may lead them to accept contending opinions. He therefore argues that the person is the main vehicle through which ethnic identity is constructed. On the other hand, Tajfel and Turner (1986), in their analysis of social identity theory argued that ethnic identity formation occurs within the group which is translated into the individual. They explain how people's behaviour concerning ethnic identity is shaped by group

dynamics. In such scenarios, individuals prioritised group interest at the expense of individual glory, for example, individuals who identify intensely with their ethnic, cultural, and national group may prioritise the welfare and status of the group over their own (Chen, Brockner, & Katz, 1998). The formation of ethnic identity with regards to the two theories can be likened to the chicken and the egg allegory. Which comes first? Whereas Erikson in his "*developmental theory"* refers to the group and the individual, Tajfel and Turner in their *"social identity theory"* refers to the individual and the group, but both concepts, however, provide explanations on how ethnic identity formation can relate to acculturation, from either the collective or individual perspective. According to Schwartz et al., (2006), when immigrants come into contact with individuals, institutions, and customs from the host environment, social identity is going to be affected by acculturation and the extent of the change will be informed by the extent to which immigrant culture, values, beliefs, and customs are maintained, concerning how beliefs, customs, values, and culture of the host community are acquired, and the difference between host and immigrant cultures. Where there are irreconcilabilities in values, ideals, and behaviour between host and immigrant cultures, they may undergo *"identity distress"* as a result of divided loyalties between two cultures (Ibid).

3.5 Transnationalism

The concept of transnationalism gained a lot of currency when social scientists realized that with the advent of modern communication and cutting-edge technology, many immigrants failed to shed their old identities and totally assimilate into the mainstream culture. Immigrants, on the contrary, developed bicultural identities and lived in more than one nation at the same time. In emphasizing the importance of maintaining their culture Randolph S. Bourne in his 1916 article titled "Transnational America" first used the term transnationalism (Conor, 1967). The term has gained currency in understanding new trends of migration with regards to the different fields migrants create in both their host and home environment. According to Schiller et al., (1995:48), transnational migration within the age of globalization is a *"process by which immigrants forge and sustain simultaneous multi-stranded social relations that link together their home and host societies"*. Transnational migrants are,

therefore, individuals who are actively involved in the social and cultural lives of their host country while maintaining links with their home country. Technological advancement has made it possible for immigrants to sustain economic, social, and cultural ties with family back home. In this regard, Hau'ofa (1994) and Crang et al., (2003) state that transnationalism is the interaction that links people and institutions across nation-states. This relationship to homeland must be reciprocated between the transnational community and the person; these connections are made to make transnationalism effective. This involves, amongst other things, the exchange of gifts whereby migrants send back money and other resources, such as appliances, to their relatives, and they, in turn, send gifts such as food items and also maintain the home for the returning travellers.

Immigrants engage in a variety of transnational activities for example they create environments that contain a link to their country of origin within their new context, such as belonging to an HTA (living at home away from home). Within these environments, socio-cultural activities are a product of the negotiation of norms and values transferred from their country of origin to their new context. This leads to social remittances which create a unique form of social capital between diasporic migrants and those in their home countries (Levitt, 2001).

Social connections remain an essential component of transnationalism, which according to Boccagni (2012:120), is defined as "*social action at a distance*". Many immigrants are living in what is known as "*transnational social fields"* through which they are able to sustain continuous connection with their home countries (Levitt, 2001). Immigrant transnationalism can take various forms, be it the frequent phone calls to relatives and loved ones, and remittance transfer to family, friends and loved ones. This is fostered by the improvement of technologies that have made transportation and communication easily accessible, thus drastically shifting the relationship between people and places, which makes it possible for immigrants to sustain more regular and closer contact with their home countries than ever before.

The increased number of visits made by migrants back to their home countries, or the intensely increased form of correspondence such as email, online chat sessions, telephone calls etc leads to a transfer of socio-cultural meaning and practices.

Through their daily conduct and cultural assumptions, people living out of their country of origin are likely cultural ambassadors of their culture in their host country. Culture is manifested in several forms, for example in the use of language, where migrants use their language of origin to communicate in daily life especially at home or within family interactions. According to Sayad (2014:101), immigrants' culture is observed through *"clothes, language, gestures, food practices, religious practices, and social relations*". According to Itzigsohn & Saucedo (2002:768), transnational activities that are socio-culturally inclined are more *"effectively oriented and less instrumental than political and economic activities"* as they have very little or no oversight, for example, staying in contact with people back home, being a member of a HTA in your host country, and partaking in home cultural activities in host country (Al-Ali et al., 2001:623).

While on the one hand, cross-border migration allows one to measure cultural transnational activities, on the other hand, cultural activities are also impacted by settled migrants who seldom visit their home country. Through their involvement in the HTA, cultural symbols associated with their country of origin are reproduced, which plays a vital role in the cultural development of these communities (Van Meeteren, 2012).

Moreover, migrants though in their host country, also engage themselves in business investments, political contributions, and monetary remittances in their home countries. The transnational connections that migrants sustain with both the sending and receiving communities are forces to reckon with concerning the creation and success of HTA (Andrade-Eckhoff, 2003). The trends of remittances and the other relationships are also accompanied by various forms of collective organizations which translate into the formation of Home Town Associations and organisations of immigrants that raise funds for the betterment of their places of origin and to support developmental projects in their communities (Orozco, 2004).

Erdal & Lewicki (2006) explains that transnationalism can be attained more easily when immigrants are not suffering from any hostility from their home country, that is when their home country is *"at peace",* and they are meaningfully more disposed to engage in transnational politics and civic action in support of their home country, like, for example Polish immigrants in Canada and United Kingdom. Erdal & Lewicki (2006) further argues "*that transnational activities flourish in communities, especially those that have been subjected to hostile reception by the host society's authorities and citizenry"*.

3.6 Transculturation

Fernando Ortizt, in his work "Cuban Counterpoint" (1940), in exploring the dynamics between Cuban culture and other cultures, introduced the concept of transculturation, which seeks to describe situations of cultural intervention and the effects that such interaction has on all other cultural systems.

Transculturation has been viewed as one of the best approaches in the analysis of culture today, as it presents an evolutionary approach to the unattainable traditional/conventional conceptualisation of culture, which according to Welsch (2001:63), as conceived by Herder "is unifactory – social homogenisation, folk-bound – ethnic consolidation and separatory – intercultural delimitation". Unlike interculturality (that refers to the interaction of two cultures), or multiculturalism (that relates to the existence of separate cultures within a community), which reinforces the old notion where cultural barriers are not only accepted but also strengthened, (Tapia, 2018), transculturation is the multidirectional and endless interactive processes between various cultural beliefs that produce another culture. It is that which seeks a multi-meshed inclusive, not separatist, and exclusive understanding of culture. The term suggests a mutual interaction between cultures which can be used to understand the complex dynamics implicit within these cultures. This, therefore, challenges the traditional assumption that culture develops teleologically and unidirectionally. The interconnectedness and similarities within African cultures, for example "Ubuntu", lays a good

foundation on which transculturation can thrive. Ubuntu is an African philosophical concept that believes in the universal bound of sharing that connects all humanity. It finds expression in a common phrase – *"I am because you are" "A person is a person through other people"* (Tutu, 1999:10). The basic normative requirement of Ubuntu is that one affirms one humanist through the humanist of others and, on that basis, establishes human relations with them. Simply, we cannot be without others. It is a perfectionist idea aimed at developing character.

Welsch (2001) argues that the fusion between cultures nowadays, both at the macro-institutional level and micro–individual level, are a reality of this age in what Pratt (1992:2) conceptualises as the "contact zone". For example, at the macro-level, there is networking and hybridization where lifestyle goes beyond national borders, making all kinds of information identically available, comprehensiveness of cultural changes where the daily routine is cross-cultural, dissolution of foreign own distinction where everything is within reach, and micro level, where we experience shared cultural origin, sociological diagnosis and historical precursors which advance that our multiple identities are as a result of our migratory history and cultural identity in contrast with national identity. There is no single culture that can be constructed today without taking into consideration other cultures, based on the fact that humanity and culture have been defined by migration. Transculturation should not be misconstrued as a concept that seeks homogenisation, uniformity, or particularity of cultures with the creation of a monolithic culture as its ultimate goal nor globalisation of cultures that make people lose their identity completely but as a concept that embraces the processes of uniformity which produces a new form of diversity as explained by Welsch (2001:83) "…the same or similar identity networks can turn up at different places in this world; in the same time quite different forms of identity can exist in the same place". Transculturation strikes a balance between advocates of globalisation and particularism as it creates uniformity and the processes of difference appreciable and comprehensible cultures.

According to Doelle (2013), transculturation can be attained in polyethnic states where there are no dominant groups in which "*ethnocultural differences are diminished by a process of cultural*

interchange which imagines a new conglomerate of cultural identities", for example the Narra and Palawan, and among some urban elites and cosmopolitans in the Philippines.

An understanding of migration and social inclusion often puts migrants into the orbit of peoples who might be culturally and ethnically different from them. Amidst such differences, migrants are either welcomed or rejected by their host communities. A theoretical understanding will allude to the fact that migrants will either choose to acculturate into the ways of the host communities, reject the host communities' ways and adopt a transnational lifestyle, or find a middle ground with the ways of the host communities in which cultural particularities are mutually exchanged via a process called transculturation. However, faced with such a situation in alignment with what is happening in their home country, migrants as argued in this thesis, develop other strategies to integrate themselves within their host communities as will be illustrated in chapter six of this study.

3.7 Conclusion

This chapter provides an understanding of the relevant theories that guide the study and their limitations. The chapter also presents an analysis of the earlier theories of integration and the contending views concerning the theories and how they have evolved to match changing dynamics and their linkages. The chapter also links identity formation with the theory of acculturation and provides an understanding of the theories of transnationalism and transculturation as integration options for immigrants. The chapter also provides an understanding of the African philosophical concept of Ubuntu and how it can be used as a foundation for attaining transculturation within communities.

Chapter 4

4 Methodology

4.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, a theoretical understanding of migration and social inclusion was presented. The methodology that guides the study is presented in this chapter. It explicates how data was collected and how such data was analysed, positioning the researcher as an African migrant in the entire process. This chapter looks at the various tools that were used in data collection and explains the researcher's choice with regards to the unit of analysis, how the researcher gained access into the field, the research site is also identified and to present the theoretical assumption of the study. This chapter also profiles the respondents, presents the ethical consideration during the study and some of the challenges that were encountered during the research.

I am a member of one of the communities under study (PIFAM), and I have my own personal experience with regard to migration and integration within my host community. However, to avoid just a personal autobiography, it was very important to speak to people within the community to understand their experiences regarding migration and integration. However, this was a challenge playing the dual role of "an insider" and "an outsider" at the same time. I was an insider because I was part of the community that I was studying and most often, the respondents assumed I understood what they were saying without them explicitly doing so. For example, some respondents will make statements such as "you get what I mean" without actually stating their point. To probe further into what they meant, I had to assume the posture of an outsider. Striking a balance was very important throughout this process because the openness of the respondents was partly because of the familiarity between us. However, as a researcher, I had to probe deeper into what they assumed I knew, which might not be the case. At times, some of the respondents felt I was alienating myself from the issues we were facing as foreigners. Mullings (1999) posits that as researchers, we are bound to encounter the dilemma of insider-outsider, but one needs to stay professional at all times to strike a balance.

This research relied heavily on qualitative research design because the study is aimed at explaining and describing a social phenomenon by looking at the cultural strategies Cameroonians adopt in integrating themselves within their host communities. This study is an exploratory and inductive study that focuses on four key elements as strategies used by migrants in their integration processes – assimilation, acculturation, transnationalism, and transculturation. These strategies are informed by the interplay between the link in the host country and the receptivity of the host country. The qualitative method relied on semi-structured interviews and participant observation. Qualitative research operates under the assumption that reality is *"socially constructed, complex, and ever-changing",* (Creswell, 1994:2).

This qualitative study research focused on black Cameroonians aged not less than 21 years, as the legal code in Cameroon defines adulthood at the age of 21, which therefore gives you the right to make independent decisions and choices (Law No. 1968-LF-3 of 11 June 1968). They are living in one of the four areas investigated - Bellville, Parow, Goodwood, and Maitland in the Western Cape, and are members of either one or more of the three Home Town Associations – Pinyin Family Meeting (PIFAM), Mankon Cultural Development Association (MACUDA), and Pinyin Development Association (PDO). The researcher focused on the cultural strategies which they use in their integration process and the *raison d'etre.* The reason for choosing Cameroon nationals is two-fold: practical and theoretical. The former was to take advantage of the increasing number of Cameroonians in Cape Town, from Mankon and Pinyin clan, living within these earmarked communities that the researcher investigated, and being a Cameroonian (from Pinyin), that increased the probability of finding participants for the interviews. The latter being that as blacks, and because they understood and spoke one of South Africa's national languages, English, it is perceived that integrating within communities, especially predominantly black communities, was easier. The study is grounded in the theoretical premise that those migrants with the weakest social position and tenuous links to their home countries are forced to live a marginal and precarious existence while those with stronger ties and independent means of existence adopt a transnational existence. There are also those

migrants who, having selected and made South Africa their home, have transformed local cultures and attitudes. The latter is the ideal type that drives and motivates this research, for it is through these processes, in my opinion, that community members in South Africa can be made aware of the benefits that come with migrants. Its however important for me to point out here that although my unit of analysis was individual Cameroonians in Cape Town, I used cultural associations or Home Town Associations as the basis of my study, for the reason that most individuals do not live in isolation, especially in a foreign environment. When people migrate into a new environment, they encounter a lot of challenges which they might not in most instances have the capacity or resilience to handle alone. These immigrants, therefore, need a coping strategy of networks that could be found in cultural associations from their home region. These cultural associations, which help soften the transition from their home environment into their new spaces, guide the individual's interest to be articulated in line with the collective values of the group (Cultural Association) to which they ascribed to. Nyamnjoh (2013:1) argues that an "*independent individual is a subject produced at the point of convergence of many actions of others not denying their capacity to act self-interestedly*". By using this method, it helped me to understand how collective dynamics influence individual action. Cultural Associations, in this sense, are not seen as a "bully" defining individuals' choice in life, but as an entity informing personal formation of moral knowledge and providing individuals with some resources to follow one's path in life**.**

4.2 Purposive Sampling

As a member of the community in which this research was conducted and by virtue of the fact that I have been living with members of this community for more than ten years, knowing how the community is structured in terms of socio-economic status, age, occupation, and gender, a purposive sampling method was the most reliable and suited sampling method. Drawing from a small sample population, the researcher had to make sure that the sample size reflects the demographic make-up of the population under study in an attempt to get the most reliable outcome that will allow the researcher to describe the major impact on the entire community under study. With the variation in the

sample size, the researcher will be able to examine the complexity of different conceptualizations of the themes highlighted in the study. To this effect, the research relied on maximum variation sampling as it allowed the researcher to gain a greater insight into the phenomenon by looking at it from all angles. According to Creswell (2002) maximum variation sampling draws from different perspectives of individuals that exemplify the complex nature of the world. Despite the weaknesses of this kind of sampling method, for example, how it is biased and that the results cannot be generalized (Sharma, 2017), this method remains the most suitable for this research based on the objectives of the study as it allows a cross-section of the population to be represented in the sample size. Despite the fact that the analysis will not be generalizable, it will be contextual, as it is tailored towards an accurate representation of the interpretations of those involve in this research and how they make meaning of their social reality.

4.3 Sampling

The participants of this study are drawn from one English-speaking region of Cameroon - North West Region - who are residing in Cape Town. As a member of the Pinyin community with an acquaintance with some of the members of the Mankon community, participants were selected through purposive sampling methods, through which key informants were identified: professionals (nurses, supervisor, food technologist, lecturers, etc.), business people (those who are considered in their communities as successful businessmen/women), and those who are still struggling to establish themselves (students, small business owners, the unemployed and those doing casual jobs), within the migrant communities in the Western Cape of South Africa. This sampling method ensured that the targeted population was properly defined and included in the sample size. Through this method, the researcher was able to get a sample size that reflected peoples of all walks of life within the HTA. These methods helped gauge the levels of integration within the various strata in the communities to which these migrants belong. In all, there were 30 participants.

4.4 Research Site

The research was conducted in the city of Cape Town, South Africa. Cape Town is a port city on South Africa's Southwest Coast. It is a tourist destination as it is host to certain touristic sites, amongst others: Table Mountain, Kirstenbosch National Botanical Garden, Signal Hill, Chapman's Peak, Robben Island, Lion's Head, etc. According to Stats SA (2019), the Western Cape is the third most populated province in South Africa, after Gauteng and KwaZulu-Natal, with an estimated population of 6,844,272 people. As of 2011, the population of foreign nationals constituted about 3.5% of the total population in the province (Stats SA, 2011). There are 3 different types of municipalities in the Western Cape – metropolitan municipalities, district, and local municipalities, each with its area of responsibility. Bellville, Parow, Goodwood, and Maitland - the specific research sites - are part of the metropolitan municipality. As Zainal (2007), and Babbie & Mouton (2001) posit, studying a particular group(s) like PIFAM, PDO, and MACUDA in a particular location like Bellville, Parow, Goodwood and Maitland, allows the researcher to understand behavioural patterns from the actor's perspective.

These areas apart from being residential areas are also host to some factories and business centres. Some of the small businesses like spaza shops, workshops, and stalls are owned by foreign nationals in these areas. These four field sites are connected by the Voortrekker Road zone which stretches from Bellville, Parow, Goodwood, and Maitland, right through to the Central Business District. The centrality of these areas facilitates easy movement in and around Cape Town. These sites provide residential locations to Cameroonians who have established cultural, ethnic, linguistic, or aspirational socio-economic affinities, vis-à-vis local nationals. Unlike in other parts of Cape Town, like Samora Machel in Philippi, and Delft, where there were attacks on businesses of foreign nationals, Bellville, Parow, Goodwood and Maitland have enjoyed relative calm. This, therefore, allowed me to investigate their integration strategies within their host communities.

4.5 Access to the Field

When I first arrived in Cape Town in 2007, I was living with my cousin who introduced me to PIFAM, and without any hesitation, I got myself registered and became an active member of the association. I have held several posts of responsibility in the association, like being the secretary-general and president. These portfolios helped to expose me to the greater Cameroonian community in South Africa - Cape Town to be precise - as I represented the association in many events at the invitation of other associations. This has not only helped me to market myself within the Cameroonian community but also established a platform for me to connect with many Cameroonians and establish friendly relationships with them.

When my research proposal was approved in late 2016, I immediately communicated with the presidents of MACUDA and PDO via telephone indicating my intention to visit their respective association, as I would be using members of their respective associations as a unit of analysis in the research. They accepted my invitation and gave me dates and venues of where they usually hold their meeting sessions. PDO usually hold their meetings once every two months, on the second Sunday, in a hired hall in Bellville, and MACUDA holds theirs on the second Saturday of every month, in Maitland, at the residence of one of its founding members. In 2017, I attended my first meeting session and introduced my research topic to the meeting members and indicated to them that I intend to use some members in the meeting as my unit of analysis. I was welcomed and the presidents encouraged their members to avail themselves and assist me in my research. The presidents also made it clear that they were ready to provide any assistance as an association if needed. From then on, I have been attending some of their meeting sessions and some of their organised events like “born house” (celebration of a new born baby), the welcome of a new wife, and end-of-year functions. This created familiarity between myself and the members of the meetings and subsequently made it easier for me to invite them to be part of the study.

With regards to PIFAM, it was much easier as I am a member, and the idea was welcomed. I have been attending their meeting sessions that are held once every three months, on the second Sunday, and all related activities like "born house", njangi (stokvel), and the welcome of new wives into the community. With PIFAM, the venue of the meeting is rotatory – those who are entertaining the meeting are those who host the meeting session. The meeting has always been hosted either in Bellville, Parow, or Goodwood in a hired hall or if the host has a bigger space, in their homes, until recently, when they hired a business property that has a hall, as part of their investment structure in Tygerberg; the meetings are currently held at the property. I am also part of the planning committee team that is working towards the organisation of their 20th anniversary which was supposed to take place by the end of 2020 but as a result of the outbreak of COVID 19, has been postponed to an unknown date. My activism in this association made it easier for me to invite members to participate in the research.

4.6 Data Collection

The ethnographic nature of the research required the researcher to build participants' trust and confidence in the research process, which I did by attending most of their functions and events, through which I familiarised myself with most of the members. Data-gathering took place using a multi-method approach – semi-structured interviews, participant observation, and other literature. The multiple source approach to some extent acted as checks and balances. In concurrence with the aforementioned position, Yin (2014) postulates that the use of multiple sources of data collection is advantaged over a single source in that it has the potentials of developing "*converging lines*" of inquiry that will help corroborate the researcher's findings. The multiple data collection approach to an extent provided the researcher with the ability to be able to corroborate, add, compare, and understand the stories that were told by the respondents.

4.6.1 Semi Structured Interview

A semi-structured interview is a non-representative model of an interview that seeks to understand how informants experience a particular social phenomenon under investigation. Interviews help the researcher to collect specific or targeted data by asking specific but open-ended questions. The researcher conducts semi-structured interviews with the use of an interview guide which guides the research in terms of theory or method in making sure that the interviewee does not talk out of context but stays in line with the problem formulation. By their very nature as exposed by Blandford (2013), Semi-structured interview is not completely structured and/or unstructured, it is a continuum between the two which allowed me to be able to manage the verbal exchange between myself and the interviewee through good communication skills and well-structured interview guide. This enabled me to pause, probe and prompt appropriately and at the same time, allow the interviewee to talk freely thus revealing their true feelings without distortion (Clough and Nutbrown, 2007, Gillham, 2000, Ritchie and Lewis, 2003, and Cohen et al., 2007). Throughout this process, the researcher avoids implying that there is a right answer. This allows the investigator to appreciate an idea or response in more detail thus gaining a deeper knowledge of the subject. This method allows the participants to talk freely on some pertinent issues which the researcher never thought about initially, for example, the researcher never had a question on sexuality in the interview guide but, when the researcher asked the interviewee about their perception of gender, most of the respondents misconstrued gender with sexuality which was later included in the question guide. Furthermore, due to the sensitive nature of the topic, participants were free to talk into certain sensitive areas which otherwise could not be discussed in an open environment, for example because of the sensitive nature of identification and identity, it cannot be described within a few sentences and cannot be answered by responding to direct questions. Furthermore, identification is unlikely to be something any person has a clear or consciously elaborated image or view of. Identification, therefore, is rather revealed within the overall story of an interview. Semi-structured interviews were held with migrants to understand their interaction with their local community members, and how they think they are being perceived by

locals, their interactions with state institutions, and how they use their cultural factors as a mechanism for integration, and also what their survival mechanisms are.

Initially, when I started the interviewing process, one of my goals was to strike a gender balance with the interviewees but that was not to be the case. Firstly, because in terms of membership in the associations, men outnumbered women and, in most cases, the few women who are members were always very busy, and some gave appointments and cancelled at the final hour. The researcher conducted 30 in-depth interviews with 20 males and 10 females across the three HTA. At the start of each interview, I read, verbatim, the consent form to the respondent and requested their permission for the interview to be recorded. All my respondents accepted being recorded during the interview. The interviews were recorded using an Olympus digital voice recorder. Most of the interviews were conducted at the residence of the respondents in the early evening hours when they were back from work. Some respondents felt comfortable speaking to me in my car as some of them were sharing their rooms and wanted some privacy, while others were shop owners who usually got back home very late, and there was a lot of noise and distraction in their shops. Others opted to come to my residence in Bellville for the interview. In some instances, the researcher paused the interview for about 30 to 45 minutes, especially when there was a visitor or when babies needed the attention of their mothers, and in other instances when there were long telephone calls that came in and interrupted our discussion.

4.6.2 Participant Observation

Since semi-structured interview arouses the debate around naïve realism and constructive perspective due to certain biases that might emanate from the face-to-face interview, which seeks to gain insight and understanding, and also because to understand the behaviours of people in any setting, one cannot entirely rely on what they say, because they are often unconscious of the ways their agency is defined by certain structural forces, which in some instances might be hidden from the individuals themselves. Participant observation is a way of developing an understanding of the situational context and

practices of the participants in adapting to a specific situation. There is therefore the need for an additional tool(s) to be used to strengthen the data obtained during this process. In this light, participatory observation and literature will throw more light on the data obtained. In addition, participatory observation provided certain information which the interviewee for maybe personal reasons might not want to divulge or simply ignore such information as irrelevant in his/her opinion. This additional information helped enhance the validity of the study. I have been part of the Pinyin community since I arrived in Cape Town in 2007 and very close to some members of the Mankon community even before MACUDA was created in Cape Town. My interaction with a cross-section of the Mankon community took another leap since 2017 when I started working on this project. In addition to the meetings and organised events, I have been working very closely with most of the members of these HTA as a hawker since 2007 when I first arrived in Cape Town. I have been able to visit churches, taverns, workshops (mechanical and panel beating), business places (spaza shops, African food shops, and stalls), and African restaurants. One of the things that the researcher observed in places like taverns, end-of-year functions that were not mentioned in the course of the interviews was that most of the single men came there with their South African girlfriends. Participatory observation is when the researcher, in an attempt to understand people's behaviours and attitudes, becomes a part of the community under study – participating in activities of the community while at the same time observing. Schensul, Schensul, and LeCompte (1999:91) posit that participant observation is the process through which researchers learn through exposure and involvement in the activities of the participants. DeWalt and DeWalt (1998:3) establish some qualities of participant observation which include: having an open mind, a non-judgmental attitude, being interested in learning more about others, being a careful listener, and ready to receive culture shocks. These qualities guided my research process especially when I was interviewing and observing. Marshall and Rossman (1989:79) for their part, view observation as the research tool that enables the researcher to provide a "systematic description of events, behaviours, and artifacts" in the setting under study. This entails that the researcher through vivid and detailed analysis is required to replicate events, behaviour, and attitudes through his/her write-up. In essence, participant observation allows the

researcher to play the dual role of developing an understanding of what it is like to live in a setting and also maintaining the stance of an observer. However, the researcher understood that familiarity and acquaintance might lead to biases – something which the researcher guarded against by constantly reminding himself of his role as a researcher.

I attended a 10th-anniversary celebration of MACUDA which took place on 15th June 2019 at Martin Adams Hall in Brooklyn, Cape Town. This event was heavily represented by their sister association, MACUDA Johannesburg, and they had in attendance more than 250 people – South Africans, Nigerians, and Congolese – were some of the nationalities present. The occasion served as a fundraiser and also the introduction of their new uniform.

I took part in a PDO soccer tournament which was part of festivities towards their end-of-year party in 2019 and I played for one of the three soccer teams – Home Sweet Home. The other two teams were Malapi and SONAWIS. This tournament was organised for all Pinyin indigenes in the Western Cape, regardless of the fact of whether you were a PDO member or not. The three teams were also allowed to feature any two non-pinyinian from any other nationality as part of their team. The tournament ran from 3rd March 2019 to 21st April 2019. Apart from the soccer tournament, they also organised a marathon for men and ladies. The end-of-year party took place on the 27th of April 2019 at Bellville South Community Hall during which the new executive was installed, and prizes were awarded to the three soccer teams – Gold, silver, and bronze medals.

4.6.3 Research Participants

The table below presents the 30 research participants and their socio-demographic characteristics. The names used in presenting the participants are pseudonyms, and I indicate whether they are marginalized (M), acculturated (A), transnational (TN), and or transculturated (TC).

Name	Form(s) of integration	Educational Qualification	Profession
Yombom	TC	First School Leaving Certificate	Auto-electrician
Young	TC/TN	PhD	Lecturer
Nange	TN/TC	First School Leaving Certificate	Hawking
Diagha	TN/TC/A	First Degree Holder	Business man
Anchang	TC/A	Honours	Nurse
Nsah	TC/A	Honours	Safety officer
Afumbom	TC/M	First Degree Holder	Service agent
Kimbi	A	Advanced Level Certificate	Casual worker
Ntam	TC	First Degree	Business man
Mbom	TC	Master's degree	Student/hawker
Chia	TC	First Degree Holder	Student/Hawker
Chindo	TN	Ordinary Level Certificate	Panel beater
Yisa	TC/A	First School Leaving Certificate	Mechanic
Bisong	TC/TN	Honours	Supervisor

Bih	TC	Honours	Nurse
Azuh	TC	Honours	Food technologist
Ful	TC/TN	PhD	Lecturer
Chindo	TC	First School Leaving Certificate	Panel beater
Fien	A	First School Leaving Certificate	Business woman
Manyua	TC	Higher National Diploma	Self Employed – Sells second hand products online
Ketu	TC	Master's degree	Film Industry
Wainkem	TC	First Degree	Student
Ngong	A	Advanced Level Holder	Casual worker
Fulai	TC/A	Higher National Diploma	Assistant Nurse
Gama	TC	Advanced Level Certificate	Business man
Ntein	TC	First School Leaving Certificate	Hawker
Natang	TC	Honours	Teacher
Nkwain	TN/TC	Higher National Diploma	Service agent
Nayeh	A	Advanced Level	Unemployed

Bangha	A/TC	Ordinary Level	Driver

4.7 Data Analysis

Data analysis is important as it provides the platform for the movement of data to information (Kultar, 2007), reducing the size of the data to controllable proportions and helping to identify diverse themes and patterns in the data (Majesky, 2008). The inductive approach for analysing qualitative data is utilized for this study. Thomas (2006) asserts that the inductive approach allows for the emergence of research findings from recurrent, significant and core themes inherent in raw data. Based on the fact that the study is grounded on the stories of immigrants (personal narratives) and how their stories serve a functional purpose of helping them make sense of their communities, the narrative analysis method is used in the data analysis phase. The analysis method through the stories told provides insights into the ways that people deal with and make sense of their reality. The following steps were followed in the analysis process – data collected (including those collected in Pidgin English – a lingua franca in the region) were interpreted and transcribed words verbatim; including pauses, filler words, and stray utterances like "um…" and notes taken during observation were included in the transcripts. Through inductive coding methods, the transcripts were broken up into stories or narrative blocks that were coloured differently and assigned a particular code. Narratives were compared and contrasted to develop core narratives (themes). Throughout the process, outliers and nuances were also captured and assigned with a particular code.

4.8 Ethical Consideration

This study was conducted after the full research proposal was submitted and approved by the Higher Degree Committee of the University of Cape Town. The researcher adhered to the following ethical guidelines:

- No form of coercion was used against participants as participation in the research was voluntarily.

- The identities and interests of participants were protected and guaranteed as no participant was mentioned by name - pseudonyms were used unless the respondent gave express permission.
- The participants at any particular stage for whatever reason were able to withdraw from the research.
- The researcher avoided asking leading questions.
- The researcher had no preferred/predetermined answers in mind. As Yin (2009) postulates that in order to avoid bias a researcher cannot use his/her own study to verify "a preconceived position".
- Another aspect the researcher watched out for was that the respondent at the time was affected by social norms and responded according to those norms, and not to his/her own opinion. This the researcher kept in mind during the interview and analysis of the data.
- The researcher took responsibility to ensure that all information gathered was treated confidentially and sensitively.
- The researcher undertook to make the research available to the information bank of the University of Cape Town and to all relevant bodies.
- Throughout the course of the research, all other legal and ethical requirements of the University of Cape Town were met.

This study was limited to selected international migrants from the North West Region of Cameroon – Mankon and Pinyin indigenes.

4.9 Conclusion

This chapter presents the processes involved in the data collection for this study. The chapter positions the researcher in the study and the challenges that emerged during the data collection phase and how such challenges were managed. The chapter explains how the choice of the data collecting tools were informed; by the desire to have a sample size that will reflect the population under study and how the tools were used as checks and balances to validate the data collected. The chapter also presents the data analysis tool and some ethical considerations that informed the study.

Chapter 5

5 Understanding Cameroonian Migration in South Africa: Unpacking their Integration Processes

5.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, the tools and processes of data collection were presented. This kind of purposive sampling, as examined in the previous chapter, guides this research and led to a certain limitation but also a certain approach to my respondents. The qualitative approach continues until it exhausts itself – that is when the research question is saturated. In this chapter, I present the findings from all the processes and procedures as described in the methodology chapter generated from the fieldwork in relation to the study. The study focuses on Cameroonian migrants and their relationship with South Africans in Cape Town concerning integration. Throughout the process of this study, the migrants contrast all the time their new experience in South Africa with South Africans trying to explain how host communities respond to them and how they define home in this ambiguous space between Cameroon and Cape Town. Although everyone is concerned about the conditions of migrant - working conditions, how to earn a means of living, the relationship with the host communities, establishing a home in their host communities, maintaining their cultural identity, and how foreigners are perceived, the respondents express their experience through collectiveness as they constantly speak of us and them. However, throughout the study, the issue of respect, security, and experience, are very dominant as will be examined in the subsequent pages.

Much research has been conducted in South Africa in which discrimination/xenophobia is at the centre of the research. For example, the UNHCR research review done by Misago, Freemantle, & Landau (2015) in protecting refugees and asylum seekers from recurrent xenophobic attacks through the measurement and efficacy of four programmes implemented to mitigate xenophobic attacks in South Africa and explore the reasons why traditional awareness raising programmes have not worked. In another publication, Misago (2019) argues that the complacency of local government created a favourable environment in what the author termed “favourable micro-opportunity structure” for xenophobia to happen in South Africa. Landau et al., (2005) argues that there is strong evidence that

non-nationals living and/or working in South Africa face discrimination at the hands of locals. Human Right Watch (2020) posits that continuous widespread xenophobia is partly a result of the failure of the government to implement the National Action Plan and to prosecute those responsible for xenophobic attacks. Unlike the aforementioned studies, this study does not have discrimination at the centre. Based on the responses from the fieldwork, the respondents in this study amidst the challenges confronting them in their host communities, look at different ways of adaptability without losing their identity. In essence, acknowledging the existence of xenophobia as a main concern about foreign nationals; especially of African descent in South Africa, this study seeks to understand the different strategies used by foreign nationals of African descent to integrate themselves within their host communities. The research is premised on the argument that the interplay between links to the home country and the receptivity of the local culture will depend on whether migrants choose one of several cultural strategies: acculturation, transculturation or a transnational existence as modes of social integration.

5.2 Relevance of the Findings

It is estimated that about 2.5 to 4 million Cameroonians live abroad and most of them migrated to other African countries. As of 2013 according to UNICEF migration profile, South Africa was ranked as the 5th destination for Cameroonian tertiary students, with about 1118 Cameroonian students in South African tertiary institutions. Migrants from Cameroon often build up connections with, and owe allegiances to, both their host country (South Africa) and their home country (Cameroon), depending on their reasons for migrating and how they are received in their host environment (Community). In South Africa, the understanding of migration, and African migration and integration in particular, has been defined based on xenophobia and lack of a comprehensive government integration policy. Migrants and most especially vulnerable migrants like refugees are therefore required to play a central role in their integration process. One of the primary expectations of the study is that it is going to contribute to providing insights on migration and integration to the international and local community

members and also to the government on how to deal with the issue of migration inclined towards sustainable social change. This study will hopefully open thoughts for research and debate with issues pertaining to migration and integration.

5.3 Findings from the interviewed data

The qualitative data in this study comprises semi-structured interviews, participant observation, and other documentary evidence. The participation of selected respondents was generally encouraging as more than 80% of those who were requested to participate accepted and took part in the research and were willing to share their experiences. In the themes that were raised in the discussions, the voices of the participant will be predominant in this section. In all, there were 30 respondents – 20 male and 10 females between the ages of 26 – 45, which could further be broken down as follows: 4 businessmen, 2 businesswomen, 2 hawkers, 3 nurses, 2 academic doctors, 1 lecturer, 1 auto-electrician, 2 mechanics, 2 casual workers, 2 transport drivers, 2 panel beaters, 2 unemployed, 1 food technologist, 2 service agents, and 2 students.

5.4 Themes Emerging from the Interviewed Data

Nine themes emerged from the transcripts of the interviews conducted. These themes are not independent in determining the choices migrants make in their integration process, as some of them overlap and intersect with each other. The themes that emerged from the study, positioned the respondents into one or more of the three theories as espoused in chapter one of this study which posits that the interplay between home country and the receptivity of host culture determines the integration choices of migrants - acculturation, transnationalism, and/or transculturation. These themes are premised around the issues of integration, home, centres of belonging, cultural identity, and South Africans. The first two themes revealed by the study provide a background of the migration process through an understanding of the networks and migratory trajectory of the migrants.

5.4.1 Social Capital (Networks)

Social capital is very relevant in understanding migration and social inclusion because it provides a platform to understand the networks the migrants created before and after migration. Social capital pertains to the resources or information individuals obtain from their social ties before migrating. These resources facilitate the migration process as it reduces the cost and risk that pertains to migration, thus making migration attractive - a process known as cumulative causation (Massey, 1990). Hlatshwayo & Wotela (2018) sees social capital as a propeller of migration. Social capital can stretch from familial relationships to friendship and the broader community. In response to my question on a background check and human capital, the respondents told me about their lives before they migrated from Cameroon, how they got to know about South Africa, and also why they migrated to South Africa, indicating what precipitated their move to South Africa. A cross-section of those who migrated into the country, knew about South Africa from either a friend or a family member who was already residing in South Africa.

Yombom, a young auto-electrician with First School Leaving Certificate (FSLC), said he knew about South Africa from family members who were residing in South Africa, and he left Cameroon because of lack of capital and opportunities, and upon arrival in South Africa, he was introduce into hawking by his family who received him in South Africa. After raising enough capital from hawking, he went back into his trade as an auto-electrician and into the business of buying and selling of cars that had been in accidents as he explained:

> I knew about South Africa through my uncle. At that time, he was in South Africa. Hmmm life in Cameroon was not that bad but starting up a personal business was very difficult in Cameroon because of the lack of capital and opportunities which that is not the case in South Africa. When I first arrived in South Africa, I was welcomed by my family, and they introduced me to hawking in Grassy Park where I was selling belts, chargers, wallets, and

> sunglasses … Today, I have gone back to my trade as an auto-electrician, and I am also into the business of buying and selling accident cars (Yombom).

The above assertion emphasizes the role of social networks in the migration process as argued by Chi (2020) and Blumenstock et al., (2021) when they posit that interconnected social networks within family circles are a viable and trustworthy conduit of information and a source of economic and social security in the host society. Despite the fact that the respondent argued that making a living in Cameroon was a possibility, he conceded that moving to South Africa, where there was access to capital and opportunities, positioned him to be able to better his life. This entails that migration is motivated by better economic opportunities in the host society. The migrants' process of adaptability is facilitated by close family relations who were already in the host country. New migrants will adapt to whatever those who welcome them in their host communities are doing or had done. In essence, if you are welcome in a community of hawkers, you will likely hawk as well for a start. Also, as explained by the respondent, there are more opportunities and the ability to raise capital in South Africa than in Cameroon.

Azuh, who had an advanced level certificate, left Cameroon without appreciating life out of school, as she had to come and join her husband based in South Africa.

> I left Cameroon immediately after obtaining my advanced level certificate to join my husband, who was already in South Africa (Azuh).

The statement above highlights the fact that despite the increasing number of women migrants as independent actors in their own rights (see Masanja, 2012, Gouws, 2007, Vause & Toma, 2015), women still migrate for family reunions.

Besides social network ties created at the family level, friendship ties also constituted a source of the social network. One of my respondents - a University graduate who wanted to go to Europe or North America but failed was advised by his friend to go to South Africa in 1998 as South Africa just got its independence a few years before and suggested it will be a nice place.

> After several attempts I made to go to Europe and North America failed, I was advised by one of my friends to give South Africa a shot in 1998 (Young).

South Africa - considered one of the economic powerhouses in the region after 1994 - when black majority rule was enforced, became an attractive destination for foreign nationals, especially within the continent (Moyo, 2021). Many young African migrants who attempted to go to Europe to better their lives and failed to make the trip considered South Africa a viable option.

5.4.2 Migratory Trajectory

This theme seeks to understand the various means which the respondents used in getting into the country – if they came through a second country or if they came directly into South Africa from their country of origin. The challenges that they came across and how they overcame such challenges, if any. From the trend of the data gathered, those who came recently from around 2011 upwards, came through a second country. In most cases, they came through one of the neighbouring countries to South Africa with a visa via air and proceeded to South Africa via land without a visa.

Yombom and Tufoin shared similar experiences as they had applied for visas to come into the country legally but failed on several occasions. They chose to enter the country (South Africa) irregularly through a second country – Mozambique. Tufoin arrived in 2013, while Yombom arrived in 2011.

> I applied for a South Africa visa, but my application was rejected, so I came through Mozambique as Cameroon – Mozambique was visa-free. Upon my arrival in Mozambique, I was issued a visa at the airport. I was received in Mozambique by someone arranged by the person who did my visa. He arranged for my trip from Mozambique to South Africa by land. When we approached the border post, we were taken out of the bus, and we crossed the border through the forest with the aid of a guide (Yombom).

Her migratory trajectory captures the irregular migration trends destined for South Africa from South Africa's neighbouring countries. This movement is facilitated by agents who take advantage of the

visa-free requirement between Cameroon and Mozambique and then smuggle Cameroonians who have successfully made the trip to Mozambique into South Africa.

Nange, who travelled to Cameroon and was repatriated on her way back to South Africa because she had a fake permit, used a second country to come back to South Africa, as she explained:

> I had to fly to Lesotho as it was visa-free and travel via land (bus) to South Africa. At one point of the journey, we had to travel in the water and the bushes. It was a difficult journey. It will take about a week to arrive in South Africa. This is because, upon arrival in Lesotho, you might spend several days there. After all, you will only leave Lesotho when the road is safe for you to travel (Nange).

This underscores the vulnerability of migrants who are so desperate and will do whatever it takes to obtain a permit and how some of the permits are fake. Furthermore, there is a risk factor attached to the journey they undertake in the bushes and rivers to come to South Africa.

Those who came from 2010 or earlier, did not, in most cases, pass through a second country. Most of them obtained South Africa visas. Nkwain, who came in 2003, came directly into the country:

> I think I am one of those who have been opportune to come directly to South Africa and get straight into my internship because I had a placement before I came to South Africa. So I came directly to South Africa (Nkwain).

Chindo on his part came to South Africa in 2010 and had to use a second country but he had a smooth ride as everything was organised in his favour. His experience exposes corruption within the ranks of the immigration officials:

> I arrived in Maputo by midnight, and the following morning we kicked off in a group of about two Cameroonians, a Zimbabwean woman, and a young child. The driver who took us from Maputo, had connections with the emigration officer at the border. I was instructed to pose as the husband to the wife of our driver and the father to the young child, and the other guy was

> like the brother to the driver, and they gave us identity documents of which we were not the bearers. Because of the connection that our driver had with the officers at the border, the check was nothing but a play as the officers did not look at our faces. I had a smooth drive. (Chindo).

His migratory trajectory reveals the corrupt nature of law enforcement officials working at the border post. It reveals how border officials collude with bus driver and smuggle migrants into their host communities. AllAfrica (2021) posit that the movement between Mozambique and South Africa is facilitated at the border by corrupt police officers who take bribes.

Except for one of the respondents who came through multiple countries, all the respondents came through a second country or directly into South Africa. One of the respondents, a pioneer Cameroonian in Cape Town, came to South Africa in 1995 through multiple countries – Central African Republic, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Angola and Namibia. Unlike the others who left the country via flight, Diagha left by land. He is the only respondent who used all three modes of transport – water, land, and air as he explained his more than 24 months trip to South Africa. His migratory trajectory helps him to be able to reflect and appreciate the potential of his home country - something he was oblivious about before initiating his movement:

> As someone from Cameroon, where we used to say we have nothing, all you need to do is to visit other countries, and you will start feeling that Cameroon is better (Diagha).

His movement debunks the myth that associates success with migration – emphasizing the fact that anyone can make it anywhere if you have the right mindset, as he explained:

> Congolese love traveling to Cameroon, and most of their artists traveling to Europe want to go through Cameroon. They will come to Cameroon and open barbing saloons and things like that - they make money and go to France and Belgium. What they teach us is that you can make money anywhere. It is your mind that matters. I say this because most Congolese who come to Cameroon are successful (Diagha).

It reveals the paradox associated with human mobility and movement – while you are leaving your country hoping to be successful somewhere else, someone is leaving their country hoping to be successful in your country.

His migratory trajectory also elaborates on the role played by the Mosque in providing lifesaving assistance to desperate migrants.

> We spent a couple of days sleeping in the Mosque, and my friend initiated the idea that we should go to different mosques and write a letter to the Imam that they should raise funds for us, for this and that. That is what they called Zarka (Digha).

The Mosque is seen as a sanctuary for migrants in its role in providing shelter and financial support for migrants.

5.4.3 Socialisation within host communities

The HTA facilitates the process of transculturation within the host communities through socialisation. The process of Socialisation between migrants and locals can be a strong engine in the integration process. The respondents, in addressing the issue of socialisation within the host communities, explicated the various platforms and avenues through which migrants interact and socialise with members of the host community. These processes of socialisation stem from the collective - through activities organised by the HTA to personal interaction - through the various avenues which migrants intermingle with members of the host communities.

5.4.3.1 Home Town Association as a vehicle for socialisation

All the respondents of the study were members of one or more of the three HTA and the respondents explained the relevance of these HTA in their lives. The existence of HTA enforces notions of transculturation as its existence is premised on the fact that it seeks to uphold and sustain the cultural identity of migrants within their host communities by positioning the migrant in a safe space to be able to learn from the host community's cultural practices while impacting the host culture through its activities. Through the creation of HTA, migrants can replicate or reproduce certain cultural activities of their home communities in their host communities, like the type of food they eat during their

meeting sessions, the type of dress they wear, and the language they speak. These practices conducted in the host communities over time can have an impact on the host culture. The respondents touched on different issues that made HTA relevant in their lives, inter alia, upholding their cultural values and identity. Scholars such as Breton, (1964); Bloemraad, (2005), & Schrover & Vermeulen, (2005), as presented in the literature postulate how HTA are vehicles through which migrants strengthen and uphold their cultural values. The HTA was also seen as a vehicle through which the cultural values of the migrants can be transmitted unto their children who are born in their host country as one of the respondents explained:

> It gives me a sense of wholeness in that, though not physically in that home space, I have not been cut off from it. In addition to the symbolic element, it brings the cultural value – the identity component of my life that my children can associate with (Young).

In addition to being a vehicle through which cultural practices can be transmitted to the younger generation, the assertion above projects the Home Town Associations as a symbolic representation of home – where the migrants come from. It is a space that resonates with the feeling of home.

Furthermore, HTA plays a role in the socialisation process of its members through the kinds of activities that they organise within their communities. The respondents explained how through such organised activities, they meet new faces and also have the opportunity to make new friends and expose some of their cultural values. These activities range from meeting sessions, parties, soccer tournaments, excursions, and funerals.

As examined in chapter 2 of this study, sport is a very essential tool that can facilitate the integration process of migrants. Despite the racism and xenophobia that has taken place in soccer recently (for example, the racist abuse faced by black players in the England national team after their defeat to Italy in Euro 2020), soccer remains a uniting force in humanity. Salazar (2018) posits that soccer is a game that gives a sense of identity to a group of people beyond origin, social class, and colour. The

organisation of soccer tournaments by HTA provides an opportunity for migrants to interact and showcase their cultural heritage within their host communities. Within the context of Cape Town, soccer tournaments (competitions) that were organised in most cases were amongst the ethnic groupings. It is usually an intra-ethnic competition in which the members of the HTA will group themselves into the various quarters that make up the clan and compete against each other. Another scenario is friendly matches that are organised by the HTA - say PDO organises a friendly encounter against another HTA association from Cameroon, and in most cases from the same region, for example, MACUDA. However, during such scenarios the match officials in some cases are locals and the spectators are both locals and members of the HTA. Anchang, one of the respondents, explained:

> We organize soccer tournaments, and during such events, we send invitations to our friends - Cameroonians and South Africans to come and watch the matches, especially during the finals, as there is a lot of ambiance on the field (Anchang).

Things took a slightly different dimension in the recent soccer tournament that was organised by PDO in 2019 as they allowed the participation of a limited number of non-pinyin indigenes. As per the roles and regulations governing the tournament not more than two non-Pinyin indigenes were allowed to participate in any one of the four teams that participated in the tournament. The role provided that the two non-Pinyin players could come from any nationality. The choice of the player was entirely at the discretion of the team managers. One of the respondents explained why that decision was arrived upon:

> We had an opening for each team to recruit two players from other nationalities – South Africans, Nigerians, Congolese, Zambians, etc. it was up to the managers to decide. However, they were not allowed to recruit more than two players. It was a pinyin event, and if they were allowed to recruit as many players as they desired, managers would probably source professional players or better players as most Pinyinians are not professional soccer players, and as a result, most pinyinians will not participate in the tournament as players. The two recruited players were to add some flair to the competition - it was good (Bangha).

The respondent highlighted the fact that the blending of members of the host community in the competition gave it an additional flavour and he says, “it was good”. Therefore, acknowledging the beauty that comes with integration.

The organisation of parties is one of the platforms within the HTA which facilitates the socialisation process. Parties are organised in different forms which include in most instances end-of-year parties, launching of a new uniform, fundraiser, and anniversary parties. Other forms of parties are those organised by members of the HTA, like welcoming of a new wife or husband into the country, marriage anniversary, born house (birth of a new born baby), graduation, and marriages. During such events organised by members of an HTA, their members play a very crucial role in providing a helping hand for the success of the event, like ladies cooking food for entertainment, and men buying drinks, and decorating the hall, and in most cases the HTA supports such a member financially. During such events, members of the host communities are always invited, and they get into contact with some of the cultural values of the migrant community - like food and music, which are essential tools in the construction of a person’s identity. Sibal (2018) argues that food is not just a means of survival, but it is also a representation of a people’s culture. Also, music plays a huge role when one thinks about identity that finds expression in three forms: general, personal, and collective. Music in all forms constitutes part of an individual’s identity. M’Hamdi (2017) states that a people’s collective identity is partly made, constructed, and experienced through their music. Music does not only satisfy the needs or desires we have, but music is also one of the forces that shape the needs and desires that we have. One of the respondents explain such experience with food and music in the following words:

> If you attend our parties, 20 to 30 % of those attending, are South Africans, and they taste our food and listen to and dance to our music the way we dance kwaito with them. Some South Africans I know, when they attend our parties, now go for cookie, ndole, eru and not the rice and chicken that is common to them. During such moments, we interact a great deal (Yombom).

The above respondent underscores the cultural impact (music and food) that takes place during parties organised by HTA. Sharing food and dance during such occasions is an invitation to be part of the collective - when the guest stops being a guest and becomes part of the collective.

5.4.3.2 Other forms of socialisation

Other areas where socialisation happens between the migrant community and the host community outside the scope of the HTA that equally has a bearing on the integration process of migrants include beaches, restaurants, nightclubs, taverns, and churches. These are areas where people of different nationalities and different cultural backgrounds converge and interact with each other. The stretch of Voortrekker Road from Bellville to Goodwood is host to several clubs and taverns which serve the people within these areas and beyond. Drawing on the analysis of the role of music as examined above, one of the respondents shared his view on South African music as a platform through which the processes of integration can be facilitated by stating as follows:

> South African house music - when they play it, and you watch South Africans dancing - it's so lively, and everyone feels like dancing. To me that music helps to connect foreigners with South Africans, for example, when you visit the club called "Rands" in Khayelitsha which hosts hundreds of people - South Africans and foreigners and see the kind of interaction between foreigners and South Africans, it's so high, welcoming and attractive. South African music plays a huge role in connecting people (Bangha).

The respondents highlight the fact that there is a pull force in the dance move and music of South Africa. Music to them serves as a medium of connection between locals and non-locals.

Socialisation within the host communities can also be seen through intermarriage. Marriage is one of the tools that facilitate the integration process of migrants within their host communities. For the sake of this research, the focus will be on intermarriage (that is marriage between Cameroonians and South Africans). Marriage is one of the oldest forms of human behaviour that provides kinship ties and an

avenue for peace-making between tribes (Gultekin, 2012). Apart from providing kinship ties, intermarriage allows two cultures to blind – hybridity, thus allowing both cultures to impact one another. Bisin & Giulia (2019) posits that intermarriage encourages a higher acceptance of minority culture, thus allowing immigrants to maintain their distinctive cultures. The freedom of maintaining their cultural values creates a platform through which both cultures can have an impact on both the migrant and members of their host communities. Within the three HTA under investigation, three of their members were married to South Africans – two in MACUDA and one in PDO. Some of the respondents explained how they have drawn closer to members of their host communities as a result of the fact that one of their brothers is married to a local (South African). The wives of those who were married were members of the HTA.

> Some of our members are married to South Africans, so they are part of not only the organization of events sanctioned by the HTA, but they are members of the association. For example, our treasurer's wife is South African, and one of our brother's wives is also South African. They are members of the association. You will find them partaking in everything that we do. When we have events, we get to have them invite their people (Nkwain).

The respondent highlights the role the HTA plays within the host communities - as a bridge that connects members of the host communities and the migrant population.

5.4.4 Value systems

Coming into a new society, migrants are bound to get in contact with cultural values they are not familiar with – culture shock. Also, they bring their cultural values, which are also at times not familiar to members within their host communities. The theory of transculturation seeks to understand how there can be cultural exchange with migrants and members of their host communities selecting and choosing from the different cultures while impacting them. This theme seeks to understand how certain cultural values within the host communities are appreciated by the migrant community and what are some of their cultural values which they think can be inculcated within their host

communities. The respondents expressed their views on these cultural values and what they meant to them.

One of the respondents admired the meritocracy that exists in the workplace in South Africa, in direct contrast with the favouritism that thrives at the workplace in his home country as she explained:

> If you are hardworking, you deserve to be wherever you want to be or what the company is giving you. Unlike in Cameroon, it is more about where you come from or who you know. That makes me feel that hard work pays (Fulai).

However, she also regrets the fact that so many South Africans are not taking advantage of what is provided to them to thrive. She laments at the spending habits of South Africans and the misguided judgment most South Africans, especially the youth, have on what constitutes wealth as she explained:

> Some of those working- especially the youth instead of them to take a house on a loan, they will go for things like expensive cars, shoes, and clothes and rent expensive flats. They end up not being able to save (Fulai).

Her explanation underscores the consumerist nature of South African youth, the nepotism in Cameroon, and the meritocracy in South Africa. The consumerist nature of South African youth is captured through the youth subculture, for example, Izikhothane - where the youth feel alienated from society and creates new spaces which they have control over through the display of material things, for example, cars, shoes, clothes, etc. within the townships (Mchunu, 2016).

One of the respondents appreciates the supportive nature of the South African government to its citizens through the provision of social services like student loans. However, the respondent also frowns at the "excess" provision of social security benefits to South Africans and argues that it makes South Africans not work hard as she explained:

> The government supports its citizens, but South Africans want everything given to them – when you give birth to a child, the government gives you money, when you want to open a business, the government gives you money, when you do not have a

> house, the government gives you a house. That is why many South Africans do not want to work hard (Chia**)**.

The above analysis explains the dependency culture of South Africans – where they expect the government to do everything for them. Such rhetoric is supported by the government when the then Human Settlement Minister Lindiwe Sisulu stated that giving free houses creates dependency syndrome (Sowetan, 2016). Her assertion was grounded on the premise that poor people in South Africa are inherently lazy and will prefer to rely on the state provision of social grants than work. However, the paper ignores the fact that there is job scarcity in South Africa, and many South Africans who want to work do not find a job. However, Noble & Ntshongwana (2008) posit that there is no evidence to support the claims that the provision of social grants creates a dependency culture as the majority of South Africans (more than 70%) who are grant beneficiaries desire to work.

Another respondent explained how living in South Africa has impacted on several aspects of her life and helped her to be the woman she has become today, which underscores the fact that migration reinforces a sense of responsibility and the desire to take initiative as she explained:

> I think my accent is a bit different now, and also, I have become wiser, and I take more initiative. While I was in Cameroon, I was very dependent. I did not know I could do anything on my own. I have also learned to be proactive and take responsibility. The environment has pushed me to think (Azuh).

Some of my respondents explained how there is a culture of respect for human rights in South Africa, as compared to what they experience in what they call the dictatorial regime of the current administration in Cameroon. They explicate how these freedoms and rights have made South Africans more politically conscious than Cameroonians and because they are in South Africa, it has rekindled a political awareness amongst Cameroonians. One of the respondents explained how because of his political ideology he became wanted by the current regime:

> I will also say a lot of South Africans are politically conscious more than us in Cameroon. We ran away from political persecution in Cameroon as the government never wanted anybody to question its legitimacy. Here in South Africa, people know their rights (Afumbom).

Even though some respondents saw respect for human rights and freedom as essential elements of human development, others argued that it is the same freedom and respect for human rights that breeds decay and social ill in the society. Some of the respondents explained that criminals are given rights more than free people within South Africa.

> The issue of giving people rights even when they are criminals is not good. For example, someone will kill and is granted bail. In Cameroon, you will never see the light. In some instances, you are killed by the population and thrown into the river. Here in South Africa, people go to prison after killing someone, and while in prison, they enjoy good food and watch TV. They should make their prisons in such a way that prisoners should be tortured there as well, and they will not want to go back or commit any crime. Their system here makes prison enjoyable. That is why there is a lot of violence here (Kimbi).

Stemming from rights and freedom, most of my respondents idealised the fact that there is a lack of respect within the youth towards the elderly folk in South Africa. Parents are not being respected by their kids because they think they have rights. Respect constitutes one important African cultural value. The basis for respect accorded to one's parents, grandparents, or older people is the belief of their closeness to the ancestors in the hierarchy of existence (Okolo, nd). One of the respondents explained how parents are failing in the discharge of their responsibility of enforcing discipline within their household because the state has restrained them:

> There is no respect, especially with these youngsters of today, and that emanates from home because the home has been destroyed. The family which is the foundation has been destroyed by the laws of the country. If it encourages divorce and prevents discipline. The laws of the country have contributed to creating the social ills that we have in our society today. The

> government is yet the first to cry that there is "drug" in the country. Who created the problem? Who made those children not to grow up within their families? Them - because they encourage divorce. If I want to compare South Africa and Cameroon, it is daylight and darkness (Ntam).

The respondent emphasized the role of the family in the upbringing of the child. The family plays a very important role in a child's development. Once there is a breakdown in the family structure, for example, divorce it may have a trickle-down effect on the child's upbringing.

Another respondent was of the view that because of the high levels of disrespect amongst the youth and children in South Africa, the country is becoming very difficult to nurture a child and also attributes some of the current social ills today in society as a result of the poor upbringing of a child, as he explained:

> A South African child will call the parents by name - with us, it is not like that. In South Africa, a young child of 6 can call me by my name, but in Cameroon, it is not like that. Here a mother will smoke and give it to her daughter in Cameroon - it is an abomination. The distance between us when it comes to respecting is too vast. As a Cameroonian, if you have a child in South Africa, the best place to train the child is back home. The upbringing of the child in South Africa is not good and is part of the outcome of some of the problems the country is experiencing (Chindo).

Drawing from the above discussion, the respondent is of the view that South Africa is deeply rooted in western ideologies of respect for an individual's human rights that might not find expression in other parts of Africa. Akpa-Inyang & Chima (2021) opined that Western European concept of libertarian rights-based autonomy, which advocates respect for an individual's rights, may conflict with African cultural values and norms. However, this must not be misconstrued as the absence of accountability based on age and position as posited by Sesanti (2010) that respect in the African context historically does not equate with obsequiousness.

Other respondents pointed out certain cultural practices within the context of South Africa that has uniquely impacted their lives, and which have become part of their lifestyle. Some of the respondents pointed how the culture of South African house, Gospel and kwaito music has influenced their lives positively. One of the respondents posits how they have exported such practices to their communities back in Cameroon and it has been welcomed and appreciated:

> I love the Kwaito music a lot and I have taken it over there (Cameroon). Given that I have a snack bar where people come and enjoy, I also play it, and people love it as well. When they come for an event and don't get kwaito – something is missing. And the culture of braaing. Before now, braai was not common back home. If you want braai meat, you go and buy soya. It is thanks to some of us from South Africa and the people from the USA. In the USA, they call it barbecue, and we call it braai in South Africa. I cannot be in Cameroon without my Nandos spices or other chicken spices from South Africa. When I host events, I just spice the chicken and braai, and people enjoy it. So those are some of the things I have taken over there (Nkwain).

His explanation underscores the cultural exchange that takes place as a result of migration and how such exchange is welcomed.

One of my respondents explained how as a result of contact and exposure to some South African cultural values, he has been influenced both positively and negatively. Positively in the sense that South Africans are very outspoken especially with their children in terms of advising and giving directives to their children at a very tender age on certain topics like sex - something which is rare and considered a taboo in most places in Cameroon:

> The people here are very outspoken, for instance, a topic like sex education is common within families. It is very easy for people here to start educating their children from a very young age about sex. That is almost taboo in Cameroon to provide sex education to a teenager (Mbom).

The respondent also explained how he has learned certain bad habits common with South Africa as well - swearing which is now part of his habit as he explained:

> We are on the streets, and we get a lot of swearing on the streets – without knowing, you get into it. It is now common for me to swear when I get a bit angry (Mbom).

Another aspect that exhibits cultural exchange within the study is in the area of death. Death from an African perspective is the transition from the natural world to the spiritual realm. This implies the person is not dead but moves to join his/her ancestors. From an African philosophical perspective, death is accompanied by certain rituals performed by those in the natural world that connect the living death and the living (Baloyi & Makobe-Rabothata, 2014). Death and rituals, therefore, constitute a very important and sacred aspect of African traditional philosophy. However, the performance of these rituals varies from one culture to the other within the continent. One respondent highlighted the difference in the ways we celebrate death in Cameroon and the way it is done here focusing on the fact that though there are mild changes in how we celebrate death in Cameroon, there is a lot we can learn from South Africa as he explains:

> It is as if we worship death as Cameroonians. It might be a tradition that people grew up with, even though it is changing in Cameroon now. In the past, we used to celebrate death for one month to 6 weeks. Nowadays, it is three days. They are changing, but it still does not change the fact that we spend too much on funerals. Do you know that my wife and I pay a funeral policy for my mother-in-law and her aunt and uncle for R300 a month? Once they die, the coffin is there, money for the hearse is already there - everything is taken care of. Whether you go or not, it means nothing. You go to the very close one. The first time I attended a funeral in Free State, I was shocked. When someone dies, they keep the corpse in the mortuary, and you go about your business. You go to the funeral parlour, choose a coffin, and draft a program - they do not cry as we do (Diagha).

His explanation underscores the fact that Cameroonians spend a lot (money and time) during funerals, and they do not buy funeral policies which can take care of the financial burden and save the family a

lot of time in terms of making the funeral arrangements. This is a practice common in South Africa that is worth emulating in his view. His explanation also reveals the cultural shocks experience by migrants in their new spaces.

However, Diagha agreed that cultural modes of child upbringing are dissipating and giving way for modern forms enshrined in modern law but posits that in rural communities traditional and cultural norms are still being upheld in child upbringing. He is of the view that some of these cultural values are polluted as a result of migration into urban areas and that it is not limited to South Africans as he explained:

> The Zulus, generally, are respectful, but that does not cancel the fact that time changes. When you go to town, it is different. I have been to the countryside in KwaZulu-Natal, and the way those people live, the way they interact with people, respect is the norm. Unlike in a town where there is a lot of cultural pollution, where there is little respect, you have the same thing in Cameroon. With development comes the loss of respect - especially amongst the youth. (Diagha).

In essence, the respondent's explanation above elicits the fact that urbanization has eroded some of our African cultural values, for example, respect. Okolo (nd) argues that urbanization has given rise partly to the transvaluation and reversal of African traditional values.

Diagha, was also of the view that there is no togetherness in South Africa as he rubbishes the concept of Ubuntu as a theory, not a practice. He is of the view that it is something South Africans can learn from Cameroonians as he explained:

> The practice of togetherness; they are lacking in that. South Africans talk of Ubuntu, but to me, it is more jargon than a practice. In Cameroon, you see more of these cultural groups. You go anywhere in any town in Cameroon you find PDO, and the whole idea of PDO is Pinyin Development Organisation. They practice that development aspect, first amongst themselves and back home. In South Africa, we are practicing the same. South Africans do

> not. Most of the development that we have, most of our brothers especially in the past who have grown or like you going to school, is because you have other people who were there before, and they always encourage and push you and help you. I hope South Africans can practice that (Diagha).

This idea of Ubuntu not being practiced is corroborated by another respondent as he explained:

> It is a theory expressed but not practiced because Ubuntu talks about my humanity as your humanity. That is a culture in which I feel that if we had in South Africa, we would not experience Afrophobia, marginalization, and killing of our own. I see it as self-hate ……. Doing all of these things to your fellow Africans - calling them foreigners. A pan African will say an African is not a foreigner (Afumbom).

The respondents were of the view that collective community development that enhances both individual and personal growth as espoused by the African philosophy of Ubuntu is not practiced in South Africa. The absence of Ubuntu is exemplified by the recurrent xenophobic attacks on African migrants, marginalisation, and the gross inequality in South Africa.

5.4.5 Social and Structural Opportunities

5.4.5.1 Language

Social and structural opportunities enforce notions of acculturation within the host communities. Structural opportunities are some of those value systems or cultural practices performed by the migrant population in the host communities that expand the groups' opportunities to integrate within the mainstream cultural practices. The respondents explicated their opinions on some of the cultural practices which they can relate to, cultural practices that have impacted their life and facilitate/impede their integration process within their host communities. Several researchers postulate that an understanding of the language of the host community is an essential element of social integration. Van Tubergen & Kalmijn (2009) states that immigrants who are more fluent in the host country's language have the highest chances of entering the host country's core institutions with higher positions. On their part, Gogonas & Michail (2015) argue that language is the main element in the socialisation

process of migrants. Hochman & Davidov (2014) posit that language is a form of human capital for migrants that enhances both their social and economic integration. One of the respondents explained that understanding and speaking the language has boosted his business as communication with his clients is much easier:

> I speak Xhosa. It has helped me a lot because, at the workshop, we have two mechanics – myself and another guy who does not speak Xhosa, and a lot of our clients are Xhosa-speaking people who do not speak English. So, if you deal with them in Xhosa, they appreciate it. So, my understanding of the language has helped boost my business a lot as I have more clients (Yisa).

His response accentuates the fact that understanding and speaking the language has given him an added advantage in his business as his competitors do not speak and understand the language.

According to de Vroome, Verkuyten & Martinovic (2014), language eases migrant familiarity with the host country's culture and customs - thus facilitating their identification process with mainstream values. Some respondents postulated that they could speak a certain percentage of more than one local language, and this has helped them to integrate and appreciate each other's diversity at the workplace:

> I understand Afrikaans 50%, Xhosa 80%. So, they also feel more relaxed because we're sharing a lot of things. Something will have to trigger them that they will remember you're a foreigner. (Bisong)

Research conducted by the European Council in 2014 on the linguistic integration of Adult Migrants (LIAM) revealed that understanding the host language has a very strong relationship with social integration. An understanding of the host country's language is like having the key that will help open many doors for migrants including the labour market, as language is a way to everyday communication. One of the respondents who is a street vendor in Parow regretted his inability in understanding and speaking any of the local languages and posits that it is a constraint and has held him back:

> My inability to speak any one of the South African ethnic languages has constrained me because South Africans value their languages a lot. That is why it is taught in schools. When one knocks on any door and speaks any one of the native languages, he/she is welcome. If I could speak any of the languages, I think I would have been better off or done something different from what I am doing now. (Bangha).

His response emphasizes the fact that understanding and speaking Afrikaans in Cape Town is a likely possibility for one to earn a job and will widen one's horizon in other countries that Afrikaans is being spoken. To him, understanding and speaking one of the home languages is an asset.

In as much as language can be used as an inclusionary tool for migrants within their host communities, it can also be used as an exclusionary tool within migrant host communities. Inability to understand and speak the host country's language can be a barrier to accessing services within the host communities, inter alia, labour market, hospitals, and schools, and it can also lead to the categorization of migrants as "the other" – not being "one of us" which can lead to migrant's victimization. In this light, Bourdieu (1991) argues that language is not only a means of communication – it emphasizes power relations within society. Lack of understanding of the host country's language(s) can constrain migrants from providing and receiving holistic services within their communities. One of my respondents explained how his inability to speak one of the host languages properly made him to be considered as the "other" as one of the respondents explained:

> I would have been fluent in Xhosa, but when I started learning Xhosa, the clicks were my problem. So, when I speak, they laugh at me. So, I decided to abandon it. But it doesn't mean that because you speak Xhosa you become a Xhosa person because they can easily detect that you have learned it and you are not one of them (Nayeh).

Fabienne et al., (2019) argue that because of the language barrier, there is a breakdown in communication between patients and doctors. In the same light, one of my respondents believed that understanding and speaking one of the local languages fluently will allow her to provide a holistic service to most of their customers in South Africa:

> My inability to speak any one of the local languages fluently has restrained me because more often, when you are nursing a purely Afrikaans, Xhosa, or Zulu-speaking patient, he/she will be communicating in Afrikaans and when you do not understand the patient, it will hinder your services with such a patient (Bih).

5.4.6 Migrant access to social services

5.4.6.1 Access to Security, Housing and Hospital

Access to security, housing, and hospital are not only fundamental human rights, but value systems that bind a community together and are very essential for a dignified livelihood. These essential services play a very important role in giving a sense of belonging and acceptance to the migrant community within their host communities. A study conducted by United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (2021) argues that access to housing for refugees and migrants can positively impact communities and economies and facilitate the migrants/refugees' integration process within communities. These services, when provided to migrants can facilitate their acculturation into the mainstream society whilst its lack thereof can hinder their integration process. The respondents explained their access to these facilities, and in some cases, the challenges they encountered in accessing such facilities. One of the key areas of concern, when someone makes the decision to move, revolves around who is going to receive him. How is the migrant going to be accommodated? In most cases, people always make prior arrangements on how they will be accommodated, at least during their early days in their host country. With time, the migrant usually wants to look for an independent place where he/she will be able to manage their affairs independently. The respondents explained their experiences of looking for accommodation in South Africa.

One of the migrants explained the kinds of living arrangements that migrants are confronted with when they arrive in their host country before they stabilise themselves as thus:

> When I came here, I stayed in Altona Victoria Road in Woodstock. It was a bitter-sweet experience in my first week because I did not know Woodstock was very hostile. There was

> gangsterism in Woodstock. When I arrived, I stayed with a friend. It was a big room – like four beds and mattresses could enter – it was like a dining room. This guy brought us in, and we stayed there. The person who owned the place was a Portuguese, and the wife was a coloured, and they informed them that two new people were living in the single room. The lady had to come and chop us out. We were in the streets, and Woodstock then in the early 90s was very wild. As innocent as we were, we left that night at about 9 to 10 pm from Altona. I spent the night in a park. We went to a place close to CPUT where a group of Cameroonians stayed and stayed for two nights, and when we went there the third night, the place was full because it was the weekend and people came with their girlfriends. We had to either sleep in the corridor, or on the pavement, or in the park (Afumbom).

The respondent pointed to some key concerns which include crowded rooms and non-marital cohabitation which is a lifestyle very common amongst foreigners. The living arrangement explains the kinds of solidarity that exist between people who come from a particular country living in another country. It is not entirely about brotherhood but more of national identity – your country of origin. He also highlights the notion of dating and sleepovers and the predicaments of migrants when they do not have a place to stay - they live in parks, corridors, etc.

A study conducted by the Economic Commission for Europe (2017) emphasized that there are several challenges migrants are confronted with when accessing housing in their host communities which include lack of access to specific housing tenures, barriers to securing independent accommodation, and housing shortages. Such challenges are some common within the context of Africa, especially within the migrant community. One of the respondents explained her challenges in getting accommodation while she was not working in the formal sector by then. She explained as follows:

> It has been a nightmare. When I was not working, it was very difficult to get accommodation. Most of the time, you are required to provide a three month bank statement, a payslip, and a South African ID - which I did not have then. The fact that you have to pay two months deposit and the month's rent for which you do not have the amount compounded the whole

> issue. Therefore, I had to confine myself in one room because of the cost and challenges in getting new accommodation (Azuh).

Her explanation highlights the fact that she never had a bank account and could therefore not have a bank statement which entails that most of these migrants have a way of saving their money and one of them is done through the HTA. The huge financial demand of the landlords or agencies further strangled her ability to rent the house. Migrants' inability in most instances, to meet up the demands of landlords to rent an apartment/house often forces migrants to resort to other means – legal and illegal to gain access to housing. Another respondent explained how migrants in some cases outsmart the requirements presented to them by landlords or leasing agencies to get a house or an apartment. Some of them forge documents while others use documents of people that will not be living in the apartment or flat as she indicates:

> Because of the stringent requirements to rent a house, most Cameroonians use South Africans with the 13-digit ID documents to apply, and then they will be like a second applicant. The situation is worst now as South African landlords don't want to give out places to foreigners, and people have resorted to fabricating 13-digit IDs to qualify to apply (Bisong).

The above explanation underlines the fact that the national identity, what she calls the 13-digit ID, is very relevant in the application process to be able to rent a place. The lack of this crucial document amongst some migrants allows them to resort to fraudulent fabrication of this document. There is also the issue of ghost tenants highlighted, as those who can afford it but do not have the required document will use someone with the document to apply for the place while he/she will not be living there.

In South Africa, there is a general negative sentiment against foreign nationals, who they perceive to be the cause of most of their problems within their communities. Foreign nationals are perceived to be a threat to their lives and livelihoods. According to UNHCR (2015), there is a strong negative sentiment and hostility towards foreign nationals in South Africa perpetuated by both the general

public and public officials. According to Nyamnjoh (2006), this attitude cut across class, gender, race, ethnicity, age, and religious divides. According to a survey conducted by the Human Science Research Council (2020), 57% of the country's population hold negative perceptions of foreign nationals, particularly those of African and Asian descent. Such perceptions make it difficult for foreign nationals to access certain services within their host communities, for example, housing. One of the respondents highlighted the issue of complete denial by landlords to rent their properties to non-South Africans:

> … that is something that people are still experiencing. You will phone some landlords, and they will tell you straight-up that they do not give their houses to foreigners. They do not bother to see you or know what you are doing. Once they ask if you are a South African and you say no, the conversation ends there (Ful).

This underscores the issue of xenophobia in South Africa, where foreign nationals are seen through the lens of an outsider and thus do not have the right to have access to certain facilities, for example, housing.

Due to the difficulties that migrants faced in having accommodation, those with the required document still within the migrant community have taken advantage of the vulnerability of migrants to run a business of house-letting. They will hire a place and sub-let it at high prices. One of the respondents shared his experience living in one such place:

> … I first stayed in Maitland in a place where you pay 500 rands a month to stay there. You come only with your clothes, and you are provided with a bed, stove, and other household stuff. I stayed there for 4 months while hawking to gather money and rent an apartment. The place was owned by one Cameroonian lady who rented it out. The place was not conducive. It was a room with four dormitory-like beds. So one was renting the space with the bed for 500 rands. One is living in a room with people you know nothing about. One had no privacy and security in such places (Mbom).

Despite the fact that South Africa is committed to the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (UN SDGs 2015) that requires the country to "*promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels"* South Africa is yet to ascertain its position to the above requirement. The securitization of migration in South Africa that views migrants as a threat to national security often makes it difficult for migrants to access protection services. Maziwisa (2019) argues that the way the South African police have conducted themselves in the face of violence against foreign nationals and the way they treat foreign nationals suspected of committing a crime dehumanizes foreign nationals. Maziwisa also argues that accessing the courts for recourse is very expensive and thus making it difficult for most foreign nationals to access them for justice. With regards to security, the respondents explained how they were being treated by the law enforcement agencies and the kind of relationships that were born out of such interactions. One of the respondents, in responding to my question on security, highlighted some of the challenges they face as a migrant community:

> It is even worst when they are phoned by foreigners – they respond "reluctantly". For example, when someone is shot, and you phone the police or the ambulance, they only come after 30 minutes while the person is laying down and blood oozing out of his body. Within 30 minutes, the person will lose a lot of blood and might die. Recently, I have noticed that foreigners, in such events, give the phone to native South Africans to make the call, and they will be a quicker response compared to when the call is made by a foreigner (Bangha).

His explanation underscores the fact that accent plays a very central role in the identification process. Telephone calls from migrants according to his explanation are not attended to with urgency because their voice is recognised on the other side of the call as the "other" and thus not given the required attention.

Xenophobia also finds expression within the law enforcement agencies. One of the respondents explained his confrontation with the law enforcement officer and indicated how they overstepped their

boundaries in asking him things that, in his view, fell outside their area of jurisdiction and competence, as he explained:

> When they (police officers) stopped me and said your backlights are not working, I said sorry, these are the old ones I changed a couple of weeks ago. Maybe there is an electrical fault somewhere that is blowing out these bulbs. Tomorrow morning, I will sort it out. The next thing was can I see your license? I showed them my license. The next thing - can we see your passport? I asked why I should be carrying my passport. The next thing - can I see your traffic register? Do you carry your traffic register around? In that case, I told them that my house is just around – 2 kilometers from where we were standing. They said to me, you foreigners think you are clever, we are going to lock you up. That was something that put me off track because if I was one of them, they will not go that far. They were not immigration officers asking for your passport to see whether you have a permit or not. They were exceeding those bounds because I was not one of them (Ful).

The explanation above underscores hatred meted towards foreigners by law enforcement officers in the discharge of their duties. The analysis reveals the kind of profiling foreigners, especially those of African descent, are subjected to. The law enforcement officer in this scenario was looking for something wrong to lock him which is why they acted ultra vires.

Another respondent explained how he has a cordial relationship with the law enforcement officers but singled out a particular officer who knows them so well but chooses to be victimising towards them as he explained:

> I have a cordial relationship with the law enforcement officer, but there is also a policeman in Maitland who knows where we work, but once we meet with each other, say in a shop or elsewhere, he calls you a drug dealer. He always says we are pretending as panel beaters, whereas we are selling drugs. I am not always happy with such articulation. It makes me feel not wanted (Chindo).

The above assertion illustrates the fact that despite the growing hatred against foreign nationals by South Africans, there are still South Africans who are friendly and welcoming to foreign nationals. Therefore, one cannot use a brush to paint all South Africans as xenophobic.

Despite the importance of accessing health care facilities, especially to the most vulnerable in communities including refugees, several challenges impede access to such services, especially to the migrant community. According to Chiarenza et al., (2019), there are several challenges confronting migrants and refugees accessing healthcare services within their host communities, inter alia, lack of finance, legislative, administrative, and cultural barriers. Slootjes (2021) posits that there is a close link between health and integration of migrants as challenges of accessing healthcare might prevent economic integration and migrants' full participation within their host communities. The respondents illuminated their experience concerning access to healthcare facilities in their host communities, both private and public. One of the respondents described her visit to the medical facilities as follows:

> When I visit the government hospital - that is the worst place I want to be because they snub foreigners too much. In addition, the fact that you have to wait in very long queues and asked to come back the next day is something I do not like. With the private hospital, I think it is better – they are more welcoming and accommodating (Natang).

Her explanation underscores the difference between public health facilities and private health facilities in terms of how populated public hospitals are and how some of the staff in public hospitals are rude while in the private facilities they are friendly.

Another respondent shared a similar sentiment as the previous respondent on the different treatment that she received at the public and private health facilities as follows:

> … for me, it was smooth because I gave birth in a private hospital because I had medical aid, but I know that foreigners are maltreated in public hospitals. I had one experience when I took my son to the Maitland community clinic. He had a fever. But it had to reach a point where I pretended of taking the nurse's name, so she knew that I could get her into trouble. There were

> so many people that they needed to attend to, but they and they were not attending to everyone, they are like no, you can go, go back, go back, go back, and the child is having a fever. If you're going to send me to another place, you need to give me a letter and explain why you're sending me there so that they can understand why I didn't go to the clinic in my community. Most of the time, you go to a clinic far away from where you live, and they ask you why you did not report to a nearby clinic. I insisted on a letter, and they did not want to give me the letter, and I pretended to take her name. She realized ...oh this one is someone that you must not… then eventually said okay, come - sister will see you now (Bisong).

The quote reveals how the vulnerable within society who cannot stand up for their rights are poorly treated within the public health care system. There are several cases of migrants who are denied access to health care facilities in South Africa. For example, in 2017, a Congolese asylum seeker who gave birth in a train station in Johannesburg claimed that she was turned away from two hospitals in Johannesburg while in labour (The New Humanitarian, 2017). In a study of access to public health services in South Africa, Crush and Tawodzera (2014) argued that medical xenophobia is entrenched in the South African public health system.

5.4.7 Economic Opportunities

5.4.7.1 Access to the labour market

Another key theory that informs this research is transnationalism. However, for effective transnationalism to happen, the migrant needs to gain access into the labour market within the host community. Transnationalism is linked to cost and can be successful only when migrants have access to resources that can facilitate the process of transnational existence. However, it is important to note that access to the labour market can also facilitate the acculturation process of migrants. I approached this theme to understand migrants' experience with access to the labour market and at the workplace in both the informal and formal sectors of the economy. An important aspect in facilitating the integration process of migrants is giving them access to the labour market. Within the European Union, through its action plan on integration and inclusion, the law requires that member states should

provide access to the labour market to refugees. Theoretically, in South Africa, the Refugee Act of 2011 gives asylum seekers and refugees access to the labour market. In responding to my question on how they gained access to the labour market, most of the respondents emphasized the role the HTA played in facilitating their entry into the labour market as one of the respondents explained:

> When newcomers come, the association gives them directions. If the newcomer wants to do business, they support the person with a very small amount of money in the form of a loan to have a head start in South Africa, and when the person is established, he can then pay back the money to the association (Ketu).

The response emphasizes the role the HTA association plays in the life of migrants when they newly arrive in their host community – by giving them a head start and facilitating their economic integration.

Gaining access to the formal economy by migrants in South Africa is quite a daunting task, and most migrants resort to the informal economy where they run their private businesses. The informal economy requires finance from the start. Accessing financial services for migrants within their host communities - especially within the traditional banking institutions is a challenge because of several factors which include the migrant's legal status, low income, limited language proficiency, and lack of knowledge about the existing financial products (OECD, 2019:18). Migrants within their host community have resorted to other forms of gaining financial access within the informal economy and one of such ways common amongst Cameroonian migrants in Cape Town is through stokvel commonly referred to as “njangi”. The HTA in this study operates these financial schemes that facilitate the economic integration of its members. These savings and credit financial schemes that run on a weekly or monthly basis are rotatory - members contribute specific amounts and during each session, a member benefits, and it carries on until all the other members have benefited. At the start of the njangi, a draw is conducted, and each member knows when he/she is going to benefit. In a study of Turkish women in Germany, Bilecen (2019) posits that the practice of “Altin Gunu” in Germany by Turkish women provides amongst other things, financial safety networks to its members through

co-ethnic savings and lending schemes. These financial schemes based on trustworthy relationships provide financial protection to their members and facilitate their economic integration. To some of the migrants, the stokvel is the only means through which they can get start-up capital for their business as explained by one of the respondents:

> There is nowhere in South Africa where a foreigner like me can get large sums of money to start up a business, if not through our njangi (Gama).

This highlights the financial dependence members of the Home Town Association associates with the stokvel. Stokvel is considered within the migrant community as a source of financial support.

Another respondent explained how the stokvel does not only help its members by providing them with large sums of money but how the stokvel also serves as a saving scheme for most of its members as she explained:

> The njangi makes you work hard. When it is njangi contribution day, you do everything possible not to fail in your contribution. Also, the njangi is our bank. It is one of the safest places for some of us who do not have bank accounts to keep our money (Ntein).

The assertion alludes to the fact that just like the bank, stokvel within the migrant community pool in finances through members' deposits and lend them to those who are in need. Stokvel represents safe spaces in which the migrants rely on financial support. Stokvel practices reveals the interdependency nature of Cameroonian migrants within their host communities.

One of the respondents highlighted the challenges of gaining access into the formal economy as the reason of the over reliance on Home Town Association's stokvel to facilitate the process through the provision of loans as she explained:

> It is difficult for someone to be employed in this country. With all the qualifications that one has for a position, you are rejected because you are a foreigner. Our njangi is, therefore, one of the sources through which one can obtain capital to start up something private (Wainkem).

Barriers to accessing economic opportunities in South Africa, can be evaluated based on the restrictive migration policies. Even though South Africa has been hailed by the international

community as having one of the most progressive refugee policies (1998 Refugee Act), which accords a range of rights to refugees and asylum seekers, including the right to work and study, paradoxically, the 1999 White paper on migration policy positioned migrants as a "threat" adding pressure to the already scarce resources available for nationals (Carciotto & Mavura 2016:8).

One of the respondents explained how the HTA, through its njangi (stokvel), has grown financially and has become an important source of financial support to its members as he explained:

> There are material benefits in the form of the njangi that has grown into a significant sum that when one benefits, you can do something Significant with it. From 50 rand a week to contributing 10,000 rands a month. From benefiting maybe, 500 to 1000 rand to benefiting over 100 000 rands. That is something that still holds great value. The value is not so much in what it has done for me but what it has done for the community because when I look at many in the community and see where they are – I see a piece of the meeting in their accomplishment in what the meeting did financially through helping them to save (Young)

The above quote ascertains the role the Home Town Association through its njangi plays in the life of migrants. The quote highlights the fact that all the members of the Home Town Association have benefited in one way or the other through the njangi.

All the migrants within the study started life in South Africa within the informal economy. Though some of them are still within the informal economy others have migrated into the formal economy. In responding to my questions on the kind of jobs that they were involved in upon arrival, and how they were introduced into it, what they are currently doing; if any changes, the kind of relationship they established at their workplaces, and in some cases, their vulnerabilities. Most of the respondents explained how upon their arrival, they were involved in the informal sectors of the economy and upon gaining host country's human capital, they were employed in the formal sector. One of my respondents explained how she started as a hairdresser working for one lady from her ethnic group and, together with her husband who was hawking, they could raise money to open a stall in Parow.

Working in the stall, they were able to raise money and she went to school (CPUT) where she studied food technology and is working as a quality control supervisor in a food processing factory. She explained her relationship with co-workers at the salon, those at the stall, and her current workplace:

> I started as a hairdresser with aunty Irene, and by then, my husband was hawking, and that is where we raised money to have a stall in the Parow. I was trying to fit myself into an environment that was very new to me. We raised money, and I was able to pursue a study in food technology at CPUT, where I graduated and started working as a food technologist. I joined the company while they were not manufacturing. I started the manufacturing process. Starting with new product development, I could match all the products they were buying. They had to stop buying from their supplier and produce. I developed the products, did production trials, and trained people who could produce for the company. We are not buying anymore, we are producing for ourselves, and we have grown so big because of that. Our work environment is very cordial (Azuh).

Her explanation elaborates how most migrants enter the labour market through familial connections and most instances, within the informal sector. They are able to navigate themselves into the formal economy through the acquisition of the host country's human capital. Tibajev (2022) & Hoehne & Koopmans (2010) argue that the acquisition of the host country's human and cultural capital facilitates migrants' access to the labour market.

However, it is important to note that the acquisition of the host country's human and cultural capital alone does not guarantee employment, especially in a country like South Africa, where jobs are scarce. Nationals are always prioritized whenever there is an opening. One of the respondents explained how despite obtaining a qualification in South Africa, he was denied several opportunities as he explained:

> I completed my study, and along the line, my permit expired, and I did not know what other permit to obtain. I was just hanging around until I was advised to go get an asylum seeker permit - what we call (ngunda). I had to apply for that, and I got it. Unfortunately, that could

> not help me to get a job. I read the newspapers and found a lot of jobs in my field but, each time I applied, nobody looks at my application because I did not have a "good" permit to start doing something. So that went on for a very long time (Nkwain).

His experience epitomizes what so many migrants go through in Cape Town – switching from one permit to the other to gain access to the labour market. Also, the response highlights the challenges migrants face using the asylum seekers permit to gain access to the labour market – although by law, the document gives access to the labour market to its holders. The lack of "trust" in the document prevents migrants, in most instances, from gaining employment.

Another respondent who was brought by her sister and her husband arrived in South Africa in 2012 and has been working for them for the past 7 years and counting while living with them. All this while, she is assisting with the house chores. Her sister and husband are contributing 10,000 rands monthly in a njangi (stockvel) that will run for 12 months as her payment:

> When I arrived in South Africa, I was selling together with my sister in Mitchell plain. We had an arrangement that after some time, they will settle me. At the beginning of this year, they offered to give me the shop but, I realised that the rent of the shop was too much, and we agreed that they will contribute a chance in Njangi (10,000 rands every month for 12 months) in my name as my settlement (Fien).

This underscores the fact that her earnings will be about 1,250 rands a month by the end of 2020 when she will benefit from the njangi played under her name. This is a scenario of a family taking advantage of another family member by not paying them the minimum wage as required by law as she works for about 10hours a day and is therefore entitled to about 6,000 rands a month.

One of the respondents explained how upon arrival in Cape Town he was introduced into hawking by his family members. He was able through the hawking to raise money to feed himself and also to save. He declined a job offer of 2,500 rands because it was not sufficient enough for his weekly savings and upkeep as he explains:

> I hawked for almost six years while studying. I arrived in July 2004, and I started studying in Jan 2005. I was able to raise money and register myself at the University of the Western Cape (UWC) for my honors degree. In my business, my customer base was 99% South Africans, and I created a good relationship with a good number of them. Some offered to employ me, but the money that they were offering was not good enough to meet up my needs. One offered to employ me in KFC Brackenfell – he is a white guy, and his friend is the owner of that place. I think they wanted to pay 2,500 rands a month, of which my njangi was 500 rands a week and 2,000 rands a month. I still had to pay my rent and feed myself for the month. So, that money could not help me -otherwise, I would have been employed there (Ful).

His analysis depicts the entry point into the labour market by most males from the study population – hawking (within the informal economy). In addition to the desire of acquiring host country human capital through studying, the respondent highlights that hawking is a form of sustainable employment and livelihood amongst migrants. That is why he rejected an offer to work in KFC and be paid R2,500. In his opinion it was inadequate to meet his monthly financial demand.

When people get into new spaces, they are always willing to do whatever it takes for them to be able to feed, clothe and house themselves. This explains why a graduate from a university will either become a hawker or a car guard in his host country. One of my respondents explained how he started as a car guard and now he is working in the film industry. He explains his experiences in these different spaces as thus:

> When I arrived, I had to put my degree in the locker and do some menial jobs like car guard and security, and there were a lot of confrontations. Car guards in the mall were Congolese and Angolans, and we Cameroonians were third in the tier to come in. Most of the Angolans and Congolese were not fluent in English. So, they couldn't relate to people quite well. So, as Cameroonians, who could speak English, we had that advantage over them. South Africans were not interested in that type of work (Afumbom).

His explanation underpins the fact that access to the host country's cultural capital, for example, language - plays a very essential role in the informal sector of the labour market as understanding and

speaking English well gave Cameroonians an added advantage in their car guarding profession over those who were coming from a non-English speaking country, like Angola and Congo. The English language is seen as an asset to newcomers. His story reveals the vulnerability of car guards who depend on the mercy of car owners and how certain professions like car guarding and security were viewed by locals as demeaning and therefore they were not interested in such occupations.

When migrants get into their new spaces in their host country, they also bring with them skills and knowledge from their home country but in most cases, they do not use these potentials at the initial stage of their arrival. There is always the tendency in most cases to divert or desire to earn host country human capital in order to gain employment. Those who have income will go directly into school while others who do not will do some form of business to raise income to go to school. One of the respondents came to South Africa with a degree in history and went to CPUT to study for accounting to prepare herself for the job market in her host country. She explains her experience in the job:

> My degree in history did not give me the desired job when I arrived. I had to study something that will help me gain employment. So, I did an accounting programme at CPUT for 18 months. At school, there's no threat because you all have the same goals, and it is not up to them - it's just your performance, and you are not going to meet with them anywhere, you not going to be working in the same company after that. So, there's no threat when you're in school with them (Bisong).

Her explanation above underscores the fact that though there is tension/rift and the competition at the workplace between locals and migrants, at school there is cordiality as each one tends to benefit from the experience of the other, and high performance posed no threat to your colleague. Her explanation also underscores the unprecedented switch most migrants make in an attempt to gain host country cultural capital – from history to accounting in her case.

Gaining access to the labour market, especially within the formal sector, exposes migrants to several discriminatory challenges in the workplace. Migrants are subject to a toxic working environment as they experience different forms of discrimination, as explained by one of the respondents:

> There are still others that do not see why you should be there. It should be given to a South African. And even when other South Africans come looking for a job, sometimes you can see the look on their faces like, that person should be sitting here and you should be the one bringing your CV and asking for a job, but the majority of them are okay, but you'll still face few resentments when it comes to certain things, you'll see the reactions and you'll pick up, even without them saying it openly because there are work ethics, there are policies – they are not allowed to do anything because I am a foreigner. …So many times, I even had to tell management that harassment is too much. Every time you get questions, they call you into the office and ask you a lot of questions that you don't understand why. You're just an employee, like everyone else, and your documentation is valid. But they are other foreign airlines like Lusanda, Emirates, and all the other airlines, their management is also from their countries but because their skin colour is not the same, they don't do that to them. They feel like because of their skin colour they are superior… they are who they are, they cannot be anything else but, if you're black, then you are opportunistic, you are only here to take their job - you know how it goes. I am sure you've also experienced that. (Bisong).

Her explanation underscores some of the challenges migrants face in their host communities, especially in the formal economy which include, in most cases, a sense of resentment and hatred. She also highlights the aspect of rejection by some colleagues on the grounds of her being a non-local and also the Afrophobic tendencies prevalent in the workplace.

In addition to gaining access to the labour market, migrants in their own right were also a source of employment to their host communities. Through their personal initiatives they introduced new forms of business opportunities within their host communities as one of the respondents indicated:

> Foreign nationals had introduced the idea of stands in Cape Town. It was easy to get girls to assist me as many girls were coming from the location or townships looking for a job. While I was managing my stands in the parade, there was a guy who used to sell products around the

> parade professionally, and I used to buy from him. He encouraged me to join their company – Direct Sales Maximisers (DS-MAX). When I joined the company, the manager was Portuguese. I was there for about three months and did all the standards. I was ambitious - I wanted to run my own office. I was the trainer at our branch for three months, and during that period, I built a team of 35 people who were mostly South Africans (Diagha).

The explanation provided by Diagha underscores the fact that there were the first to introduce hawking/pitching and the opening of stalls in Cape Town and most especially within the Cameroonian communities in Cape Town. He also highlights how through the company he was working for - they provided training to members of their host communities - transferring skills and contributing to the development of small-scale businesses within their host communities.

5.4.8 Sense of living in South Africa and what is home

One of the themes that enforce notions of transnational existence is the respondent's view of living in South Africa and what the concept of "home" means to them. When one talks of home "conventionally" one may be referring to a house or a residential building (Baffoe and Asimeng-Boachene, 2012:68). According to Ahmed (1999:338) home can also refer to countries, cities, neighborhoods, and communities. However, others attach home to where you were born, a sense of familiarity and a feeling of acceptance, where you were raised, or where you live (Baffoe and Asimeng-Boachene, 2012 & Ahmed, 1999). An understanding of the sense of continuing to live in South Africa and the concept of "home" means to the respondents, allows the respondents to share their opinions on what South Africa represents to them.

The respondent in response to my open-ended question shared their views on why they would continue living in South Africa or to leave South Africa. One of the respondents who wished to continue living in South Africa stated as follows:

> To leave South Africa is very difficult because now I am married. I have started a family already. It will be very difficult for me to go and start life in Cameroon. I can only go when I am retired but not like soon (Yombom).

The respondent underscores the relationship between establishing a family as a prerequisite of continuing to live in the host country. So, because of family ties and the source of living that he has established for himself he is going to continue living in South Africa. Cameroon, where he comes from, is a place for retirement. When asked what the concept of "home" means to him, he said:

> No matter what you do, home is always home. You can never say your father is not your father anymore – that is just like home – you can never deny your home no matter what. You can pretend, but you can never deny your home – where you were born. However, South Africa is my second home (Ngong).

The respondent highlighted the fact that home can be ranked, equating to a father and son relationship, of which denial is unacceptable. Home is defined in his view as your place of birth and although he has chosen to continue to live in South Africa, Cameroon remains his first home, and South Africa his second. In essence, home to the respondent is both where you were born and where you live.

Another respondent was of the view that she will not continue to live in South Africa because the government is not willing to give them the required papers that will allow them to access certain benefits as she explained:

> I don't think I will carry on living in South Africa because they do not give papers to foreigners, and this limits you from a lot of things like signing a house to rent. So, some of these things make me feel like leaving South Africa (Anchang).

When asked what the concept of home means to her she said:

> Home is like your root - where you come from (Anchang).

In her view, home is her source. By referring to home as her root, the respondent intricately links her existence to her country of origin. Home is what has made her what she is today.

Another respondent states his continual stay in South Africa has smoothed his path and how he is now surviving, which echoes the view of one of the respondents who attributed his success to perseverance, as he states that:

> I see myself making it in South Africa. When I came, I did not see myself in South Africa in the next three years, but I have been here for almost nine years which means there is a smooth path for me to survive here – I am surviving already (Nsah).

One of the respondents explained how despite the rejection he faces in South Africa, because he is in Africa, he is at home. The respondent states as follows:

> Though they don't want me here I believe everywhere in Africa is home to an African (Afumbom).

The respondent constructs his identity on the pan-African notion of a common Africa rooted in an understanding of pre-colonial Africa. His idea is rooted in the Pan Africanist belief of Africans as a common people with a common identity (Outlaw, 1996).

Another respondent who is oscillating between Cameroon and South Africa sees his investment as the reason why he will continue to visit South Africa and he considers South Africa as his second home, as he explained:

> South Africa is like a second home to me. For as long as I live, I will always want to live in South Africa given that I have a property in South Africa, I don't see any reason while I will not want to come and spend some time here. (Nkwain).

While first-generation immigrants may have a sense of belonging and affection for where they come from, their offspring (second-generation immigrants) may know no home but their host country and communities where they are either accepted or rejected. According to Celenta & Klausegger (2021),

while the nuclear family provides the first safe place to create a feeling of home, community attachment to second-generation migrants validates their sense of belonging.

One of the respondents shared his view on what home means to his children who were born in South Africa:

> For my children, they were born here, and South Africa is the only home they know. Yes, they might visit Cameroon, but this is their home (Ful).

In the above quote, the respondent stresses that because his children were born in South Africa, their home is South Africa. The respondent links home with the place of birth.

Another respondent explicated that longevity in a particular place and the desire to live further in a particular place can make that place home. However, home in his view is a fluid concept that cannot be contained in a single definition as he explained:

> … at some point when I lived in Norway for a year. I went there as an exchange between a Norwegian university and a South African University. I was there as a representative of South Africa. Every time I meet someone, and they ask me where are you from? I will say I am from South Africa and when I return to South Africa, I will meet people who will ask me where you are from. Within those few first months and I will say I am from South Africa. They look at me and listen to me speak and they realise I am not really originally from South Africa, and they will express a response that says are you really from South Africa and I will correct it and say oh I am from Cameroon originally. When I go to Cameroon, I talk about going home. When I visit Cameroon, I have never stayed longer than two weeks and I feel like coming back and I always talk about I am going home – to South Africa. For me now, this is home because where I have lived for a greater part of my adult life about 22 years. I have lived 99% of it in a particular place and I am likely to live most of my remaining life in that place and my children associate themselves with that place – that is the only place they know (Young).

From the explanation above, home can be associated to many things – feelings, place, association, and people. Home is a complex and multi-faceted concept that defies a single definition as it cannot be made completely definite. Home is fluid. It cannot be put into a little container and lock up in this or that place.

One can therefore state through my observation that all those who had a sense of continuing to live in South Africa are those who established in one way or the other - either being employed permanently or running a successful business or having properties in South Africa. Those who were struggling in life were not very optimistic about living in South Africa. Home on the other hand is a fluid concept with no "one size fits all". Another important observation is that people might not miss the country where they are coming from, but they will miss specific places, like their village, or specific people, like their family and friends.

In as much as an understanding of the concept of home enforces notions of transnational existence expressed through the migrants' desire to live in both spaces, the concept of home can also enforce notions of acculturation. For example, in response to my open-ended question on his understanding of the concept of home, one of my respondents likened home to a place of acceptance, and posits that his rejection in South Africa through the recurrent xenophobic attack and the current Anglophone crisis in his home country Cameroon, positions him between two evils of which xenophobic attack in South Africa is a lesser evil as he explained:

> Home is where you are being welcomed for who you are. With the current xenophobic attack against foreign nationals, one cannot say South Africa is home. However, with the current crisis in Cameroon, one has to make South Africa home because we do not have any choice (Nsah).

This is a respondent whose vulnerability places him in a position where he can be acculturated into the mainstream culture.

5.4.9 Identification and construction of migrants

How migrants are identified and constructed plays an essential role in the choices they make in their integration process. Negative perceptions and identification of migrants within their host communities can enforce notions of transnational existence. Hack-Polay, et al., (2021) assert that the identity migrants assume helps them to navigate the social system of the host communities. In countries and communities where migrants are perceived negatively, there is the likelihood of tensions between migrants and members of their host communities, and where there perceive positively, there is the likelihood of social cohesion between the two groups. Research conducted by Diwan in collaboration with IOM (2021) on the perceptions of migrants in Tripoli and Benghazi in Libya found that negative perceptions of migrants in the two cities led to prejudice against migrants in the cities and the desire for a reduction in the size of the migrant population. Within the context of South Africa, research conducted by Afrobarometer (2013) found that 40% of South Africans wanted strict restrictions placed on foreign nationals wanting to enter the country and 24% wanted complete prohibition of foreigners entering the country. The study also found that 45% of South Africans think foreigners should not be allowed to live in South Africa as they take jobs and benefits away from South Africans (Afrobarometer, 2013). This section dwells on how migrants think they are perceived by nationals/locals within their host communities. In their responses, migrants express varying opinions on how they are accepted, discriminated against, admired, envied, and in some cases not welcomed within their communities. One of my respondents, a food technologist, in response to my open-ended question on how she thinks she is perceived by South Africans, explained how she is perceived differently by different people within her community and South Africa at large. Those who are educated are more welcoming and see her as someone who can contribute positively to society, and those who are not educated see foreigners as a strain to the already scarce resources, as she explained:

> South Africans who are not educated see us, foreigners, as criminals and people who come here to suck the system, but at work, they see me as an asset. So being at my workplace makes me comfortable that South Africa needs me (Azuh).

The respondent elucidates that the negative construction of foreign nationals is within the uneducated and unemployed segment of the South African population. Within the educated class - they are seen as people contributing to the economy.

However, another respondent who is a nurse presents a contrary opinion on how she is not loved at her workplace by her colleagues, as she explained:

> In my view, especially where I work, my colleagues feel I have come here to take their job - mostly black South Africans (Anchang).

Her experience at her work challenges the notion that the lexicon of "taking our job" is not only popular amongst the uneducated and unemployed segments of the population as it finds expression amongst the educated and employed class.

One of the respondents explained the various categories of South Africans and how they perceive foreign nationals within their communities as follows:

> One will never run away from the fact that there are some South Africans who see you as taking opportunities away from them – there are. One will never run away from the fact that there are certain South Africans who see you as contributing and a very positive contribution. One will never run away from the possibility that there are some South Africans who see you as looking down on them. One will never run away from the possibility that there are some South Africans who, without knowing you, already associate you with a certain way of life which may not be too good but in all of these, I think in my interaction with people, I have not given them too much reason to hold a lot of negative views of me but there are still some who hold these views, but they are in pockets. A few shows it, but I do not allow those few to break my positive outlook on society (Young).

The respondent underscores the fact that different people within society will also have different perceptions about people. However, he stresses the fact that how an individual is perceived is partly dependent on how they construct themselves – he emphasis agency on the part of the migrants to influence the thought processes of South Africans towards them.

Another respondent, in response, highlighted the fact that South Africans think foreigners are too many and they cannot distinguish between those who are contributing to society from those who are sucking from the system without ploughing back into the communities. Their inability to distinguish foreigners into these two broad categories leave them with no option but to box all foreigners into the category of those who are draining the system:

> As a foreigner, they think we are just here to take what doesn't belong to us and we are just too many for them to handle. They're finding it difficult to sight which ones are the better foreigners and which ones are not. We are just too many for them to process. At least half of you should go back - we can try and see how we can manage a few of you, but you are just too many in front of them. These complaints are coming mostly from those uneducated South Africans. Those that are educated, know that we're not a threat to them. We are giving back to the communities; we are paying taxes just like they do. (Bisong).

Her explanation underscores the fact that educated South Africans acknowledge the positive contributions coming from foreign nationals. Just like Azuh, she also highlights the fact that uneducated South Africans see foreign nationals as an economic drain to the already scarce resources.

One of the respondents explained how he is perceived differently in the rural and urban communities as he explained:

> I had the opportunity to visit Matatiele in the Eastern Cape for two weeks, and we met very warm and cordial people who offered us their house for free. They saw us as their brothers. If they were more people like that in South Africa, there will be no xenophobia in South Africa. We were in a community which we felt we were at home – very much welcomed - that is not the kind of life we live in Cape Town. You cannot hide the rain in the corridors of somebody's house. They will call the cops for you for trespassing (Mbom).

His explanation highlights the fact that within the rural community in the Eastern Cape where he visited, the people there were very receptive in contrast with his experience in the urban community of Cape Town where people are very individualistic.

One of the respondents explained how he is perceived differently by the different racial groupings in South Africa:

> With coloured people some of them are welcoming because they want to learn more from you, they want to know more about your home country and why you chose to come to South Africa, while black South Africans especially those educated, are welcoming but the uneducated South Africans see you as a problem. They see you as someone who has come to take what belongs to them. They see us as people who have come to take their job, their women, and shorten their ratio. Some whites do not like black people based on the racial tension in this country. So, when they see you, they see any other black South African. It is only when I came into this country that I realised that most white people see black as a suspect. So as a black Cameroonian, I am already a suspect in their eyes. Especially when you go to predominantly white areas. But white people who have businesses, are welcoming to foreigners as they know they are hardworking and industrious. So, they always like to work with foreigners (Manyua).

The explanation underscores the fact that coloureds and educated black South Africans are inquisitive and want to know more from the migrants while the uneducated see foreigners as wanting to take what rightfully belongs to them. His analysis also highlights the racial tension that exists between some whites and blacks as a result of the history of apartheid in South Africa.

One of the respondents thinks that one's wealth determines how he is treated within his community. If you carry a lot of money with you and drive expensive cars; that commands respect from South Africans, as he explained:

> The kind of car you are driving creates fear and demands respect from South Africans. In this country, if you have a bit of money to buy a nice car, you are respected. Even those who work at the agents where we buy spare parts show us respect. We buy parts in cash and always carry a lot of money. So, that demands a lot of respect from them (Chindo).

The respondent highlights the notion of class in how migrants are perceived within their host communities. Those who portray wealth within communities are respected regardless of their status as foreigners. Myambo (2019) posits that in South Africa, while middle-class professional migrants who work and live in suburbs experience xenophilia, working-class migrants who work and live in informal settlements experience xenophobia.

Another respondent was of the view that violent hatred against foreigners is perpetrated mostly by the poorest of the poor within the communities. According to Amtaika (2013) & Akinola (2014), economic challenges including unemployment and poverty, are the central force that drives xenophobia within communities in South Africa. The respondent thinks that in communities where people have a livelihood that can sustain them, there is a likelihood of tolerance for each other, as he explained:

> You know those who practice the violent part of xenophobia are the poorest of the poor. In a community like this – an average community where people have food to eat. People don't care – who are you, what are you doing. You are not threatening their livelihood. They are not expecting anything from you. I have never felt anything, especially negative because I treat every situation depending on the time and space (Ketu).

His explanation underscores the fact that having a source of income and or a livelihood that can enable community members to provide for their families, preoccupies them and gives no room for violent xenophobic attacks. Unemployment and poverty in his view are recipes for xenophobia. According to Mamabolo (2015), attacks on foreign nationals in South Africa are precipitated by high levels of poverty and unemployment as there is perceived competition on the available scarce resources, especially among the poor.

5.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, a system of presentation of findings is adopted that follows predetermined and emerging themes from the interviews conducted. The voice of the respondent is dominant in this chapter, and this approach allowed the researcher to be able to pick on the various responses of the respondents as much as possible. As anticipated, the respondents raised important points through the open-ended questions that were framed in line with the theories (acculturation, transculturation, and transnationalism) developed in chapter one of the study. The various categories obtained are broadly related to concepts such as social capital, migratory trajectory, links with Home Town Association, socialisation in the host country, structural opportunities, economic opportunities, social opportunities, sense of living in South Africa and what is home, identification, and cultural exchange. The respondents provided convergent and divergent information allowing for cross-comparisons between the various respondents. The findings in this chapter will be analysed in the next chapter in relation to the literature and other policy documents.

The findings in this chapter do not only reinforce the literature, but also provide new ideas that will help bridge the academic gap in providing an understanding of what defines the choices migrants often make in the integration process within their host communities. The findings are further interpreted, deliberated, and contextualised in the next chapter.

Chapter 6

6 Analysis and discussion

6.1 Introduction

In the foregoing chapter, the findings generated from the fieldwork were presented. Nine themes emerged from the data - social capital, migratory trajectory, links with Home Town Association (socialisation in the host country), cultural exchanges, social and structural opportunities, access to security, housing, and hospital, economic opportunities, sense of living in South Africa and what is home, and identification. These themes provided a lens through which the researcher deciphered which of the quadrant(s), as examined in chapter one, the respondents associate themselves with. As examined in chapter one of the study, the key research question under investigation was to seek an understanding of what informs the integration choices (acculturation, transnationalism, and transculturation) migrants make within their host communities, and as a result, there was a broad range of issues raised in the discussion that made the data messy. There was therefore the need for the researcher to not only distil what was relevant within the vast range of data generated from the study but also to be able to merge the data into meaningful themes based on his perception of how such data answered the key research question. The key themes established, provided an insight through which five key categories have been generated in this analysis phase – otherness, migrant integration, migrants' experience of institution and authority, bi-homing, and defensive combination.

6.2.1 Otherness

Otherness is a phenomenon that is shaped and made manifest within a community between a majority (in-group) against a minority (out-group) where the in-group does not equate the same value with the out-group – the out-group is devalued. Brons (2015:70) identifies two types of othering – crude and sophisticated othering. Crude othering is self-other distantiating that occurs through attributing undesirable qualities to the "other", while sophisticated othering involves or partially depends on self-other identification and misses the defining features of othering by attributing relative inferiority or radical alienness to the other (Ibid). Brons (2015) argues that although crude and sophisticated othering is similar in form, they are not the same in their conclusion. However, this study resonates

with Crude othering, as seen in chapter two, as practiced within African countries that always find expression in negative portrayal, derogatory slurs, verbal insults, and verbal discourse about the other (Udah, 2019:4). Othering often occurs as a backdrop of certain factors imbibed within such community or communities for example cultural differences, economic distress which positions the state to define citizenship by indigeneity. “Indigeneity, then, is never a historical fact nor a natural one. It is always politically defined by those with power” (Neocosmos, 2010). The notion of “otherness” is highlighted in the literature review and the preceding chapter within the framework of identity politics. According to Stets & Burke (2000:224-225) Identity formation occurs through a process of self-categorization or identification whereby people create centres of belongings by which they acknowledge belonging to a certain category or group that they share common characteristics - categorized as the in-group where as people who are different from them are categorized as out-group. Taylor (2015) argues that social divisions and inequalities are established and constructed through the construction of “other” identities. The orchestration of identity politics finds glory within, as Sheller and Urry (2006) posit sedentarian ideology of the nation-state which predisposes the perception of “otherness” in which it is conceived that the “Other” must be defined for the “We” to exist. Citizenship plays a very central role as the state does not only avail civic rights, but also citizenship is used as a means through which the state channels its resources. Neocosmos (2010) argues that citizenship is a device that limits states' obligations towards non-nationals. Even though there are at least three possibilities of a joint platform of identification for nationals and non-nationals in South Africa, which include: the lived solidarity during the resistance against the apartheid regime (neighbouring states included, which rendered assistance and support), the shared labour (especially in the mining industry, which employs a magnitude of migrant workers), the African philosophy of Ubuntu or the celebrated “African Renaissance” (especially under President Thabo Mbeki), there is still a split between nationals and non-nationals. In areas where the notion of “otherness” is a rift, there is the likely possibility that there will be intolerance and discrimination against non-nationals thus creating tension between nationals (us) and non-nationals (others) – this is the case in parts of South Africa. This divide and the unprecedented tension have escalated into xenophobic attacks in

parts of South Africa. Neocosmos (2010) argues that national identification by itself is one of the most consistent predictors of xenophobic attitudes in South Africa as it fits into the discourse of "exceptionalism", which stresses the myth of South African superiority amongst other African countries, thereby idealising South Africa as a place of the "other". Petkou (n.d), in his study of the survival strategies of Nigerian, and Cameroonian migrants in Johannesburg, argue that while these migrants might be involved in small trading and business activities, including those marginal to the law, as a means of survival - but because they are subject to xenophobic attacks in their host communities, they tend to live a transmigrant lifestyle to guarantee their survival and to support their families - oscillating between their host and home country.

Also, the notion of "otherness" within the context of South Africa has been bloated by the dire economic situation of the country which has been compounded further by covid-19. According to Statistics South Africa (2020), the official unemployment rate increased by one percentage point to 30.1% in the first quarter of 2020. As the lockdown continued which shut down a large part of the economy and continues to keep smaller sector of the economy under lockdown currently – the economic situation spells gloom to most South Africans, as the Reserve Bank, economists, and analysts all warned against a "*job bloodbath"* in the economy predicting a 50% unemployment rate in South Africa post covid-19 (Businesstech, 2020). This bleak economic situation creates uncertainty amongst some South Africans who assume that migrants or foreigners are taking what rightfully belongs to them. This assumption is grounded in their understanding of the relationship between the state and the economy which is linked to group differentiation (Steinberg, 2008). According to the people's opinion, the economy is one big lump from which everyone, that means every South African citizen, is supposed to get his/her share and the state has to ensure the distribution. Furthermore, democracy is imagined as a patrimony. Therefore, you have to fight for connections within the state's apparatus. Hence, anything earned by foreigners appears to be something that is taken away from them and is regarded as rightfully theirs. As indicated in the preceding chapter, most migrants thought that most South Africans see migrants as a threat to the already existing scarce resources which in

their opinion rightfully belongs to them, assuming a sense of entitlement. Those nationals who share this opinion, see the need for othering so that migrants should be identified so as not to benefit from the country's resources. For the enhancement or realisation of this process, migrants are victimised either through an outright physical attack, emotional blackmailing through name-calling like Amakwerekwere, illegal immigrant, and/or discrimination. Migrants are therefore constructed as the "Other" and regarded as strange, dangerous, and even "extra-terrestrial" (Peberdy, 2001:24). However, this study reveals that amid several challenges confronting migrants, they find different ways through which they defensively combine to integrate themselves within their host communities.

This section has provided insights on how through the interaction between nationals and migrants; how migrants think they are perceived by nationals as "others", as people who are in South Africa but are not of South Africa. I have zoomed into the perceptions of migrants on how they bear out the notion of being seen as "others" in South Africa.

6.2.2 Migrant integration

The nuanced nature of the concept of integration as explained in chapter 2 cannot be over-emphasised. Esser (2001:3) makes a distinction between "*system integration and social integration*". While the former refers to the integration of the system as a whole, the latter denotes the integration of the parts, i.e., the actors, into the system which is the main focus of this study. Esser (2001:8) presents four different versions upon which social integration can be investigated, which include: culturalisation, interaction, identification, and placement (ibid, 8). Culturalisation means gaining knowledge and acquiring the necessary skills for meaningful and successful acting and interacting with other persons. This refers to language, norms, and rules, factors that make up the lifeworld (ibid, 8-9). Interaction denotes the kind of social relations you have. These might be family bonds, partnerships, friendships, inclusion into organizations, clubs, neighbourhood, etc. (ibid, 10-12). Regarding identification, Esser makes another differentiation: the emphatic integration of values,

public spirit, and acceptance (ibid, 12-14). Only the first version refers to identification according to common sense. The emphatic integration of values consists of an emotional bond to a society, group, or organization, or at least the idea of them. Solidarity with the group members and the conviction of particular principles are signs for this kind of identification. The form of acceptance refers to the support of the liberal basic order or the constitution of the particular country. It is rational insofar as it grants individual freedom to the subjects. Acceptance can be performed in two ways: interlinkage integration and deference integration. The former consists of dealing with many inner conflicts within the person's identities, which simply makes them accept the external conditions. The latter shows an acceptance of the existing system due to hopelessness and apathy. These distinctive categories fall short of taking cognisance of the defensive mechanisms that migrants put in place for their survival in their host communities. This will be dealt with in detail in the later stage of this work. Placement will be discussed under experience with institution and authority.

As indicated in chapter two, unlike within the European Union member state countries and the Scandinavian countries where there is a policy framework that guides and enhances the integration process of foreign nationals, South Africa, which stands out as an attractive destination for foreign migrants within the continent (for reasons explained in chapter two), does not have any integration policy framework that can facilitate the integration of foreign nationals within their host communities. The lack of a policy framework with regards to integration leaves foreign nationals to their own devices to integrate within their communities while the state hopes that it will happen naturally. This partly explains some of the hurdles foreign nationals confront in their integration process. As explicated in chapter four, the integration choices that foreign migrants often make are informed by the interplay of what is happening within the host country and the home country that pushes the migrant to either assimilate/acculturate, live a transnational lifestyle, or transculturate. Whereas within the SADC region, it is common place for neighbouring member states like Lesotho, Eswatini, Botswana, Namibia, and Southern parts of Zimbabwe and Mozambique to easily integrate from a shared cultural identity with South Africa, as espoused by Esser above, that is not the case with

migrants from other geographical areas of the continent like Cameroon who rely deeply on other avenues, for example, HTA to have a sense of belonging in their host country. The HTA provides avenues through which its members can negotiate their integration process within their host communities, like the organisation of soccer tournaments and different types of celebrations. During such events, there is a great deal of cultural exchange in terms of the type of food that is shared and the kind of music that those attending are being treated to.

This section looked at how Cameroonian migrants integrate themselves within their host communities focusing on the factors that promote or inhibit their integration process. This chapter also provided a comparison between the integration process of Cameroonians from the grass field region and that of the Nguni of the Southern Region of Africa.

6.2.3 Experience with Institutions and Authority

The relationship that exists between migrants and the institutions and authority is very vital in assessing and producing an understanding of the processes of integration of migrants within their host communities. This relationship does not only depict how migrants understand the various institutions and authorities within their host communities, but also provides an insight into how these authorities and institutions relate to migrants.

6.2.3.1 Housing

Apart from being a necessity, housing is recognised as a basic human need and right. In Europe, although there are different stakeholders in charge of the provision of accommodation to migrants, the reality is that access to accommodation for migrants is still inadequate (European Commission, 2007). The European Commission (2016:1) further argue that despite the importance of access to housing for migrants in the integration process at all levels (education, labour market, social interaction, citizenship, etc), "*migrants are generally vulnerable on the house market, disproportionately*

dependent on private rentals, more likely to be uninformed of their rights, and discriminated against". However, attaining this basic need and right is an uphill task, especially on the continent of Africa where poverty, malgovernance, and corruption are prominent. Within the context of South Africa, in an attempt to confront this challenge and ensure that everyone has the right to quality and adequate housing, the government has implemented legislature and programmes, for example the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), Growth, Employment and Redistribution Programme (GEAR), White Paper on Housing, Housing Acts such as the Rental and Mortgage Acts and the National Housing Code of 2009 (Mafukidze and Hoosen, 2009). Despite the efforts by the government to salvage the housing problems in South Africa through the aforementioned programmes, the demand for housing outweighs the supply (Mafukidze and Hoosen, 2009), and those who are fortunate to acquire low-cost RDP houses are confronted with a lot of challenges ranging from small houses, the use of poor materials, and poor location of houses to name a few (Manomano et al., 2016). These programmes clearly restrict foreign migrants from benefiting from these low-cost housing schemes and therefore they are obliged to look for alternative means of accommodation. Because of these exemptions, the possibility of migrants being part of the communities in which these projects are executed is further constrained. Migrants who can afford to, buy their own houses and those who cannot, rent. However, there are a number of challenges especially for those who are renting ranging from lack of documentation – bank statements, proof of employment, SA 13-digit ID and lack of a South African accent in what Wole Soyinka in the "*Telephone Conversation*" calls the identification of the other, and those who do not have enough money to rent a house.

Faced with such challenges in getting accommodation, migrants used what they have to get what they want (they use members within their communities who have the required credentials to hire the place for them and those who cannot afford the required rental team up and pool their resources to be able to rent accommodation). It is commonplace for migrants to rent and sub-let in order to reduce the cost.

6.2.3.2 Education

As indicated in chapter 2 of this study, education remains the cornerstone of development within the context of South Africa, and it is viewed as a fundamental human right. The right to education is enshrined within the 1996 constitution of South Africa (explained in chapter 2), as it is viewed as a force that promotes economic and social wellbeing. While the government seeks to make education available, accessible, acceptable, and adaptable (4A's), the education system in South Africa still experiences some challenges in relation to the 4A's, and these challenges are further compounded by the outbreak of covid-19, which has not only further constrained the limited resources of the educational departments but laid further demands on parents. These situations have further exacerbated the already precarious situation of foreign migrants who struggle a lot to gain admission, for their children and themselves, to South African institutions, from elementary to tertiary levels, as concurred by Vandeyar (2010), when he finds out that immigrant students face academic and social exclusion, moral degeneration and conflicting values, continental identity, agency, and psychological passing. Despite these challenges, the South African educational system remains one of the best within the continent of Africa, which explains why South Africa is one of the top destinations for international degree seekers from across Africa (Macha, 2017). Migrants who have access to the South African educational system clearly highlighted a great level of socialisation amongst themselves and members of their host communities within the academic milieu. This, therefore, supports the argument that education remains an essential vehicle in the integration process of migrants within their host communities.

6.2.3.3 Labour

As indicated in chapter 2 of this study, gaining access to the labour market remains a vital indicator to show the levels of integration, specifically economic integration. According to Castles and Miller, (2003), because all migrants need to make a living in their host country, they become part of the economic system of the host country as employers, employees, or consumers. Despite the fact that South Africa remains one of the economic powerhouses in Africa, it goes without saying that its

economic woes are also enormous, as it faces one of its highest unemployment rates since 2008, at 32.6% in the first quarter of 2021 (Stats SA, 2021). At level one of the lockdown due to covid-19 with some industries still closed, the situation is not getting better. The economic challenges the country is facing make it even more difficult for foreign migrants to gain access to the labour market. The situation is further compounded by the national legislature, for example, the Employment Service Act (2014) Section 8(2a) clearly states that before a foreign national is hired for any position, the employer must make sure that there is no suitable South African candidate for such a position. This has made it extremely difficult for most foreign nationals to gain employment. Some of those who are fortunate to gain employment both within the private and public sectors face discrimination. Those who are not able to gain employment, resort to the informal sector (where they are self-employed) or are working in extremely vulnerable situations where they are exposed to exploitation. In most cases, during their early days in South Africa, newcomers follow in the footsteps of those who receive them. Though, it has been widely argued that migrants are exploited by their employers, who in most cases have no familial connection with them, where on numerous occasions labour laws are not followed by employers, for example, no or little paid leave; no contract; no UIF contribution paid; no paid long working hours (African Centre for Migration and Society, 2017), there is also labour exploitation orchestrated amongst foreign nationals, even at the familial level, where there is a total disregard for labour laws where employers employ family members or members from the same clan and pay them less than the minimum wage as provided by the law. It is very evident from the responses gathered from the respondents that migrants are subjected to discrimination in one form or the other in the workplace. However, instances of discrimination are more reported by those who are employed by South African companies or institutions, which has strained the relationship between migrants and members of the host communities at the workplace, as compared to those who are self-employed.

6.2.3.4 Health

Health facilities in South Africa are structured in such a way that there are clinics that treat common health needs, “primary healthcare” run by specially trained nurses, community healthcare centres,

which are larger than clinics and have a doctor and nurses, and hospitals, which are for surgery, emergency, and serious illnesses which cannot be treated in the clinic nor community healthcare centres. A person can only access a hospital if they are referred except in an emergency. Within the context of South Africa, the rights of migrants and refugees to access health care is an intricate one as policies and laws clash leaving both the medical staff and the patient perplexed, especially as the implementation of these laws depends on the medical staff or health facility one comes into contact with. While Article 27(1) of the 1996 constitution of South Africa states that everyone has the right to have access to healthcare services, including reproductive health care, the National Health Act of 2003 affirms by stating that "*all persons in South Africa can access primary healthcare at clinics and community health centres, and that all pregnant women, breastfeeding women, and children under the age of six, are entitled to healthcare services at any level*". The Department of Health 2007 circular concurs with the aforementioned Acts by stating that refugees and asylum seekers, with or without a permit can access the same basic healthcare services as South Africans. However, the immigration Act No 13 of 2002 contradicts the aforementioned Acts by stating in article 45 that except in cases of emergency, staff at clinics and hospitals are mandated to find out the legal status of patients before providing healthcare. It continues to state that clinics and hospitals are required to report any "illegal" immigrant or anyone whose status is not clear to the Director-General of Home Affairs. This contradiction has subjected migrants to discrimination and, in some extreme cases, health care denial in public healthcare facilities. According to Human rights Watch (2009), there are "*two broad sets of abuses affecting migrants' health: abuses leading to health vulnerability and barriers to access healthcare facilities*". However, those who are privileged to have healthcare insurance policies will prefer to go to private healthcare facilities, as their services are friendlier and cordial in contrast to the hostilities experienced in public healthcare facilities by migrants.

6.2.3.5 Law enforcement

Most migrants leave their country of origin partly because of insecurity and/or inefficiency in the application of the rule of law. Therefore, these indicators remain vital in projecting their integration process within their host communities. In some communities in South Africa, for example in the Johannesburg metropole, migrants are referred to as "walking ATM" as they are constantly subjected to harassment and money extortion by some law enforcement officers for crimes like not being in possession of an identity document (permit) – something most migrants complained having challenges obtaining from the Department of Home Affairs. As a result of lacking this document, most migrants do not have access to opening and owning a bank account – subsequently, carry a lot of cash with them – making them a target, not only for law enforcement officers but also for criminals. However, apart from the challenge of obtaining an identity document, generally, but for one specific area – Parow, in Cape Town, most migrants have a cordial relationship with the law enforcement officers.

6.2.3.6 Sport

Sport (and soccer in particular) remains a key factor that unites people within and across borders as indicated in the literature review. Soccer is one of the key areas where migrants are indulged within their host communities. Apart from selecting and supporting local and international clubs alongside members of their host communities, migrants get involved in the game of soccer mostly for relaxation and socialisation, through weekend soccer training, mostly on Saturdays and Sundays, and intra-ethnic or ethnic competitions. These competitions have evolved to now include a limited number of members of the host communities. Because of the amateur nature of those who are competing within the ethnic associations, the organisers, in an attempt to give their members some playing time, limit the number of out-sourced players from within the host communities. The competitions, in most cases for the sake of neutrality, are officiated by members of the host communities, and usually end with a house party or a grand gala night in which members of the host communities are invited in their

numbers. However, with the weekly training on Saturdays and Sundays, every soccer lover within the host communities is welcomed to be part of it.

This section explained the relationship between migrants, the institutions, and authority in terms of gaining access to appropriate information and responsive services that are available to the wider community, for example housing, education, labour, health, policing, and sport. The study reveals that, like in Europe, where migrants are confronted with a lot of challenges accessing the aforementioned services, in South Africa, their stories are not different. However, migrants, as revealed by the study, devise several means of adaptability. These categories are analysed taking cognisance of government legislature and the lived experiences of migrants.

6.2.4 Bi-homing

This entails the duality of location of migrants. How people position themselves differently in both their host country and their home country at the same time; even if their host country is incredibly difficult and hostile to them, they still lay claims of belonging. Within the context of South Africa, the waves of xenophobic attacks on foreigners in certain areas as explicated in the literature review show the hostile nature of some South Africans towards migrants of African origin. Although a number of migrants decided to leave the country as a result of such hostilities, a huge number of them decided to stay.

While transnationalism is very middle-class orientated which entails the mobility of people who often have residency, bi-homing tries to understand people who are located in one place but have origins elsewhere. Bi-homing focuses more on the working class – those who are not privileged to make to and fro trips between their host and home environment. Bi-homing is people who are located in one place, making a set of claims about where they are based – indicating that while they might not be

identified by the state as belonging, their social reality is deeply rooted where they are living. Most migrants argue that while they acknowledge their "Cameroonianess" as where they were born, they also acknowledge their "South Africanness", as their livelihood is connected to South Africa and in most cases, they have lived in South Africa for more than 10 years, making South Africa their second home. Their sense of belonging is more social than citizenship. Some migrants also affirm their "Africanness", and to them living in South Africa gives them a sense of belonging as they are still within the continent of Africa which, prior to colonisation and partition, was one. To them, the borders are artificial and therefore legitimises their claims of belonging.

This section has provided an understanding of how migrants do not only live in different places as a result of advanced technology, as argued by the concept of transnationalism, but how these migrants, lay claims of belonging of a social nature in these places. The section, therefore, argued that transnationalism is middle-class and pays very little attention to the working class.

6.2.5 Defensive Combination

Defensive combinations are structures or mechanisms that are put in place by migrants that enable them to be part of their host communities without losing their cultural identity. They don't have to like each other, but they need to combine because they come from the same place. At the ethnic level, they often refer to each other as brother or sister when approached by someone who is not from their ethnic group even if they do not share the same DNA. The brotherhood/sisterhood which they have established amongst themselves positions them to look after one another, for example, newcomers are usually handed over to those who have been here for some time to train them in their preferred line of business, either pitching, mechanical works, panel-beating, woodworks etc. While in their line of business, they always defensively combine to buttress any challenge that comes their way as a community, be it an attack by criminals or developing and growing their businesses.

They do not only act as defensive combinations to look after each other but also as cultural formations that allow members to give each other agency in these new environments. As indicated in the literature review, HTA plays a very essential role in the survival strategy of migrants within their host communities. These cultural associations have enhanced the livelihoods of migrants within their host communities through various schemes which they operate – they run stokvels (njangi), which motivates and pushes them to work hard as there is either a weekly or monthly contribution that they have to make. Through this scheme, they are also able to borrow money at a very low-interest rate (3% to 5% monthly interest rate). This scheme also acts as a saving scheme for those who do not have bank accounts. Through this scheme, members have raised and/or loan money to establish business units like shops and pay school fees for those who are students and also cater for emergencies here or back home. The associations also support members financially and morally in times of happiness or sorrow like the passing on of a family member (mother, father, child, brother, or sister). It is entirely the responsibility of the association to ensure that in case of death of one of its members, the remains are repatriated back home or when a member has a terminal illness, such a member is repatriated back home as well. During the early days of the association, for example PIFAM, it rented an apartment for its members who just arrived and had no place to live. They paid very little rent. The associations together with contributions from some of its members assisted in the form of food packages to its members during the outbreak of COVID 19. At the community level, the association has been part of developmental projects back home, for example MACUDA donating chairs to a catholic church in Mankon and also providing potable water to the Mankon community Health Centre, PIFAM getting involved in the electrification project of the Pinyin clan, donating didactic equipment to schools in Pinyin, and also providing some medical equipment to the clinic in Pinyin while PDO has provided financial assistance to some orphans of school-going age in Pinyin, and they are planning to build a mortuary in Pinyin.

In an attempt to develop its members, PDO has established a Credit Union called Mentanyen Credit Union, a reflection of a similar financial institution owned by the Pinyin Community back in Cameroon. The credit union loans larger sums of money to its members (shareholders) with terms and conditions and a very low-interest rate. Testaments are bound from its members how it has helped them grow their businesses and to others, it has facilitated and helped them to be able to buy and own their own landed properties in South Africa. On the other hand, PIFAM has established a property limited company Akupe – Lah Pinyin which rents property and sub-lets them. It also loans money to its members at a low-interest rate.

At the cultural level, these cultural associations showcase or make alive some of their cultural values within their communities, like the exhibition of bottle dance and "mbagelem", eating of their traditional meal – achu – during meetings and occasions, and dressing in their traditional regalia during occasions. The association also enforces cultural discipline within its members through certain established structures like the Conflict Resolution Committee (CRC) in PIFAM. This is a structure that disciplines its members once they go wrong. The CRC has helped resolve marital and family squabbles, and they are given the powers to give penalties like issuing of fines. They also make use of elders with an outstanding reputation within these communities to resolve schisms between its members.

These social, economic, and cultural schemes, especially within their host communities, even in a very precarious situation, do not make the migrant completely vulnerable in his/her new environment. If one, therefore, combines all these resources – cultural, economic, and social – it creates a way in which migrants do not assimilate into a social system but keep their cultural identity, while at the same time creating mechanisms through which to survive in the system.

This section has posited that migrants do not necessarily integrate within their communities through assimilation but through a form of defensive combination, for example through their Home Town Associations, where migrants can freely negotiate with other existing cultures while selecting and impacting the home culture.

6.3 Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated that though migrants from the neighbouring SADC region can find it very easy to integrate within their host communities because of the social capital of the host communities which they possess prior to integration, it is also evident from the data collected that migrants from other parts of Africa in South Africa, faced with numerous challenges, do not necessarily assimilate into the cultural values of their host environment. In as much as they lay claims of belonging (of a social nature) to their host environment, they also develop defensive mechanisms through, amongst others, their Home Town Associations, which allows them to keep their cultural identity even in a very hostile environment, as they have developed mechanisms through which to survive.

Chapter 7

7 Conclusion

This study was conducted to understand the practices that inform the integration processes of migrants within their host communities in Cape Town, South Africa. After 5 years from when the study began, and my participation in some of the activities (fundraisers, soccer tournaments, meeting sessions, end-of-year parties, installation ceremonies, welcome parties, and graduation ceremonies) of three Home Town Associations in Cape Town – Pinyin Family Meeting (PIFAM), Pinyin Development Association (PDO), and Mankon Cultural Association (MACUDA), it culminated in 30 interviews which have provided me with a better understanding of some of the strategies that inform the integration process of migrants in Cape Town. The findings of the study have also raised key concerns around existing theories of migration and social inclusion. The study seeks to break away from the conventional study of migration and social inclusion, which focused on how migrants are integrated within their host communities, to provide an understanding of how these migrants integrate themselves within their host communities. In this final chapter of the study, I will re-state the key findings and arguments.

7.1 Limitations, Findings and Key Arguments

Like any other PhD study, this study also has its limitations. Due to the nature of the research design of this study, it is limited to migrants from Pinyin and Mankon of the English-speaking North West region of Cameroon residing in Cape Town that belong to one or more Home Town Association(s). South Africa being a migrant destination for most Africans, it would be useful to replicate the study with other migrant groupings in Cape Town and other provinces of South Africa. Interpretation of the study means that - it should be generalized only within certain limits. Also, my positionality in the study might be a limitation, yet it could be of great advantage as my positionality was meticulously managed throughout the entire study, as explained in chapters one and four of the study.

The study has demonstrated that despite the challenges confronting migrants within their host communities, migrants are not docile, nor do they chicken out. Migrants find other means of adaptation through collective agency as they defensively combine through their cultural formation(s) to integrate themselves within their host communities. The cultural formation, for example, HTA provides a platform through which migrants practice and sustain their cultural values but also provides access to, for example, capital, knowledge about the host environment, and platforms for socialization which equips the migrants to be able to defensively combine and integrate themselves within their host communities while upholding their cultural values. This study draws the above-mentioned conclusion based on the examination of a literature review in chapter two that explicates the gap in the existing literature concerning the study of migration and social inclusion. The gap in the existing literature is premised on the fact that many studies have been conducted on migration and integration with a focus on how migrants are integrated within their host community and the challenges they face in their integration process. For example, in South Africa, as seen in so many studies as highlighted in chapters two and five, Xenophobia against migrants of African descent remains one of the key challenges confronting migrants in their integration process. However, the existing literature does not indicate what informs the integration decision made by migrants. In chapter one of this study, it is argued that it is an interplay of events in the home country and the receptivity of the host culture that inform the migration choices – acculturation, transnationalism, and transculturation as theorized in chapter three of the study. Drawing from the data collected as presented in chapter five and analysed in chapter six of the study, the thesis argues that amidst the challenges faced by migrants in their host communities, they develop strategies through which, they find ways of integrating themselves within the host communities. This study contributes to the existing literature by looking at the strategies these migrants adopt in integrating themselves within their host communities.

South Africans, especially those within the lower income brackets, identify foreign migrants as the "other", a narrative fuelled by the growing politics of nationalism and identity in South Africa.

Migrants are therefore, seen within this class as a drain on and competition for the scarce existing resources. This has subjected migrants to scapegoating. Low and middle-income earners in some cases see migrants as a threat to their means of existence and, therefore, the need to identify and discriminate against them. In the process of identifying migrants to make a clear distinction between foreign nationals and locals, they have resorted to giving foreign nationals names like Amakwerekwere. The lack of political will by the political elite to deal decisively with this issue has led to recurrent xenophobic attacks on migrants, mostly of African descent.

As a result of the "othering" within communities, migrants experience lots of challenges accessing certain facilities like health facilities, education, the labour market, policing, and housing, as migrants are seen as unduly benefiting from such scarce resources. The conditions of migrants are further compounded when legislature clashes on issues of common interest to migrants, for example, access to health facilities. The challenge of accessing certain facilities, such as the labour market, has left most migrants very vulnerable in the hands of their employers as they are exploited through low wages and no benefits, as they are un-unionised and cannot gain membership to existing unions because of their status. The precarious conditions in which migrants find themselves fuel their agency to develop survival strategies, for example, by defensively combining and providing valuable assistance to each other as coping mechanisms.

Furthermore, the study deduces that the bulk of migration studies is very theoretical and very imperialist and, when it comes to Africa, in most cases, we draw from what has happened in Europe and apply it to Africa. Transnationalism, amongst other things, seeks to provide an understanding of how migrants are mobile - oscillating between their home and host environment. However, there is something different about migrants who are not mobile but who lay claims of social belonging in their host country while understanding that they have another place where they come from. Even in environments that are hostile to migrants, they defensively combine to access the different spaces within their host environment. So, one needs to move away from the transnationalism claim which is

very elitist and middle-classed in its orientation and does not focus on the working-class way of identification when it comes to migration and belonging within Africa. Transnationalism in this sense does not capture the experience of the working class. According to Garba (2017:158-159) the African experience of abundant access to land, mobile arrangement of livelihood, and the inability of pre-colonial polities to limit human movement allude to the fact that the African sense of identity was never rooted in a particular place. An understanding of South-South migration and integration needs to give serious attention to African history and the structure of African societies as migrants feel they are at home even away from home. Cameroonian migrants assert this position when they state that "As an African, wherever I find myself in Africa, I am at home", and that "South Africa is my second home". This kind of rhetoric emphasizes the notion of agency embedded in the minds of Cameroonian migrants who portray themselves as not docile Cameroonians who expects members of their host communities to integrate them but as people who desire to integrate themselves. The recurrent xenophobic attacks directed toward migrants of African descent in parts of South Africa provided a scenario where one will expect to see Cameroonian migrants leaving the country. However, that is not the case - Cameroonians, through the individual and collective agency, have established a sense of belonging within their host communities. They have established defensive mechanisms through different platforms, for example, through their entrepreneurial skills, Home Town Associations, which they use not only for survival purposes but also as platforms through which they create spaces to integrate themselves within their host communities.

A new environment always comes with new challenges. For example, the othering of foreign nationals of African descent in South Africa has subjected some of them to unnecessary victimisation. This has left foreign migrants with no option but to develop means of protecting themselves and at the same time create an enabling environment for them to integrate themselves within their host communities while upholding their national identity. Migrants attain these two-pronged strategies by defensively combining through their Home Town Association. They might have their differences within these HTAs but one thing that resonates amongst its members is that these associations are not

only places of refuge but are places where their identity and sense of belonging is deeply rooted – where they are physically, mentally, and spiritually empowered. It is a place where members decipher who they are. These associations help migrants by providing them with financial, moral, and spiritual support upon arrival, and during their stay within their host communities in Cape Town, South Africa. The communal nature of migrants within their host communities, within the framework of the HTAs and the networks that exist amongst them, position the migrants to be able to collectively combine and defend as a survival strategy. Through this strategy, migrants are able not only to transform local cultures and attitudes but also able to learn from them. Through this strategy, migrants can provide each other with opportunities that are not likely to be availed to them by the state or their host communities. This strategy allows migrants to be each other's brother/sister keepers as they collectively share in their sorrow and happiness.

African migrants, as represented by the participants of the study, have experienced one or more forms of discrimination or maltreatment from some institutions, authorities, or people in South Africa. Such forms of hatred are compounded and easily escalated within communities when people in authority make negative assertions against foreign migrants. It is, therefore, important for those in authority to refrain from making derogatory statements against foreign nationals. There is, therefore, the need for broad-based sensitisation programmes from national to local levels, by those in authority, on the relevance of having people from different nationalities in South Africa. Migration should not be seen from a negative perspective. The potential of migrants to add value to nation-building should be emphasised in public discourse, and not the negative stereotyping by some public figures on the challenges migrants pose in their host communities. Also, the policy framework should be established in such a way that it will accommodate foreign nationals and give them a sense of belonging. Our societies will have a promising future, enriched by diversity and cultural exchanges as we learn to live together in harmony and peace.

7.2 Areas for Future Research

With regards to areas for future research, a study of migration and integration amongst Cameroonians who do not belong to any Home Town Association and or French-speaking Cameroonians in Cape Town will be valuable in gauging their survival and integration strategies. Furthermore, a study of the role of Non-Governmental Organisations that work with the migrant population in Cape Town (for example, the Scalabrini Centre) in helping migrants in their integration process within their host communities will be interesting. Also, an in-depth study of migration and social inclusion amongst Cameroonians living in rural communities would be useful in contrasting the levels of integration within urban versus rural communities.

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