

**SOUTH-SOUTH LABOUR MIGRATION COMPLEXITIES AND SHIFTING VISA
POLICIES IN SOUTH AFRICA: A SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF RHODES
UNIVERSITY ACADEMIC LABOUR MIGRANTS' PERCEPTIONS**

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ABSTRACT

International migration is an old phenomenon caused by many factors divided into push and pull factors. However, there is not enough coverage on the perceptions of the labour migrants. Although there is a vast body of writing on migration, this study delves into the experiential perceptions of academic labour migrants at Rhodes University. These academic labour migrants include professors, lecturers, researchers and postdoctoral research fellows. The study took a qualitative approach to document the experiential perceptions of academic labour migrants at Rhodes University. In-depth interviews were conducted with twelve respondents, to analyse how academic labour migrants perceive South Africa's changing visa policies in the context of regional integration and development, migration networks and choice, host-migrant relations.

The study is underpinned by Probsting's (2015) concept of "spatial fix" in the context of capitalism and migration, to locate the positionality of academic labour migrants within a capitalist society. The study established that the increase in skilled labour migration is relatively linked to the expansion of capitalism. Based on the perceptions of the respondents, the study concluded that migration is inherently vital in providing cheap labour for capitalists. It established that changing visa policies is not without problems. Historical dispositions of the apartheid system, conflicting domestic versus international imperatives, neo-liberal policies and the widely condemned results of capitalism as an imperialist system and other factors influence migration management in South Africa.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ACA	Alien Control Act
AU	Africa Union
CDE	Centre for Development and Enterprise
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
EEA	Employment Equity Act
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HR	Human Resources
HWU	Historically White University
IAA	Immigration Amendment Act
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IOM	International Organization for Migration
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
PRP	Permanent Residence Permit
PRPHs	Permanent Residence Permit Holders
RIAs	Regional Integration Arrangements
SA	South Africa
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SNM	South- North Migration
SSM	South- South Migration
TPHs	Temporary Permit Holders
TRP	Temporary Residence Permit

USA	United States of America
VFS	Visa Facilitation Service
WMR	World Migration Report

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 General background of study and problem statement

Changes in migration policies are not new; security, political, economic and social factors lead to changes in migration regimes in various countries across the globe. At times, changes in leadership also inform changes in foreign policy, directly or indirectly affecting migration policies; the controversies surrounding President Donald Trump's administration to review immigration laws in the United States of America, attest to this. The aforementioned observations, indubitably, make change in migration policies a topical issue. Through this study, the narratives of academic labour migrants are used to locate the influence and impact of the changing visa policies on development, regional integration and the belonging of academic labour migrants. Academic labour migrants are not homogeneous, therefore, the thesis incorporates different perceptions in order to infer a detailed and saturated analysis on the implications of the changing migration policies in South Africa (SA). While there are different typologies of migration throughout history, for this study, I used the term *academic labour migrants* to refer only to those that are recognised by Rhodes University as lecturers, professors, researchers and postdoctoral research fellows working on academic projects. For this study, academic labour migrants is a category that consists of labour migrants from African countries who are residing and working in South Africa, particularly at Rhodes University. Furthermore, the term academic labour migrants simply refers to skilled labour which is foreign, this means skilled labour from other African countries. According to Rhodes University's Human Resources fact sheet (2016), the provided labour migrants are not merely working at Rhodes University.

This chapter is made up of several ensuing components: the context of research, research objectives and the synoptic overview of the thesis.

1.2 Context of research

Migration is an old phenomenon; there is a lot of research conducted on international labour migration (King, 2013). Statistics provided by the World Migration Report (WMR) (2015:2) reveal the incremental nature of international migration, “173 million in 2000, 222 million in 2010 and 244 million in 2015”. International Organisation for Migration (henceforth IOM) (2016) defines international labour migration as a cross-border movement for purposes of employment in a foreign country.

There are different types of international migration which include skilled and unskilled migration. It should be noted that understanding both types of migration is important, however, this study concentrates on South-South skilled labour migration. There are different types of migration and they can be seen in different social and economic sectors, however, this study will explore skilled labour migration in the tertiary education sector. The choice of academic labour migrants at Rhodes University is informed by the fact that they are labour migrants in the education sector of the South African society and these at Rhodes University are accessible to me. According to Ratha and Shaw (2007), South-South migration is a dichotomy which consists of the movement of people within the southern region of the globe. For instance, the migration of academics from their African individual countries of origin to South Africa.

According to the Human Resources Office (2016), Rhodes University employs academics from Europe, Australia, Asia, America and Africa. Academic labour migrants in this study are foreign nationals who are lecturers, researchers and professors. In addition, IOM (2016) states the significance of highly skilled migrant workers regarding their admission to a foreign country; their skills subject them to preferential treatment and therefore they encounter fewer restrictions regarding the length of stay, change of employment and other socio-economic aspects. Although there is a vast literature on push and pulls factors of international labour migration, relatively little research has been conducted on the experiences of skilled labour migrants. There is a lack of feedback from international labour migrants, for instance, there is no voice of academic labour migrants heard from early research on international labour migration.

Furthermore, this lack of proper appraisal of the intricacies of migration policy-making, partly accounts for xenophobia and ineffective development of migrant labour as a resource. According to IOM (2015:4), "...inter-state cooperation is essential for managing labour migration". This assertion tallies with the recent South African Green-Paper on International Migration (2016), which recognises the need for proper migration management. According to the Green-Paper (2016), migration management is a term used to encompass numerous governmental functions with the national system for the orderly and humane management of cross-border migration. Migration management needs to be planned through policy, legislative and administrative responses to key migration issues. Overall, migration policy guides migration management, which aims at fostering social, political and economic security.

Ratha and Shaw (2007) argues that internationally, migration policies prove to be a failure. The same applies to the South African visa policies, the newest visa policy, introduced in 2014 which is not without problems. The changes brought by this policy and transition from the previous visa regimes brought new experiences for academic labour migrants. Canoy *et al.*, (2006) posit that migrants' perceptions and policy areas influence each other in positive and negative ways. Feedback from academic labour migrants will be helpful in maintaining a reciprocal relationship between migration and development. Migrants' perceptions are not homogenous; however, they are all important in contributing to the understanding of migration as a phenomenon. The central thrust of this study is to expose some inconsistencies embedded in the persistent visa regimes and to document the experiences of Rhodes University academic labour migrants. A collection of both permanent and temporary academic labour migrants' experiences is a good starting point.

1.3 Research objectives

According to the Director General of the South African Home Affairs Mr. Apleni, he presented a report on the *Immigration Amendment Acts*, 2007 to 2011 and the immigration regulations that were stipulated in 2014. According to the report, the immigration regulations erected in 2014 were repealing the regulations which were presented in 2005. Drawing on this assertion, there was and there will be many changes in the migration regulatory policies and mechanisms. Those

changes are meant to effectively manage immigration to accommodate immigrants and simultaneously to ensure development and foster national security. Seggati (1994) has emphasized the importance of striking a balance between regulating immigration and maintaining a healthy relationship between sending countries and South Africa in terms of regional integration and mutual development. Traditionally, it is argued that deepening regional integration among African economies provides both opportunities and challenges to the sound management of resources (Isik, 2016). Importantly, Isik (2016) emphasized that regional integration translates wealth from scattered resources into diversified economies and equitable growth. Development is one of the key benefits of regional integration. However, African countries, including South Africa, are facing regulatory, institutional, political and economic barriers through policy making in the context of achieving regional-cooperation. The announcement of new visa regulations and changes brought remarkable experiences on both skilled and unskilled migration in South Africa. It would be appropriate to know migrants' appreciation of visa rules.

Accordingly, the overall aim of this study is to analyse the experiential perceptions of Rhodes University academic labour migrants on the shifting visa policies in South Africa.

The specific goals of this study are:

- To document academic labour migrants' appraisal of the changing migration policies in terms of employment and regional integration.
- To understand how the changes in visa policy shape host-migrant relations, that is, social, political and economic relations between migrants and citizens.
- To establish an understanding of how the visa policies influence migration choices and migration networks. This seeks to expose the influence of visa policies on how and where migrants choose their destination countries.

1.4 Synoptic overview of the thesis

This thesis has eight chapters. From chapter one to four, it entails the introduction to the study; the scholarly review; theoretical framework and the methodology. The last chapters of this thesis, from chapter five to eight, the thesis engages with the research findings and discussions.

Chapter One introduces the research context, the research statement and research objectives. This chapter enlightens the reader with the overarching aim of the thesis and how the study tries to achieve the stipulated aims.

Chapter Two interrogates the already existing literature on international labour migration. This chapter is made up of subsections on the overview of migration, migration causation, academic labour migrants, migration management and it also identifies the intellectual gap existing in literature, to justify the relevance of the study.

Chapter Three concentrates on the theoretical underpinnings of the study. This chapter mainly focuses on the Marxist interpretation of migration in the context of capitalism. The Marxist theory navigates the way in which this study approaches the topic in context.

Chapter Four presents the methodology, the qualitative approach undertaken to achieve the stipulated objectives. This chapter comprises of sections explaining the methods, sampling strategies, data analysis used and the ethical considerations.

Chapter Five reflects on the findings of the study. The chapter concentrates on the perceptions of academic labour migrants on the implications of South Africa's changing visa policies on regional integration and development. Furthermore, the chapter discusses the findings which go beyond regional integration.

Chapter Six examines the host-migrant relations. This highlights on the nature of the visa policies in changing migration choices and it also touches on push and pull factors of international labour migration.

Chapter Seven exhumes the significance of a “sense of belonging”. The chapter interrogates the role and effect of the visa policies on the participation and performance of academic labour migrants.

Chapter Eight is the conclusion, it wraps up the findings and discussions. The chapter also reflect on the extent to which the research objectives were addressed sequentially through the study.

1.5 Conclusion

The first chapter serves as a mind map of this study. It introduces the research problem, provides the research context and outlines the research objectives. Furthermore, this chapter presents a structure of the thesis, this helps the reader to navigate through the proceedings of this study. In brief, the chapter highlights the relevance of the ensuing chapters in light of the stipulated research objectives. Lastly but not the least, the study is made up of eight empirical chapters as mentioned above.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

The primary aim of this chapter is to provide a critical overview of the existing literature on international labour migration. This chapter comprises several sections on the overview of international migration; migration causation and globalisation; South-South migration; regional integration; academic labour migration; migration management and belonging. This chapter discusses and explains international migration from a global level, continental level and finally on a national level, which is basically informed by the South African migration policies and visa intricacies. Furthermore, this chapter highlights the intellectual gap existing in literature on international labour migration.

2.2 Overview of International Labour Migration

Research into international migration has a long history. Ratha and Shaw (2007) have identified two major types of international migration namely South-South migration and South-North migration. South-North migration is described as migration from developing countries (often referred to as the Global South) to developed countries (the Global North) (Erin, 2004). South-South migration refers to the international migration of countries within the Global South, for example, Africa, Asia and Latin America. South-North Migration (SNM) is quite relevant to the interests of the European governments and the European Union. Although this kind of migration is largely recognised in the literature on international migration, South-South Migration (SSM) is increasingly becoming a global phenomenon.

Bauer *et al.*, (2003:113) developed a typology of migrants: those seeking economic opportunity in the destination economy; migrants who aim to accumulate savings while abroad to increase economic opportunities upon their return; and migrants who move because of political, ethnic and religious oppression in their home country. Forced migrants leave their countries because of armed conflicts, political persecution, or natural disasters; on the contrary, voluntary migrants leave their countries in search of better living conditions. Usually, labour migration is

considered an aspect of voluntary migration. However, labour migration can be fall under forced migration and also voluntary migration. What is migration? How important is migration? To answer these questions, King (2003:44) argues that the concept of migration is two sided; he introduces the term “roving instinct” which explains that it is intrinsic for humans and animals to move from place to place in search for food, pastures and resources. This can be extended further to the desire for power and exploration. In this context, anthropology provides an insightful argument referencing the nomadic and pastoralist social groups, they travelled from place to place hunting for a better life and that all define their social, economic and political life throughout history.

In addition, King (2013:55) echoes the argument of Castles and Miller (2009) saying “international migration has increased, became globalised, feminised, diversified and is increasingly becoming politicised”. Urry (2000) provides a counter-argument; he proposes that some societies are static, they have sedentary structures that are characterised by static residence. This discussion explains how some societies, the so-called "primitive societies" are not keen for a change in the context of globalisation. It is from this background that Ake (2001) explains the concept of "the uncaptured peasantry" in which some societies are claimed to be less or not part of the globalisation market system, which is the capitalist market system. However, this argument is controversial; to claim that some societies are completely static is unconvincing. Due to the spread and development of capitalism, societies operate within a profit-oriented system with different levels of participation. Overall, there is significant evidence supporting the fact that international migration is increasing capitalistically.

Moreover, the immobility paradox introduced by Urray (2006) is quite problematic when explained in the light of international skilled labour migration. Skilled labour migration is an increasing global phenomenon. Through modernization and technological advancement embedded in globalisation, skilled labour has some flexible traits in terms of migration. The lack of mobility or the static nature of some societies can be attributed to the lack of political support, for example, the governments can suppress migration flow through tightening migration and visa policies. Although the tightening of migration policies is undeniably against

Regional Integration Agreements (RIAs), however, each nation is bound to protect its citizens in the context of socioeconomic and political security.

The typologies of migration can be seen from various binaries, dichotomies, and dyads. King (2013:8) provides different binaries of migration as “internal and external migration; temporary versus permanent migration, regular versus irregular migration”. This shows that there are different types, factors and scales of migration.

2.3 Migration Causation and globalisation

According to World Bank (2015:12), “income; proximity and networks are the major drivers of migration”. Dolfin (2006:1) argues that “social networks are now widely recognised to be very influential in migration decisions. A large literature has established that more extensive friend and family networks of previous migrants encourage migration”. Migration networks facilitate migration in several ways; through sharing advice and information about the migration process; through providing some insights on the availability of employment and places to reside in; through promoting integration on arrival and financial help during the process of migration. Dolfin (2006) further divides the concept of networks into family and community networks; some immigrants migrate through their connection with their families and some migrate through their community fellows and sometimes it is a combination of both networks. Ratha and Shaw (2008:48) argue that “South-South income differentials are modest; proximity and networks have a greater impact”. They emphasise the significance of migration networks, networks are having a significant role in reducing the costs and ambiguities underlying the phenomenon of migration. Sonja (2008) and Lucas (2005) agree on this point and claim that migration networks play a critical role in migration decision-making.

On the other hand, Ratha and Shaw (2008:6) claim that proximity is a crucial driver of migration, they provide that

“The costs (financial, social, and cultural) of migrating to nearby countries are likely to be lower than those of moving farther away. Because many South-South migrants lack

adequate travel documents, they are restricted to overland migration. And ethnic, family and religious ties link communities across borders, particularly in Africa".

This reflects how the migration decision making is also based on opportunity costs and affordability. Some types of migration can explain the typology of migrants, for example, skilled and unskilled migrants. Usually, skilled migrants can overlook the financial support of migration but the latter always succumb to the ravages of both financial and cultural costs.

There is an unambiguous relationship between regional and bilateral agreements and migration. Under the expected circumstances, developing countries have multiple agreements in which they aim to get rid of the constraints on migration. These agreements exist in both North-South migration and South-South migration. Regional agreements aim at allowing migrants to travel and engage in socio-economic activities freely.

In addition, these agreements and the ongoing consultations become prominent to examine regional cooperation and integration specialising on migration issues. According to Ratha and Shaw (2008:8), "bilateral migration agreements and memoranda of understanding are becoming more common among developing countries". The need propels the mentioned consensus to develop the socio-economic and political status of Africa.

Furthermore, globalisation and structural changes in the South African economy have a great impact on migration (Phiri, 2010). Globalisation promotes the adoption of new technologies and this puts pressure on capital-labour ratios and thus elevate demand of highly skilled to cope with capital intensity. Phiri (2010) adds that the structural changes did not just increase skilled labour demand, it also increased the demand for unskilled labour to provide cheap labour for the capitalist system to sail. On a different level, these structural changes precipitated by globalisation brought positivity on skilled and negativities on unskilled labour. This explains how the education system, health system and the socio-economic sectors prefer skilled labour. However, the economic system is quite a typical one, in the context of capitalism it prefers cheap labour which is often offered by immigrants and it is unskilled. Moreover, within the same sector, high-skilled labour is needed. In short, the economic sector of South Africa has a

liquidity of preference, this refers to how it can change its preference in terms of work level and categories when it comes to skilled and unskilled labour.

On a different note, globalisation brought global competition in both primary and secondary sectors. Looking at the education sector, the demand for immigrant skilled labour was and is still high, it replaced unskilled and complements semi-skilled local skilled labour. For instance, universities in South Africa outsource skilled expertise from foreign countries, thus high demand of scarce skills including engineering, medicine, professorship, and other crucial expertise. Although this study primarily focuses on skilled labour migration in SA, it is worth knowing that globalisation brought stiff competition even within the economic sector. In other words, labour demand is not homogenous, the elasticity of labour demand depends on the nature of sectors and on an area of specialisation. If a sector is specialising in manufacturing, it is likely that companies within that sector hire more of cheap labour.

2.4 South-South migration and development

According to Anich *et al.*, (2014:2) “The international policy dialogue on the migration development nexus is based on a small number of core issues on which constructive debate has been possible”. This possibility can be traced from the benefits of financial transfers or remittances, the role being played by the immigrants in development and the significance of migrants’ participation in the global economy.

Importantly, there is a dialectical relationship between South-North migration and South-South migration. Anich *et al.*, (2014) pose a question on whether South-North migration is harmful or beneficial to the development prospects of the South. This discussion reflects much on the nature of Southern development and the historical positionality of the imperialists. The relationship between the northern activities and the southern activities is embedded in colonial history and its consequences. Anich *et al.*, (2014:89) however, argue that “managed migration is a triple win for the sending and hosting countries as well as on the migrants themselves”. This claim sounds convincing; however, it is quite controversial to treat migrants as spate from the sending or receiving citizens. Migrants’ relations and activities cannot be separated from the day-to-day

activities of the sending and receiving societies. In other words, there is a well pronounced interdependency between sending and hosting countries.

Early examples of research into migration including Anich *et al.*, (2014:2) suggest that much focus is given to the South-North migration and the South-South movements are neglected, "no explanation is offered as to why South-North migration is the focus of a special issue on global phenomenon". It is clear the South-South migration is a less attended phenomenon. Interestingly,

Castles and Delgado (2008) provide the first systematic examination of the South-South migration phenomenon. They vehemently argue that the relationship between South and North cannot be divorced; this is due to the existence of interactions between these regions.

Additionally, Ratha and Shaw (2007:14) argue that "South-South migration is numerically as important as that from South-North". This can be attributed to the fact that social, economic, and political development is not limited to regions. Furthermore, Anich *et al.*, (2014) say that South-South migration has gained greater traction and there is an increase in research and publications. In the same vein, Facchini *et al.*, (2013:1) make it clear that "recent evidence suggests that South-South migration is a sizable phenomenon". Besides the increase in research, the South-South movements have increased. This is confirmed by Ratha and Shaw (2007), they estimate that almost half of international migrants from within developing countries live and work in other developing countries. For example, South Africa is a major destination for African migrants in comparison with the rest of other Southern African countries. IOM (2016) mentions that the extent of migration to South Africa has significantly increased due to the position and economic stability of South Africa, including flexible neo-liberal policies.

Traditionally, the research on migration patterns within the South-South migration predominantly gave attention to forced migration, for example, the cases of displaced persons, asylum-seekers, and refugee (Anich, *et al.*, 2014). This left some aspects of South-South migration and its relevance to development unattended. The World Bank (2007:12) provides that "the United Nations confirmed that global stock of international migration has doubled over the past four decades". There is a remarkable increase in international migration and this change

is attributed to different factors of migration. The nature of migration trending in developing countries is significantly important, a large share of the migrants in developing countries are recorded to be simultaneously coming from developing and developed countries (The World Bank, 2007). Adding to this, amongst these migrants, there is a special character of short-term, specialised positions and academic interests.

Moreover, Newland (2007:1) asserts that “the intersection of international migration and development is not a simple crossroads. It more strongly resembles a complex modern freeway intersection, with multiple levels, on and off ramps and many opportunities to take the wrong direction”. This assertion is important in exposing a converse relationship between migration and development. According to Newland (2007), the intersection of migration and development is important; it is laden with efficient ways for a better future. However, this concept of intersectionality needs to be understood objectively, there are also negative connotations revolving around this intersectionality.

Early examples of research into migration and development prove that there is a heated debate on the importance and relevance of migration and development in the whole world. Newland (2007) argues that in 2006, the United Nations made a remarkable effort to unveil a reciprocal relationship between migration and development. This was characterised by unprecedented meetings conducted by the General Assembly to bring a global agreement on migration and development. This move explains the existence of interest in migration and development. The World Bank (2007) and Newland (2003) pinpointed the factors revolving around development as, "optimism about positive impacts from remittances and other contributions by emigrants to their home countries" and, "concerns about negative impact from the loss of skilled people" (Newland, 2007:1). These factors summarise some viable benefits and disadvantages of international migration on development.

The World Bank (2007) and Newland (2003) tried to explain the importance of remittances to show the relevance of the intersectionality of international migration and development. Newland (2007:2) mentions that “the major contributor to the renewed interest in migration and development is a new awareness of the size and importance of remittance flow from migrants

back to their countries of origin". The concept of development is easily seen in the context of remittances. Many families depend on remittances and The World Bank (2003) states that global remittances to developing countries amounted to 72.3 billion US dollars in 2003. Following this claim, it is logical to conclude that global annual remittances are increasing at an exponential rate. In addition, Newland (2007:3) proposes that "in many countries, remittances are by far the largest source of foreign earnings and make up a significant share of gross domestic product (GDP). Sequentially, this entails that some states, not only individual families depend on remittances. From this line of argument, it is quite convincing to agree that there is a reciprocal relationship between international migration and development.

Some experts dismiss the argument that migration leads to development. Newland (2007) confirms that some experts do not see a reciprocal relationship between migration and development, for instance, they claim that labour migration does not significantly enhance development prospects of the country of origin. This follows an argument that source countries are facing challenges in converting remittance income into sustainable investment or productive capacity. This introduces another perspective of international labour migration. Importantly, the fact that sending countries have little or no control of their labour exports and this means that foreign labour markets absolutely determine the composition of labour exports. This also speaks of the concept of social reproduction of labour. The remittance is nothing more than capable to reproduce labour for the foreign markets and no national development is witnessed within source countries.

To substantiate the above argument, Bhattacharya (2013) provides an insightful discussion on the concept of social reproduction of labour. Although this discussion will press common charges against Marxism as a theory which neglects the dire need to pay attention to gender when it explains the concept of class. There is a tremendous insight at the centre of Marxist explanation and analysis of capitalism. In the capitalist world, labour power is regarded as a special commodity and capitalists are positioned at an advantageous point where they can exploit the labour power. According to Bhattacharya (2013:3), "because with labour power, we create commodities and value for capitalism". This explains how capitalism controls almost

everything including international labour migration. The question whether international labour is being appropriated by capitalists or not is not the prime focus, the focus is on whether capitalism controls or stimulates human mobility, whether capitalism determines the flow of labour markets. Chapter three will provide details of the theoretical framework. For now, the introduction of this theory is to expose the nature of the labour markets and the concept of social reproduction of labour which overall amounts to the understanding of the argument that remittances do not allow national development. To conclude this point, remittances are claimed to be useful for social reproduction of labour and their importance can be easily reduced to individual benefit, not national development.

Collectively, studies on international labour migration including Sharma (2013) indicate that it plays a central role in the development of societies and regional economic integration, promotes investments, expansion of markets, pooling of regional resources and better utilisation of economies of scale in production (Bauer *et al.*, 2003; Manone, 2008). However, Claire (2008) argues that the relationship between immigrants and their hosts are complex. The hosts may cause the immigrants to feel simultaneously accepted and rejected, privileged and disadvantaged. Therefore, there is a need to pay extra attention to the nature of migration policies in calculating trade-offs and opportunity costs.

In the same vein, Liang (2007) and World Migration Report (2015) support that labour migration is an essential ingredient for the development of both the sending and receiving societies. They recognise a reciprocal relationship between migration and development, by pointing out that unequal economic developments in the world determine the pattern of migration. Policymakers and the public when facing concrete policy decisions sometimes misunderstand the increase in migration (Liang, 2007). For example, migration from Mexico to the United States of America falls under a common perception that Mexicans migrate to the United States because of poverty (Liang, 2007). Such a claim is untenable if it is analysed in the context of regional integration.

2.5 International Migration and Regional Integration

Landau and Achiume (2015) posit that human movement will never stop because of several factors that can be drawn from the causes of migration. Human movement can be safe and secure only as economic and institutional integration continues. This refers to both local and global regional integration. The crossing of borders whether by choice or voluntary is accompanied by risks and opportunities (ibid). This means that, whether forced or voluntary migration, there is a need to formulate sound regional integration mechanisms. Although regional integration, on local, regional, and global level does not address all migration-related choices, still regional integration will help in ensuring human rights protection, benefits of migration accrue for migrants, hosts and sending communities.

Several studies on migration including Hartzenbeg's (2011) study, provide an insightful discussion on the need for regional integration to enhance economic development for Africa. The African continent is characterised by small economies and they need to collaborate to sustain development. Sharma (2013) adds that regional integration has received a lot of support from the African governments. African governments have taken regional integration as a strategy and component of development. Furthermore, he mentioned that regional integration does exist on paper but the implementation remains largely unsubstantial. Sharma (2013:1) confirms that "there are however few success stories". This sheds light on how regional integration arrangements (RIAs) are less realistic. It is against this background that this study concentrates on skilled labour migration in exposing the interdependency between migration and regional integration.

Cross *et al.*, (2006) provide that African governments are committed to the United Nations' Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) through regional organisations such as African Union (AU) and the New Partnership for African Development. The mentioned goals are meant to standardise prosperity and democratic development. To make these objectives practical, Africa governments are bound to comply with the stipulated goals. Cross *et al.*, (2006:33) add that "the continent of Africa is a major theatre of migration activity". This assertion speaks to the nature of migration and its contribution to the development of capitalism. Migration policies in African

countries are not homogenous and there is a need to strike a balance with regional integration bodies and their goals as well as maintain the political and socio-economic security of individual nations.

According to Landau and Achiume (2015), the AU has adopted numerous legal and policy instruments which are all intended to regulate both voluntary and forced migration on the continent. The stipulated policies and instruments are built on the vision of African economic integration outlined in the *Treaty Establishing the African Economic Community* (Abuja Treaty) of 1994; about 48 African countries ratified this treaty. The key objective of this treaty can be summed up as to promote regional integration in terms of free movement of persons, the right of residence and the promotion of the African economic community.

Additionally, Landau and Achiume (2015) say that AU has central documents guiding the proceedings on regional integration. For instance, the *Migration Policy Framework*, covers labour migration, irregular migration, border management, forced displacement and interstate corporations and partnerships, internal migration, migration and development and migration data. The framework recommends that AU member states implement the programme of action against racism and xenophobia. It further encourages African states to develop anti-racist human rights and yearns for training public officials including law enforcers. Lastly, the *Migration Policy Framework* encourages international migration and human rights organisations to coordinate anti-xenophobia activities (ibid).

According to Ozden and Schiff (2006:1) “international migration, the movement of people across international boundaries, has enormous economic, social, and cultural implications in both origin and destination countries”. A multitude of highly educated people migrate from underdeveloped countries which are presently suffering from low levels of skills, low human capital. For example, academic labour migrants are migrating from African countries (developing countries) to South Africa. This have both positives and negative effects on the sending countries. Effects such as brain drain and capital flight are always at the centre of this kind of movement. However, the flows of formal remittances motivates the growth of skilled

migration. This means that individual immigrants weigh their options and the anticipated gains before they migrate.

Sequentially, the chapter on South-South migration and development highlights a reciprocal relationship between two concepts of migration and development. Ozden and Schiff (2006) complement this relationship by adding that demographic trends in both developed and developing countries are pointing toward significant potential economic gains from migration. Moreover, there is a high demand for skilled labour in developing and developed countries. Conversely, this is reinforced by the claim that the labour forces in many developing countries are burgeoning. Therefore, this declines the dependency ratios. Consequently, developed countries cannot merely depend on their skilled labour force. This adds weight to the concept of interdependence of countries through migration in the context of development. In addition, increased investment in human capital through increased education expenditure is vital in the long run for growth and expansion prospects of advancing countries (Ozden and Schiff, 2006). Importantly, remittances increase schooling in other societies and remittances in some cases have a negative impact on students choosing to migrate instead of studying (Landau and Achume, 2015). The fact that developed economies have multiple economy scales and it can accommodate a large populace, makes it easier for migrants to easily penetrate.

Besides a heated debate on the importance of remittances on national development, it is undeniably true that they play a significant role on a household level. Therefore, academic labour migrants are motivated to work beyond their national borders and this is allegedly claimed to be leading to brain drain. According to Newland (2007:4), "the market for skills has become truly a global market, and the most dynamic industrial economies are admitting and even recruiting significant proportions of the highly-trained professionals from poor countries". This is evident all over the globe. In other words, this assertion is confirming the idea that skilled labour is marketable and for example, the academic labour migrants tend to stand a better chance of employment and they suffer fewer consequences during their migration process.

However, on the other hand, the loss of skilled people is laden with many disadvantages on sending countries. Newland (2007) emphasises that the loss of skilled labour has a negative

effect on the source country; for example, the government is also making a great loss in the sense that through funding education, the government is subsidising and it is not doing it for foreign labour markets. The emigration of the skilled labour or academic labour migrants significantly benefits the host country. Interestingly, Newland (2007) argues that there are fiscal costs and losses incurred through brain drain, this can be seen in the light of tax revenue, and the sending government is positioned and disadvantaged through the loss of its human and physical capital.

Overall, traditionally capital loss through brain drain has a negative impact on sending countries, although alternative views exist. However, there is undocumented remittance transactions: the informal and formal transactions and at some point, they intersect and overlap. Noting that remittances are perceived as laden with desirable influence on sending countries. However, some perspectives share concern on the assumed effect on inequality and the extent to which remittances are invested.

2.6 Academic Labour Migrants

Research on global migration reveals that professionals immigrate with more ease than unskilled workers (Phiri, 2010). Highly skilled labour is highly demanded in many organisations and high skills are easily recognised and catered for within the SA migration policies. This includes academic labour migrants as skilled professionals. Migration policies face conflicting approaches in attempting to accommodate skilled labour. Entzinger *et al.*, (2004) the conflicting approaches can be seen from the international economic forces of liberalisation which advocate for openness, freedom of movement and work; on a contrasting note, the political and legal logic aggravates towards closure and strict measures against labour migration. Overall, it is logical to argue that the resistance to skilled labour migration is significantly minimum. However, according to Phiri (2010), a lot of research including Ratha and Shaw (2007) prove that immigrant workers' families accompanying them often had to travel to their places of origin and SA for a long period of time.

Importantly, Phiri (2010) provides that until recently, the SA economy depended heavily on low skill and labour intensive primary sectors. The labour force was mainly made up of migrant labour. The structural changes from political, social and economic set up of SA raised the demand for skilled labour. This transition in the discussion needs a closer interrogation. From my unpopular view, which is informed by the Marxist concept of alienation, technological advancement replaced unskilled labour. Therefore, the unemployment rate for the unskilled of the SA locals drastically increased. If technology demands people to catch up with it in time, it is usually the highly skilled that survive the wrath of capitalism. In the context of academic labour migrants, the survival of the fittest policy exists; academic labour migrants must prove what they can offer to SA for them to be accepted. In the service and education sector, the same applies, the South African universities and colleges are producing and reproducing professional graduates at an exponential rate and this creates a reservoir of skilled labour which further amounts to competition. As it is, it is quite difficult to locate the positionality of academic labour migrants within the spectrum of skilled labour competition.

According to Cinarbas (2015:1), universities are increasingly accommodating and recruiting international academics and it is because academe is one of the most internationally mobile of all professions. International academics are referred to as academic labour migrants, therefore, academic migrants who are currently employed at Rhodes University are labelled as academic labour migrants in this study. Cinarbs (2015) posits that there are academic labour migrants encountering cultural transfer issues. There is a variety of techniques inherently used by academic labour migrants in trying to cope with the new environment; academic labour migrants have challenges in interacting with new worldviews and conceptual orders upon arrival and stay in host countries. Firstly, academic labour migrants use their knowledge as a measure to judge local pedagogies, through trial and error they assimilate into the host culture and eventually they will understand the worldview and conceptual order. All of this is possible through an orientation period. It is against this background that the need arises to recognise the importance of visa and migration policy in facilitating cultural assimilation and accommodation of

international labour power. International labour refers to the labour power offered by international workers including the academic labour migrants.

Cibarbs (2015) argues that academic labour migrants are laden with diverse skills including teachings, learning and research skills. A welcoming migration policy which is efficient and necessary is undeniably a catalyst for the full development of talent. Furthermore, in higher education sector, the internationalisation process should be complemented by a contingent migration policy which accommodates academic labour migrants. Interestingly, he adds that educational institutions need to facilitate the full development of academic labour migrants. This speaks to the need for support structures and facilities which include familiarising migrants with migration rules and laws.

Mahroum (2000) argues that migration and international mobility of skilled personnel are complex and diverse. This calls for diligence and there is a need for highly tailored and diversified policies. Provided with different pull and push factors of skilled labour migration, a different set of factors attracts each group of highly skilled professionals. It is well known that migration policies also fit into the factors driving migration, in both a negative and positive way. This point of view emphasises the importance of perfecting migration management to make use of the attained skills, to improve skill retention and to maximise marginal utility from the available skills.

Looking at the drivers of international skilled labour mobility, in other words, the nature of academic labour migration is easily understood in the context of various outcomes. Similarly, Mahroum (2000:24) adds the concept of brain waste. Besides brain drain, worth knowing is the concept of brain waste, this is described as "the waste of skills that occurs when highly skilled workers migrate into forms of employment not requiring the application of the skills and experience applied in the former job". Allegedly, Mahroum (2004) argues that stricter and ineffective migration policies contribute to brain waste. To substantiate this point, for example, some highly skilled labour migrants are occupying low skilled jobs mainly because the migration policies suppress them. This is one of the reasons motivating this study, to tease out

the implications of the changing visa policies on interpersonal development of academic labour migrants.

2.7 Migration Management

The International Labour Organisation (ILO) (2004) introduces the significance of intra-regional labour movement in the new global economy. This section aims at explaining the extent, motives, and the nature of labour migration in South Africa in the context of the intra-regional labour movement. ILO (2004) adds that South Africa has been receiving academic labour migrants for decades. Much emphasis is on how South Africa accommodates academic migrants from across the globe. Interestingly, a significant change recorded in the past two decades is the "virtual cessation of immigration from the developed world and a dramatic increase in the numbers of skilled labour migrants heading to South Africa.

According to Segatti (1994:44), "the profound economic and political upheaval of the 1990s transformed international migration to South Africa". This assertion is based on regional migrant labour flows which were negotiated between governments and businesses. In addition, varied patterns of mobility emerged and expanded. In a single decade, between 1990 and 2000, South Africa undeniably became the new migration hub in the southern region of Africa.

Furthermore, Segatti (1994) made it clear that migration management is proving to be a failure in South Africa, during and after apartheid. He emphasised that "the consequence has been a stalemate in developing progressive regional management instruments". Inadequate administrative capacity and coordination are underpinning policies. Consequently, the lack of adequate migration policy has undermined efforts to ensure migrants' protection. Provided with ailing economies, poor education systems, and chronic unemployment embedded in profound socioeconomic transformations following the integration of world systems of trade and services, the marginalised or the disadvantaged often turn to violence.

Still, on migration management, Sagatti (1994) argues that violent incidents reflect on the need for governments to develop socio-economic and political transformation that recognises that migration is and will remain an indelible feature of the region. The uncertainties and violence

by the locals against international migrants demand for renewed political thinking in the context of interdependence. This is possible through understanding the role of migration in regional growth, labour market imbalances, skills circulation, and democratic values.

The Labour Market Review (2007) states that South Africa provides a unique case study in its migration policing. Migration policing creates a reciprocal relationship between migration and development. The abolition of apartheid and the removal of the Aliens Control Act of 1991, as well as the position of South Africa as a regional economic power, attracted migrants from different places in search of employment and better opportunities. South Africa's policy stance on migration changed since 1994. If the migration policy of SA is good, then new terms of development will materialise.

Moreover, the South African migration policy still follows the geography of apartheid and the management of migration is still based on colonial background. According to the South African Green Paper (2016:22) "from 1994, the vision of SA's first democratic government was to reserve racially biased and exploitative laws and integrate SA into the SADC region". However, this is not the case yet.

In addition, the Labour Market Review (2007) provides a historical background on the South African immigration legislation. The Aliens Control Act (ACA) of 1991 governed the admission of immigrants into the mainstream of the labour market. The new Immigration Act of 2002 substitutes the ACA and it promises flexibility in the admission of migrants. Consequently, the Immigration Amendment Act (IAA) amended the Immigration Act in 2004. Furthermore, the intentions of the IA reveal that the government would pursue several objectives including regulating the influx of migrants to promote economic growth. The Labour Market Review (2007) reveals that the South African businesses need to employ foreigners who are needed; facilitating foreign investment, enabling exceptionally skilled people to sojourn in the country; increasing skilled human resources, giving foreign students an opportunity to study within the Southern African Development Community (SADC); and to promote the transfer of skills from foreigners to locals. Although the IA was repealed, it reveals the objectives of the South African migration policy. In 2014, a complete turn was witnessed in the South African visa policy;

including outsourcing. The Visa Facilitation Service Company (VFS) and other alterations were introduced; the application fee; biometric application requirements and centralisation of visa and permit processing. The migration policy in South Africa is forever changing; recently, Home Affairs released a Green-Paper on International Migration (2016) to map a way for further changes. It seems that individual narratives of academic labour migrants have not been given scholarly attention; this study seeks to correct that.

In the same vein, IOM (2004) made it clear that migration is an essential and inevitable component for development; if properly managed, migration can mutually benefit societies. The social and economic life of each state needs to manage migration in all dimensions to harvest the fruits of migration. Importantly, IOM (2014) claimed that policy makers should devise a comprehensive and multidimensional phenomenon of migration to manage migration effectively and efficiently. IOM (2014:1) provides that “such an approach will include policies and programmes for migration and development, facilitating migration, regulating migration, both voluntary and forced migration”. This shows that migration management should not be selective, all components of migration should be catered for.

Interestingly, Bernstein (2011) provides an insightful analysis of the South African policies and migration management. He starts by claiming that the South African visa policies should be informed by their impact on the countries they affect most, that is, the neighbouring countries such as Botswana, Zambia, Zimbabwe, and Mozambique. If the South African economy is relatively better in Africa, it attracts both skilled and unskilled labour migration. Amongst migrants coming to SA, some are visiting for long-term and some for short-term depending on factors leading to migration. Therefore, migration policies and migration management are substantially important to migrants and to SA itself.

Importantly, the Centre for Development and Enterprise (CDE) urges the South African policy makers to not look over the effects of migration and border management policies. This considers the complexities of regional migration and challenges faced by policy makers. Moreover, CDE emphasises the need for a contingency plan and a long-term strategy to manage migration without infringing the key objectives of regional economic integration. Regional integration

calls for a mutual relationship amongst countries and encompasses the primary aims of regional bodies such as SADC.

Additionally, Bernstein (2011) argues that both short and long-term benefits of migration, on sending and hosting countries, the management of the social, political, and economic aspects of migration create significant challenges. In other words, the South African government is caught in between the need to secure its own interests and at the same time the need to maintain a healthy relationship with regional members. It will be good to know what academic labour migrants think of such a situation, whether their experiences reveal how the SA government reconciles internal imperatives with international imperatives.

Moreover, governments, including the South African government, are facing abject challenges in the context of managing skilled and unskilled labour migration. This can be attributed to the fact that it is difficult to formulate and implement policies that are consistent with economic, social, and political incentives of both parties, sending and host countries. Lastly, the management of migration is laden with the inefficiency emanating from the bureaucratic system of African governments. According to Ake (2001), African states are characterised by bureaucratic governments. This impedes the flow of information, distort stipulated goals, and often condones corruption.

Interestingly, Bernstein (2011) introduces a converse relationship between the challenges of acquiring identity and travelling documents and the management of migration. He posits that SADC countries struggle to issue identification and travel documents. This has a great impact on migration management; this is evident in the context of illegal migration. When people are failing to formally attain the required documents, they resort to informal transactions and this makes migration management difficult. In addition, and to a certain degree, poor migration management in the neighbouring countries makes it difficult for South Africa to manage migration.

Bernstein (2011) adds that the South African government needs to strike a balance between migration management and security issues. However, this discussion, on a converse relationship

between migration management and access to identity documents, neglects other key aspects of migration. If migration causation is not homogenous, there is forced and voluntary migration. Under the circumstances of forced migration, it is literally possible for the sending government to facilitate the access to travelling documents. Allegedly, in terms of skilled labour, sending governments are quite reluctant to provide travelling details following factors such as brain drain and capital flight.

As clear as it is, South Africa is facing challenges in seeking to balance security issues with the potential economic benefits of regional economic integration. Appallingly, the nature of the existing policies and procedures, their requirements in terms of cross-border movement and visa applications are onerous and they significantly contribute to illegal migration. Bernstein (2011) recognises the need to stipulate balance of rigour and enforceability procedures which do not induce migrants to resort to informal or illegal migration. However, this ideal migration management system that could align migration border control policies with economic and security realities is difficult both to formulate and implement. Overall, the challenge of implementing appropriate migration policies is an ongoing project which needs a relentless work on.

The structural changes of the South African social, economic and political system can be traced from the demise of apartheid up to now. According to Phiri (2010), the apartheid government was more welcoming to foreign labour than the democratically elected government. This is explained through the nature of the erected policies which made it difficult for immigrants to penetrate the labour market of SA. The democratic government's erected policies are meant to primarily promote local employment.

In the same vein, Crush (2011) provides a contradicting but insightful analysis of the migration policy of SA. He argues that although the apartheid government opened its doors to foreign labour, its policies were harsh. The apartheid government stipulated harsh and strict work and residence rules through a system of "pass laws". Therefore, the increase of migration to SA began from the end of apartheid. Crush (2011) adds that after 1994 the migration flow to SA

drastically increased, interestingly, the most increase of migration was from other SADC countries to SA.

The above two conflicting arguments on migration policy and the extent of labour migration in SA highlight the weakness of immigration policies since apartheid. Furthermore, the provided arguments reflect on how immigration policies are designed not to the social welfare of people but they are originally meant to secure capitalistic interests, which is to maximise profits by exploiting the working class.

In addition, Phiri (2010) mentions that the new SA immigration and labour market encountered challenges, even up to now. This can be seen from the inconsistency of floatation of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of SA. Although there are multiple factors affecting GDP, the labour market also plays a significant role. According to Crush (2011), amongst the challenges, brain drain and capital flight are the most severe. These two concepts are different; however, they are intricately intertwined. In this context, brain drain refers to the loss of skills by SA through emigration and capital flight refers to the loss of capital through foreign investment and capital transference. Allegedly, the problem of capital flight began at the end of apartheid, when investors sensed some uncertainties due to political and economic unrests due to anti-apartheid war and protests, they invested further from SA. This left SA with little capital than it should have. The intricacy of the capital flight as a concept emanates from the fact that capital flight includes human capital leaving SA. Therefore, there is a thin line between brain drain and capital flight. These two concepts go hand in hand. Thus, the South African government was compelled to revisit and revise the immigration and labour-market policies. This brought much concern on the dire need for skilled labour in SA.

The South African government is facing migration management issues. If SA is characterised by a high rate of unskilled and semi-skilled labour, then it is quite difficult for the local state of high unemployment to welcome foreign labour. However, there is a need to promote business and to assimilate scarce skills into the South African systems; this speaks to how the immigration policies favour skilled labour in comparison to partial or unskilled labour.

2.8 The South African immigration policy

Firstly, it is a consensus that the apartheid education system was racially oriented, it was based on favouring a minority group by providing whites with a high-quality education. Quality education refers to a formidable combination of both epistemological and formal access to respective disciplines of education. This access provided and prepared the minority group, the whites with the required skills. This created a division between social groups throughout history. From this discussion, it is quite clear that even the aspect of skilled labour is not without problems, it is embedded in racial atrocities and sectoral segregation.

Moreover, although the South African government, after apartheid, embarked on equitable education for all of its citizens, inequality is still prevailing. For example, there is a huge difference between skilled and unskilled labour and this can be still traced along racial lines. Phiri (2010) subscribes to the view that racial divisions and progression can be seen in the context of Historically White Universities (HWU). However, the liberal perspective does not just consider merit, it also considers equity. This means that the South African labour policies have a certain hierarchical structure which governs the criteria for employment selection within the education system. Racial aspects are considered and migrant labour is at the periphery of the erected hierarchy. This is meant to ensure equality and to redress historical debts and promote local employment. The question whether this hierarchy is effective or not is a discussion on its own.

The question on how immigrant minorities in the developing world integrate into their host societies whereas others encounter exclusion and torment are crucial in understanding the role of migration policy. In other words, the fact that international migrants are not homogeneous shows that they have different host countries, they are different in terms of their policies. The South-South migration is riddled with inconsistencies such as visa policies. A good starting point is to note and underline the fact that immigrant integration is still a myth in some regions regardless of stated or subscriptions to regional organisations such as SADC.

Adida (2011:371) introduces an insightful argument on cultural proximity, in his argument, cultural proximity may either “alleviate or exacerbate immigrant exclusions”. This goes further to explain the importance of political identity in ethnically diverse societies such as South Africa. Following this argument, it is appropriate to argue that host governments are responsible for fostering healthy relations between immigrants and hosts.

To add, Castles (1998) holds the view that migration is both a result of globalisation, global change and the expansion of capitalism. In other words, migration is regarded as a powerful force for further change and development in many societies, both sending and receiving. This adds more weight to his argument that migration is a needed factor to maximise surplus value for the capitalists. Its effect and impact are concentrated on an economic level and it also exerts the most unwarranted force on social relations, culture, national politics and regional/international relations. This combination of Castles’ (1998:179) arguments provides support for the conceptual premise that migration inevitably leads to “greater ethno-cultural diversity within nation states, transforming identities and blurring traditional boundaries”. Therefore, there is a dire need to devise tangible mechanisms which will help in managing migration efficiently. This will address the contradiction existing between inclusion and exclusion. However, there is an inconsistency with this argument. If Castles (1998) maintains that the contradiction between inclusion and exclusion is capitalistic oriented, then how exactly the governments are supposed to get rid of this contraction if they are also vulnerable to the forces of capitalism? If the assertion that capitalism determines migration in all spheres is true, then it is logical to argue that even the governments are handicapped in terms of decision-making.

The question as to why other social groups are accommodated and some are marginalised can be pinned to the aspect of migration management; in this context, policy making plays a vital role in the contradiction between inclusion and exclusion. In a capitalist world, migration is driven by globalisation and the expansion of capitalism. Castles (1998:180) provides an insightful assertion, “subsistence production by families and communities breaks down”. It is overridden involvement in both national and international markets. The concept of inclusion

and exclusion explains how some citizens are accepted or neglected. Interestingly, Castles (1998) observes that “individual groups who do not fit are excluded, and may be denied even the most basic rights, such as the rights to work”. International migration, be it skilled or unskilled labour migration, is deemed closely linked to the processes of inclusion and exclusion.

Castles (1998) confirms that transnational social networks are of great importance in migration. Both migrant workers, academic labour migrants and refugees are subjected to inclusion and exclusion. International mobility of highly skilled personnel is precipitated by pull and push factors. The length and the direction of mobility in the various sectors, channels and regions depend on the mentioned factors. Usually, there is a broken nexus between the need for skilled human capital and the policies being delivered to the societies by the government. The existing migration policies are not in keeping with the claimed needs of development. Therefore, Mahroum (2000) asserts that countries, regions, universities, research centres and firms all around the world are competing to maintain their attraction for highly skilled personnel in the various professional areas. These include Rhodes University as part of the skill hunt institution. In academia, migration and visa processes are recorded to be implicating the academic project, however, the academic project is subjected to many factors. Different and efficient policies should be tailored to suit the structures of Rhodes University and various sectors including work within universities. In short, the governments should be able to provide flexible and effective migration policies including migration legislation, inter-institutional and intergovernmental policies. Overall, the migration policies should allow at least bureaucratic efficiency, bottom-up development in the academic sector, improve the nature and conditions of work and takes into consideration the importance of inter-cultural aspects. Many studies reflected that a clear majority of academic labour migrants are not well accommodated especially in Historically White Universities (HWU), development is claimed to be still following the geography of apartheid. This highlight on how racial issues are still prevailing within higher degrees' institutions.

On the other hand, academic labour migrants (professionals) are motivated to move by push and pull factors as explained above; these factors can be summarised into multiple migration

causation factors. For effective and efficient migration policies, there is a need for supplementary and complementary migration and non-migration legislation, for example, income tax allowance, investment capital tax relief and inward flows of skills and expertise should be enhanced.

2.9 Conclusion

The purpose of literature review is to identify the gap in the existing literature and to navigate a way of the study to achieve the stipulated objectives. The existing accounts fail to resolve the contradiction between data on migration and its uneven results. There is a lack of follow up on how exactly the labour migrants are affected by the changing visa policies in SA. Provided with the extent of potential socio-economic gains from migration, migration policies need to be devised to ensure that these gains are not wasted and that their distribution satisfies the sending and receiving countries. The feasibility of these viable policies demand detailed research and it should be followed by both systematic and detailed interrogation of migration patterns based on relevant theory and heuristic methodology as well as building upon relevant existing experiences. This chapter revealed that there is a lack of appropriate feedback from international labour migrants, for instance, there is little research into the experiential perceptions of academic labour migrants. As noted from the above literature, there is a paucity of literature on international skilled labour. However, there is an intellectual gap, the experiences of academic labour migrants in the context of changing visa policies are not captured. Although it is stipulated in the literature that skilled labour migration has a high preferential status in SA, the South African visa policies are not without problems and the voices of academic labour migrants need to be heard.

CHAPTER THREE

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 Introduction

This chapter seeks to explain the theory used to explain migration and to locate the positionality of academic labour migrants. A Marxist interpretation of migration is employed to explain migration in the context of capitalism. However, migration is multifaceted and cannot be explained by one theory (Massey *et al.*, 1993). Furthermore, theorists have admitted to the impossibility of an absolute definition of migration in general (Massey *et al.*, 1993). Therefore, this study uses a Marxist perspective on migration, this subscribes to a neo-classical migration theory in effort to locate migration causation and its management.

3.2 Theories of migration

This study uses a Marxist interpretation of capitalism based on dual and segmented labour markets model to locate the positionality of academic labour migrants (Morawska, 2012). According to King (2012), the Marxist interpretation of capitalism, development and the structuring of the world economy inspire these theoretical models. Morawska (2012:55) adds that "such models see the causes of international migration as lying within the realm of historically formed macro-structural force, and stresses the inherently exploitative and disequilibrating nature of economic power shaping global capitalism". These theories are relevant to this study since they explain migration causation, regional integration, and economic development. These theories also speak to migration decision-making and factors influencing labour migration in the context of capitalism.

Additionally, with the modern exploitation of global markets, and the international movement of people from the (semi) periphery to the core (Wallerstein, 1974), vulnerable populations are facing injustices that are the product of capitalist globalization and its crises. The decision-making of migrant populations to leave their home countries is embedded in and it is responsive to the capitalist system.

According to Hernandez (2015), capitalism is addicted to technological change and endless geographical expansion through economic growth, and it has found in globalization a spatial fix for its crisis tendencies. A "spatial fix" refers to a variety of strategies pursued by capitalists to overcome the inevitable crises generated through their routine activities (Hernandez, 2015).

Moreover, Hernandez (2015) states that globalization today is nothing more than yet another round of the capitalist production and reconstruction of space, which is of course, not without consequences. Marx (in Hernandez, 2015)) referred to the annihilation of space through time as a fundamental law of capitalist development, this goes further to the need to conquer new markets and innovations in the technologies of transport and telecommunication.

Pobsting (2015) adds different ways in which capitalists make use of spatial fixes to overcome the crisis, but the most common are expansion and the exploitation of new markets. When a crisis of localized over accumulation and overproduction occurs within a region, the solution is to export capital and labour surpluses to new territories. In other words, the demand for surplus value and shortages of labour are fixed by the movement of capital to areas of labour surpluses and weak labour organization, or by importing cheap labour into centres of capitalist development.

Therefore, the neo-classical migration theory is important, the theory suggests that migrants are rational actors and their decision-making is based on cost-benefit calculation (De Haas, 2008). The concept of cost-benefit explains how other factors other than economic factors impact on migrant decision making. This assertion conforms to the Marxist perspective. Wellerstein (1974) argues that migration causation is tied to the expansion and development of capitalism. This is convincing in the context of globalisation since the development of infrastructure, telecommunication and technology explain the extent of capitalism growth. Interestingly, migration facilitates the extraction of surplus labour and the provision of cheap labour.

According to Wellerstein (1974), there are different ways in which capitalists make use of spatial fixes to overcome the crisis, but the most common are expansion and the exploitation of new markets. When a crisis of localized over accumulation and overproduction occurs within a

region, the solution is to export capital and labour surpluses to new territories. In other words, surpluses of capital and shortages of labour are fixed by the movement of capital to areas of labour surpluses and weak labour organization, or by importing cheap labour into centres of capitalist development. International movements are much more susceptible to political and administrative control. De Haas (2008) adds that the neo-classical migration theory refers to rational actors; it argues that migrants decide to migrate based on "cost-benefit calculation". The "cost-benefit" concept explains that migrants weigh all possible alternatives and their decision to migrate is informed by economic factors. The overall aim of this study is to document the experiential perceptions of academic labour migrants at Rhodes University in the context of the shifting visa policies of South Africa.

Moreover, De Haas (2008:10) adds that migrants' decision making is not singularly based on economic factors in terms of "cost- balance calculation" but also on a "benefit-benefit calculation". The concept of "benefit-benefit" calculation explains the importance of various factors that motivate international migration, these include individual freedom, safety, education, health care, paid labour, entrepreneurial activities and amusement. From these factors, economic factors are not independent of social and political factors in terms of international migration causation.

As highlighted in the introductory chapter, the study specifically looks into the impact of the South African changing visa policies on migration choices, sense of belonging and the host-migrant relationships of academic labour migrants. Probsting (2015) provides an insightful discussion of the Marxist theory in explaining labour mobility. The role of labour mobility in the context of capitalism could and will never escape exploitation, thus the nature of capitalism. Marx proposed that in a capitalist system, employers' favours perfect mobility. The concept of perfect mobility can be understood from the development of telecommunication, education and the development of globalization in general. If people are now flexible to migrate, the supporting infrastructure facilitates this and labour mobility is enhanced. Overall, perfect mobility allows free flow of cheaper labour to support the capitalist system.

According to Probsting (2015), migration has become a topical issue in both developed and developing countries. The increase in migration highlights the development of capitalism as a system. The Marxist theory uses the concept of "monopoly capital" to explain how the capitalist system extracts surplus profits. There is also an appropriation of extra profits through migration. How does the capitalist system appropriate extra profits from migrant labour force? To answer this question, Probsting (2015) uses the term "imperialists" which refers to capitalists; they extract extra profits by paying migrant workers below the value of their labour force. In other words, paying workers less than their labour value is exploitation.

The above argument explains how the migrant labour force is exploited within a capitalist system. Following the above discussion, Probsting (2015) emphasises the vulnerability of international migrants, who become "nationally oppressed". This means that international migrant workers become super-exploited by individual capitalists and the capitalist governments. For example, most if not all African countries are part of the capitalist system; their governments are built upon imperialistic backgrounds. This affects international labour migrants from all spheres since the governments and the individual capitalists want to optimise their surplus value. In addition, the increase in international labour migrants' population worsens the situation of migrants. This increase increases the vulnerability of migrants; they are forced to submit to the exploitation of labour by the capitalists. Allegedly, international labour migrants have a limited choice when it comes to employment and they usually fall under the lower working class.

A Marxist theoretical analysis provided by Probsting (2015) claims that migration is a fundamental process of super-exploitation of the colonial world of Latin America; Africa and East Europe. These countries are now formally sovereign states but they are still politically and economically dependent on developed countries. The same applies to South Africa. Probsting (2015) highlights different forms of super-exploitation of the semi-colonised countries. These forms are categorised into; capital export as a productive investment, capital export as money capital and value transfer via migration. This study focuses much on the later, the value transfer via migration. As mentioned before, the monopoly capital does not just extract profits from the

semi-colonised countries but it also appropriates profits through migration. The main source of surplus profits is cheap labour and international labour migrants are positioned at the verge of labour exploitation.

Furthermore, Probsting (2015) says that capitalists often pay no or fewer costs for pensions, medical aids and social security for international migrant workers since they possess little or no access to social services. Another appalling fact according to Probsting (2015) is that when international labour migrants get old they often return to their home countries; therefore, the capitalists utilise this advantage to dodge pension costs. Moreover, capitalists extract surplus value from international migrants by paying them substantially lower wages than the wages of the host citizens. There is a comparative disparity between the earnings of original residents and international migrants. This tallies with the assertion of Probsting (2015) that capitalists exploit international labour force based on its social position and this amounts to national oppression. The social position of immigrants is determined by the lack of rights, language barriers, unequal education levels and orientations and even migration policies in terms of accessing visas, documents and permits.

3.3 Conclusion

Overall, this chapter revealed the theoretical explanations of migration causation and decision making. In brief, a Marxist interpretation of migration and alongside a neo-classical migration are being used to navigate the way of the study in context. In summary, the majority of migrants have a specific position in the social hierarchy of the capitalist system – they occupy the lowest rank, lower layers of the working class and the lowest ranks of the petty-bourgeoisie. However, the forms of national oppression and super-exploitation are not universal, this is because migration itself is not homogenous. International labour migrants with citizenship do not share the same agony with those without citizenship permits. The same applies to the skilled and unskilled, they do not experience the same hiccups nor the same benefits. Although this is the case, migration is multifaceted and it can be explained through multiple theories. The Marxist perspective on migration is not deemed the ultimate perspective on migration.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4. 1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to present the research methodology used for the study. This chapter consists of six main sections. The first section introduces qualitative research approach used and the rationale behind its choice. The second section highlights the sampling strategy employed and the characteristics of the sample. The third section focuses on the data collection method used. The fourth section describes data analysis techniques used, the thematic analysis and its importance to this study. The fifth section focuses on ethical measures followed. The sixth section is dedicated to explaining the steps followed to ensure rigour, thus ensuring validity and reliability of the research findings.

4.2 Research approach

This is a qualitative study. This choice of approach is informed by the purpose of the research, which is to document and analyse the experiential perceptions of academic labour migrants at Rhodes University of a consistent changing of visa policies in South Africa. Hancock *et al.*, (2009) and Neuman (2011) posit that qualitative research approach tends to focus on how people can have different ways of looking at reality, takes account of complexity by incorporating different perspectives, studies behaviour in a natural setting and it does not manipulate variables. Hancock *et al.*, (2009:4) add that “qualitative research tends to focus on how people or groups of people can have different ways of looking at reality”. This motivated the choice of research approach since the study seeks to document experiences of different academic labour migrants. In addition, it is traditionally known that qualitative research focusses and documents experiences that cannot be numerically quantified.

The study specifically adopted an interpretive approach. According to Thomas (2010:55), “interpretive research connotes that reality consists of people’s subjective experiences of the external world, thus they may adopt an inter-subjective epistemology and ontological belief that reality is socially constructed”. The experiences and explanations of academic labour migrants

are socially constructed and based on their knowledge, understanding and worldview. Therefore, an interpretive approach helped to capture both the inter-subjective and ontological beliefs of academic labour migrants.

4.3 Sampling

The sampling process involves the identification and selection of units or segments of a population to which the research question applies. Successful sampling enables researchers to generalise the research results onto the general population from which the sample derives (Babbie, 2007). This goal of this study is to generalise the findings to the entire population.

The sample was purposively drawn from Rhodes University's academic labour migrants' population. Pals (2008:697) points out that "engaging in purposive sampling signifies that one sees sampling as a series of strategic choices about whom, where and, how one does research". In this context, the selection was based on the theoretical conception of regional integration and globalisation of human capital. These academic labour migrants were identified based on clear criteria: international professors, lectures, researchers, and postdoctoral students at Rhodes University. Rhodes University International Office and HR Office facilitated access to research participants; I approached both offices for assistance.

In short, the participants for this study were selected based on the following criteria; per country of origin as African, defined as African through ethnicity or social group of origin, the country of origin subscribing to regional bodies including SADC and AU as well as non-participating countries. Sample choice was informed by the focus of the research which is centrally on South-South migration. Moreover, the sample included academic labour migrants both with Permanent Residence Permit (PRP) and those with Temporary Residence Permit (TRP). This was meant to capture all experiences of both categories of academic labour migrants. Traditionally, the experiential perceptions of migrants are not homogenous, migrants possessing permanent residence permits have experiences which are different from migrants with temporary work permits. For this study, I classified academic labour migrants as international professors; lecturers; researchers and postgraduate students and postdoctoral researchers.

Academic labour migrants are chosen because they possess good analytical skills and they are the most accessible to me.

The sample includes male and female respondents. This was meant to capture the experiences of both genders in the context of visa policies. Moreover, capturing experiences of both genders helps to develop an integrated analysis on the nature and effects of the South African visa policies. In total, 12 participants were interviewed as academic labour migrants at Rhodes University. Six of these participants are Permanent Residence Permit Holders (PRPHs) and the other six are Temporary Permit Holders (TPHs). This produced a detailed analysis of experiences of both categories of academic migrants. Due to ethical restrictions, I refrain from disclosing the names of the participants. However, the participants are citizens of eight African countries: the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC); Zimbabwe; Botswana; Nigeria; Ghana; Cameroon; Zambia and Malawi.

4.4 Data collection

The primary aim of this data collection process was to document and analyse the experiential perceptions of academic labour migrants at Rhodes University on the concurrent South African visa policy. In-depth interviews were used.

Interviews are conversations that are discovery-oriented. According to Weiss (1994:1) “interviews give us access to the observation of others wherein we can explore respondent’s points of view, feelings, thoughts and perspectives”. In the research process, they can produce detailed descriptions, help show how respondents interpret different events and situations (*ibid*). As a research method, interviews are varied, some are standardised and closed; others are open-ended (Weiss, 1994). Moreover, Weiss (1994:49) provides that “semi-structured interviews breaks uniformity in the conversations and allows for concentration on matters on which the respondent is especially able to report”.

In an effort to draw a holistic picture of this study, semi-structured interviews were used as a method of data collection in the study. These were consensually audio-recorded. Cohen and Crabtree (2006) posit that semi-structured interviews provide a clear set of instructions for

interviewers and can provide reliable comparative qualitative data. The semi-structured interviews were structured from three themes: migration choices and networks; the visa policies and the implications on employment and host -migrant socio-economic and political relations.

4.5 Thematic analysis

Thematic data analysis was used to analyse the data collected. Boyatzis (1998:43) defines thematic analysis as, “a method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns or themes within data”. Furthermore, Braun and Clarke (2006:5) add that; “it is essentially independent of theory and epistemology and can be applied across a range of theoretical/epistemological approaches”. In brief, thematic analysis is flexible.

This is a flexible method that is commonly used to analyse qualitative data. It allows for the description of a topic or event through the thematic categorization of verbal, behavioural or documented data. It enables the identification and extraction of patterns within the data and the development of themes therefrom. Deductive approach is being used in identifying themes, in which the data itself is used to derive a structure of analysis. I underwent the six different phases of thematic analysis provided by (Braun and Clarke, 2006; Martyn, 2010). Firstly, I familiarised myself with data collected, since I collected data through interactive means, I came to the analysis with some prior knowledge of the data. I, therefore, immersed myself in the data until I became familiar with the depth and breadth of the content, this was facilitated through transcribing. According to Braun and Clarke (2006), the second phase of thematic analysis is generating initial codes. Themes emerged from data collected as I interrogated line by line and this facilitated a micro-analysis of the data. In other words, I coded themes according to collected data.

Thirdly, I searched for themes. After coding, I noticed a converse relationship between code and themes. Fourthly, reviewing of themes followed coding and the selection of themes. Through reviewing themes, I came up with solid themes which guided my analysis. Martyn (2010) adds that the 5th phase of thematic analysis is defining and naming themes. Therefore, I started to define key themes and labelled them according to their context. Braun and Clarke (2006) posit

that the 6th phase of thematic analysis is producing the report. This came after I have fully worked-out themes. This involves the actual and final analysis and write-up of the research report.

4.6 Rigour in qualitative research

Traditionally, the trustworthiness of qualitative research is underestimated in the context of validity and reliability (Shenton, 2004). However, there are multiple frameworks for ensuring rigour in qualitative research, these include at least reflexivity, audit trail and peer debriefing. This study employed the afore-mentioned frameworks to establish rigour.

4.6.1 Reflexivity

According to Hynes in Symon and Cassell (2012:72), “reflexivity is an awareness of the researcher’s role in the practice of research and the way this is influenced by the object of the research, enabling the researcher to acknowledge the way in which he or she affects both the research processes and outcomes”. Informed with this explanation, I was aware and cautious to avoid influencing the research outcomes. This was avoiding assumptions and being open to different perspectives of academic labour migrants.

4.6. 2 Audit trail

Lincoln and Guba (1985) recommended audit trail as a viable method to ensure consistency and reliability. According to Merriam and Tisdell (2016:252), “just as an auditor authenticate the accounts of a business independent readers can authenticate the findings of a study by following the trail of a researcher”. To ensure validity, I applied the same concept to my study.

4.6.3 Peer debriefing

This study involved some measures ensuring credibility and these include peer-debriefing and theory validity. Given (2008:120) provides different types of peer debriefing, “this is undertaken by the researcher discussing the study with a trusted and knowledgeable peer who can give informed feedback to assist the researcher in exploring aspects of the study”. In this instance, my supervisor and friends gave me some insightful ideas and suggestion on this study.

Moreover, peer debriefing also entails the researcher debriefing participants on the completion of the study to explain the goals, purpose, and outcomes of the study. Before every interview, I debriefed all participants on the purpose and goals of this study.

4.6.4 Theoretical triangulation

Furthermore, the study used theoretical triangulation. According to Denzin (1998) theoretical triangulation is the use of more than one theory to interpret research result. The use of theoretical triangulation helps and facilitates validation of data through cross verification from different theories. Importantly, this helps to eliminate intrinsic bias that emanates from a single- theory.

4.7 Ethical considerations

Punch (2006) argues that the researcher must uphold ethical responsibilities to ensure the integrity of the research. Ethics define what is or is not legitimate. I complied with the ethical guidelines of Rhodes University. Accordingly, I ensured the informed consent of respondents, voluntary participation, confidentiality and anonymity. Accordingly, this thesis does not disclose the names of the participants. Instead, used pseudonyms to refer to the participants.

Moreover, before every interview process, I circulated a request for interview and consent forms for participants to sign as proof of consent. Before interviews, respondents were fully informed about the intentions, objectives of the research and how their information will be used. I have submitted the appropriate Rhodes University Ethical Standards Committee documentation to the Sociology Department's Ethics Committee; I was cleared.

4.8 Conclusion

This chapter presents a qualitative research design, data collection techniques and sampling strategies employed by this study. Briefly, this chapter explains and justifies the research approach used, the population sample, explained on how the data was collected and measures undertaken to ensure validity and reliability of the research outcomes. In addition, the chapter highlights ethical guidelines followed. The department of Sociology at Rhodes University stipulated a systematic way to deal with ethical issues, this ensures ethical conduct in social research.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE SOUTH AFRICAN VISA POLICIES AND REGIONAL INTEGRATION

5.1 Introduction

This chapter seeks to explain how academic labour migrants perceive the nature of the South African visa policies in the context of regional integration. Accordingly, this chapter provides the reader with an understanding of the reciprocal relationship between migration and regional integration. The chapter comprises four sections: regional integration, the extent of commitment to RIAs and a section on beyond regional integration. Therefore, it is the empirical interest of this chapter to discuss the nature of visa policies and their implication for regional integration.

5.2 Regional integration and skilled labour migration

The experiential perceptions of academic labour migrants at Rhodes University reads up a crucial nexus between visa policies, regional integration and development. According to Hartzenburg (2011), African countries are made up of small economies and these need to work together towards development. Cross *et al.*, (2006) adds that African governments are dedicated and committed to the RIAs and these goals can only materialise through continental and regional organisations including AU and SADC respectively. Research participants shed light on how skilled labour is key to development and on how the visa policies are intricately intertwined with regional integration. First of all, the economic position of SA reflects on pull factors of migration. According to the first respondent:

.... but what I know is that SA is one of the developed, one of the most developed countries in Africa, hence if you are African the yearning to come to SA shows that it accommodates people from within the SADC region... (Respondent 1, Rhodes University)

From the above assertion, skilled labour migration is motivated by economic factors, for example, SA relatively has a better economy in Africa it then attracts both skilled and unskilled labour. Therefore, there is a need for policies that allow regional integration. However, the South African government is obligated to design visa and migration policies that facilitate

development and make use of the available skills. As it stands, a significant percentage of international skilled labour is not fully channelled towards development. The fact that SA has a better economy in Africa, there should be a contingent migration policy that promotes and maintains a reciprocal relationship between regional integration and development. To a remarkable extent, the South African policies allow regional integration. Another respondent adds that:

South Africa plays an important part because it is one of the countries with a well-developed economy and I think it will be good if it works and assists other countries because many of the regional countries are depending on South Africa. They should use their power to try and influence other countries to operate in a well-transcribed manner (Respondent 7, Rhodes University).

The positionality of SA makes it a harbour for migration, citizens from Zambia, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Nigeria, Ghana, Cameroon etc. are attracted to reside, work and be involved in socio-economic activities with SA. Academic labour migrants are coming to SA and their participation in socio-economic activities is of great importance in the context of development. On the same note, this reflects on Probsting's (2015) concept of "spatial fix". The increase in skilled labour migration to SA and other countries can be attributed to the expansion of capitalism. Capitalist markets are demanding cheaper labour and immigrant labour is always the viable alternative.

5.3 The significance of regional integration: The extent of SA's commitment to RIAs

The importance of regional integration can be seen from the RIAs stipulated by regional organisations, these are mandatory in fostering development. This means that for the African governments to yield the results of development, there is a need to foster regional integration in all spheres. Hartzenberg (2011) emphasises that there is a need for regional integration to guarantee economic development. Therefore, this study exposes the impediments of the changing visa policies in SA. The study revealed that South African immigrants can reside, work and invest in other African countries without difficulties as compared to those experienced by

other African countries relatively to the SA visa policy. In this regard, academic labour migrants testified that SA is committed to the regional bodies which include SADC and it has a great role to play in terms of regional integration. In their appraisal of regional integration, the South Africa government upholds the RIAs to a significant extent:

Yeah, I do not want to say no because every country is an affiliate to those organisations as a result in one way or another it contributes to some positives. At the end, we see that SA is affiliated because it is able to absorb other nationalities that mean it is in line and agrees with these regionals, AU and SADC (Respondent 2, Rhodes University).

Furthermore, SA as a regional board member is helping other nationalities within its means. This perception is informed by aspects of migration management such as refugee tolerance. The extent to which refugees are tolerated is another subject which needs a closer interrogation, as it stands research on refugee welfare in SA is veiled in obscurity. However, refugees fall under forced migration, they are compelled to migrate due to political, economic and natural factors. Moreover, refugees may end up being academic labour migrants in host countries. Another respondent acclaimed that:

The visa policies, well SA tried to flex on refugees who come by giving them asylums, I must appreciate that they are trying to help these refugees and change the laws to accept them. Even Mozambicans, Zimbabweans and Ethiopians benefited..... (Respondent 3, Rhodes University).

This above interview excerpt suggests that SA is committed to the RIAs; however, there is a need to scrutinise the extent of its commitment. Early research into migration suggests that migration is multifaceted, although there are various dichotomies of migration, all these are intricately intertwined. For example, forced migration can be in form of skilled or unskilled labour. Therefore, the SA visa policies are able to stipulate contingent measures to accommodate various types of migration including refugees. Overall, the visa policies are characterised by a combination of both supporting and contradicting connotations in line with RIAs and development.

Furthermore, the feasibility of devising flexible visa policies can be seen from other African nations. Some nations are relatively more welcoming to international migration than the others. The extent to which a country is flexible in terms of its visa policies depends on its foreign policy. However, this discussion reflects on the domestic versus international imperatives. Interestingly, academic labour migrants provided an insightful discussion on the feasibility of adopting flexible visa policies, they even provided exemplary nations which are already flexing their foreign policy:

Ghana is one of a few, I am from Ghana and recently Ghana issued and adopted a law that says every African do [sic] not need a visa to go to Ghana. So, South Africans can go to Ghana without a visa. But a Ghanaian need to apply for a visa and it's not good (Respondent 4, Rhodes University).

Although other countries including Namibia have endorsed flexibility in their visa applications and processes, the argument of this study is not on removing visa application processes. Since every country is concerned with its internal security, the migration management spectrum of SA entails both useful and less useful regulatory measures. It will be mutually beneficial if SA designs flexible visa policy which do not conflict with the RIAs and simultaneously the visa policies should foster national security. A better migration management that accommodates and make use of immigrant skilled labour is the key to development.

Moreover, through regional integration, African economies are better off when they integrate. The African economies are not homogenous, they are different in nature; some are made up of mining, service and industrial sectors. In other words, these economies need each other to develop. One respondent adds that:

And also, entrepreneurship, entrepreneurs should be able to come. SA is not an entrepreneurship country; they need to attract entrepreneurs into this country (SA). Therefore, they should look at how they should encourage entrepreneurs from the rest of the continent and how to attract business people to come and invest (Respondent 12, Rhodes University).

Worth knowing is the fact that entrepreneurship is a scarce resource. The above assertion highlights the need to promote investment and entrepreneurship in SA through a contingent visa policy. However, this assertion is generalizing the fact that SA is not entrepreneur as a country, this is quite problematic since there is no empirical evidence supporting this. From my unpopular view, the concept of "spatial fix" of capitalism can be useful in understanding the nature of investment in SA and in a global context.

Cibarbs (2015) confirms that academic labour migrants have useful and diverse skills which are vital in developing the economy of SA. Cinarbs (2015:76) adds that a good visa policy facilitates "skill assimilation, skill transfer" from international labour migrants to the South African society. This also tallies with Mahroum (2000)'s call for diligence and the need for a highly tailored and diversified policy. Overall, the current visa policies are leading to a "brain waste" since some skilled labour migrants are not able to apply their skills:

So, I think the visa regulation system should first address how we treat people with critical skills and transfer those skills to the South Africans (Respondent 12, Rhodes University).

However, the discussion on the impact of visa policies on the RIAs does not begin and end with the analysis of regional integration. The South African policy making is informed by many factors including internal social security, domestic imperatives and as well as the diplomatic interests and priorities. Moreover, the South African migration policy is still embedded in the mess of apartheid. The transition from apartheid to a democratic SA can be termed as a "half-baked cake" meaning the transition is not yet complete, for instance, the current visa policy is not independent of apartheid foreign policies. There is a need to divorce the existing policies from apartheid policies.

Therefore, the progress of SA in terms of its policies need to be readdressed.

The visa policy is claimed to be less friendly even towards skilled workers. The academic labour migrants expressed their concern when it comes to the severity of the current visa policy of SA. One of the participants emphasised that since SA is committed to regional bodies including

SADC and AU, there are some positives and negatives emanating from its current visa policy in the context of regional integration. To quote one of the participants:

yeah, by merely stifling the visa requirements they are actually saying we want to live alone, it is more of a cosmetic thing not more of a natural thing, because once you put spanners in a way then in the end of the day countries will seize being friendly to one another in order to move forward (Respondent 11, Rhodes University).

This assertion reveals the nature of the current visa policy in the eyes of academic labour migrants; most of them perceive it as limiting the objectivity of regional integration goals. The question whether SA is committed to regional organisations such as SADC and AU was answered in a different way. Firstly, most participants agreed on the importance of regional integration. Secondly, their perceptions on SA's commitment to regional bodies show the obscure relationship between being a member of regional organisations and being committed to the terms of that organisation. For example, one of the participants claimed that although SA is a member of regional bodies including SADC and AU, it is quite clear through its visa policies that it is not fully committed:

No, it's not even a participating body so SA the level to which it participates in AU and SADC has always been just a member. But being the strongest economy in this, for instance in the SADC region, if you have the strongest economy than others surely you should have agency in terms of how you interact with other nations. SA is non-existent in AU at all, they are there but they do not do anything at all (Respondent 12, Rhodes University).

5. 4 Beyond regional integration- structured xenophobia?

This section interrogates the impact of the South African visa policies on regional integration and development. It is argued that academic labour migrants at Rhodes University labour migrants from SADC are well catered for in the visa application processes. The main argument was on special preference given to skilled labour migrants from within the SADC region.

According to some academic labour migrants, other African nations are treated differently simply because they do not belong to SADC region.

I think South Africa concentrates much on SADC region, I'm not sure whether SADC countries are given visas at arrivals, but it's just for few months. So, if you are not from the SADC region you are treated differently. So, the integration is limited to SADC... (Respondent 5, Rhodes University).

This narration is exposing the limits and weaknesses of regional integration agreements (RIAs). To develop Africa as a continent, there is no need to concentrate participation and involvement specifically in certain countries and leave others out. According to Claire (2008), the relationship between immigrants and host countries is complex. The host countries can display a simultaneous reaction of acceptance and rejection. For example, respondents from non-SADC countries shared their experiences on how the South African visa policy is a combination of acceptance and negligence, countries out of SADC region are treated more harshly than SADC countries. This study found out that besides the special treatment which is reserved for the SADC immigrants in SA, some countries are compelled to pay repatriation fee upon entrance. Noted from the respondents, academic labour migrants are not happy with this kind of treatment and the requirements:

Yes, I remember some time ago, as a Nigerian you have to pay repatriation fee, so repatriation fee is the money you deposit with the South African embassy so that when you come back then it's given back to you. If you violate anything you will not be refunded. And then if you violate any requirements for the visa they will forfeit the money, they use to do that and my country did the same, tit for tat, they also imposed repatriation fee on South Africans who go to Nigeria. And there was some incident of Geno fever and that happens and SA had to deport a lot of Nigerians from the embassy from the point of entry which is OR Tambo, this also elicited a tit for tat, Nigeria deported a lot of South Africans and they could not do business in Nigeria (Respondent 6, Rhodes University).

The above interview excerpt summarises the diplomatic relations between African countries and it points out the importance of the visa policies' influence on development. The fact that other countries can react to the foreign policies of other countries proves that migration and regional integration are intricately intertwined. Moreover, the above narration sheds more light on the discussion of the importance of migration management. The quoted incident, "Geno fever" explains the relevance of internal security and some visa application measures. However, there is always a need to calculate the opportunity cost of domestic imperatives against international imperatives.

Moreover, the academic labour migrants at Rhodes University postulated the fact that skilled labour migrants from the west, from the European countries, are treated distinctively, with respect and dignity than African nationals. They emphasised that even the South African visa policy is formulated in a way to accommodate this "special kind of skilled labour", this means that there are less or no challenges experienced by migrants from the west (e.g. the Europeans):

I think even immigrants from places like Lesotho, Zambia and others have been struggling to settle in SA, they are not welcoming to other Africans. They are a lot welcoming to the west, people from Europe they can get their permits easily and quickly without those documents but just by walking into the Home Affairs simply because of their skin colour but they are not acknowledging the expertise of other Africans. I think from the way I see it, it's a form of structuralized xenophobia. Given with this, I would not give them any kind of praise (Respondent 1, Rhodes University).

5.5 Conclusion

The above chapter exposed a nexus between migration, regional integration and development. Therefore, one could argue that the South African visa policies have a combination of implications and enhancement on development in the context of regional integration. Great emphasis was on striking a balance between the demands of RIAs and internal or national interests. Interestingly, academic labour migrants in context postulated that there is a dire need to look beyond regional integration since other nationalities are neglected and it all amounts to a retarded growth, poor development.

CHAPTER SIX

THE EVOLVING VISA POLICIES: MIGRATION NETWORKS AND CHOICES

6.1 Introduction

According to the World Bank (2015), income, proximity and networks are the major causes of migration. Therefore, this chapter provides a detailed analysis of the role of migration management in migration decision-making. The chapter is made up of four sections: keeping aboard in a foreign land; international and national imperatives conundrum; flexibility versus effectiveness. All these components amount to an understanding of the persistent changing visa policies and their effect on migration choices and networks.

6.2 Keeping aboard in a foreign land: migration regulation versus migration choice

According to the Green Paper (2016), the South African government is in a process of refining its visa policies; this process has implications for the welfare of skilled labour immigrants. The current visa policy is not without problems. These problems emanate from the stipulated migration regulations. Early research into migration proves that migration management is important, however, there are extreme repercussions associated with some regulations. Therefore, migration choices are altered by some of the migration regulations. This is illustrated in a quote below:

Yeah, I think there are some people who know that their skills are on demand, once they have experienced some hitch ups they give up, they can go to areas where things are not stiff and difficult (Respondent 10, Rhodes University).

The academic labour migrants revealed that the current visa policies are less friendly even towards skilled labour migrants. Although migration management is paramount for the security and protection of South African interests, the importance of some aspects of development should not be undermined. The study revealed that migration management in South Africa is characterised with many difficulties; academic labour migrants maintained that they face a lot of problems in trying to get documentation:

You know if you are qualified and you put your documentation in the process especially with the child you cannot move easily. Of course, I understand that there is trafficking but I mean you are the parent it should be easy but they require too many documents which I think it is not serving the purpose (Respondent 5, Rhodes University).

From the above quote, academic labour migrants perceive the current visa policy as impeding skilled labour migration. Some skilled labour is lost through visa estrangements witnessed by academic labour migrants. Although the South African government is caught up between the need to ensure internal security, there should be a balance and flexibility in terms of the skilled labour movement. Estranging the visa policy will demotivate skilled labour migration to SA.

Although this is the case, some academic labour migrants do recognize the relevance of some visa regulations. Convincingly, academic labour migrants understand how international relations work, therefore, they tend to acknowledge the need for migration management. It is established through this study that academic labour migrants are informed about existing visa policies. They offered a detailed analysis on how they perceive the implication of the changing visa policies. The study proves that some of the migration regulatory measures are not necessary since they demotivate the migration of skilled labour to SA. One respondent highlighted this:

And then, even though they call for special skills, the visa process is too long and it usually takes time and you might lose the job you have secured (Respondent 2, Rhodes University). Another respondent adds:

I think their visa policy is absolutely rubbish because of more than it attracts, it scares off the critical skills. The mere process of applying for all those things sometimes it takes more than six months, this is so quite inconvenient (Respondent 6, Rhodes University).

Additionally, the resentments shared by academic labour migrants reflect on the inconsistencies of migration management. The study established that the new visa regulations are harsh on immigrants including the skilled labour. Nevertheless, migration management is not meant to inflict uncertainty on immigrants, instead it should facilitate a better wellbeing of immigrants and promotes socio-economic development.

The study set up that the choice of academic labour migrants to migrate to SA was informed by several factors including economic reasons, family networks and opportunity given. According to Bauer *et al.*, (2003) there are different typologies of migration, these include forced and voluntary migration. Traditionally, skilled labour migration is claimed to be voluntary since migrants have the freedom to choose their destinations. However, this study begs to differ in analysing the key informants of migration choices. Reflecting on Probsting (2016)'s concept of spatial fix, under capitalism migration is capitalist driven. This means that the choice to migrate is inherently determined by the capitalist markets. Overall, skilled labour mobility is a result of "spatial fix", the expansion of capitalism demands cheap and flexible labour. Looking at economic drivers of migration, economic hardship always denies labour migrants a choice but to migrate. In most cases, even labour migration is exposed to social and economic ailments that can disqualify labour migration as voluntary migration. It is appropriate to argue that labour migration causation is not homogenous, it is comprised of both dichotomies; forced and voluntary migration. Therefore, the study establishes that the nature of capitalism compels labour migrants to submit their labour power to the capitalist markets in exchange for a living. The following experts shed light on this discussion:

I am from Zimbabwe and as it is already well known that in Zimbabwe there is an economic meltdown. It is one of the push factors that I had to come to South Africa to look for employment (Respondent 1, Rhodes University).

Interestingly, the intrinsic motivation of migration is tied to economic factors. This confirms the argument of King (2003) that it is intrinsic for humans and animals to explore places in search of food, pastures and resources. This is summarised by the concept of "roving instinct" which explains that it is natural for people to migrate. In a capitalist society, the inconsistencies emanating from economic institutions motivate migration; this is confirmed by the following respondent:

Well, it happened naturally. Why do I say so, because I had never intended to come and work in SA in any sense, I mean every citizen in each country they hope to learn and work in their country but the conditions that are in our country, economically and all

made me choose to move out with my family and we came to SA (Respondent 4, Rhodes University).

This reveals how economic factors are crucial in the understanding migration. Since the economic development in Africa, some countries are compelled to depend on others and usually this kind of dependency is reciprocal in the context of regional integration. In the lens of globalization and capitalism, the sporadic nature of African economies is a guarantee to the provision of cheap labour for the capitalist system. Labour mobility is tied to the expansion of capitalism. Wallerstein (2012) seconds that migration is tied to the expansion of capitalism and globalization, this is convincing in the sense that the vulnerability of some economies makes it possible for the development of other capitalist markets. Most of the participants exclaimed that the SA economy is better than the economy of their countries of origin:

So, I was a student in SA and when I was done with studying there was no space for me to go home, the industry there was not welcoming. Therefore, I chose to stay and work in SA because there are better opportunities in SA than from my home country (Respondent 6, Rhodes University).

This study confirms that the South African economy has a great impact on migration in Africa. Factors such as globalization and structural changes made the South African economy more attractive. The term structural changes refer to the adjustments and transitions from apartheid to new democratic structures and policies. Amongst these changes exist the visa and migration policies. The visa policies became flexible and the adopted neo-liberal policies encouraged free movement and promoted foreign investment. Already, this speaks to the relevance of these changes and policies in securing the interests of capitalism. Phiri (2010) argues that the structural changes in SA did not just increase the demand for skilled and unskilled labour, the demand increased in pursuit of cheap labour to keep the capitalist system sailing. Although unskilled labour is the most obvious in the context of cheap labour and absolute exploitation, even skilled labour is being exploited to maximize surplus value.

6.3 South African visa policies and conflicting imperatives

This section will provide a brief discussion on the South African current visa policies in light of domestic versus international imperatives. Domestic imperatives refer to national priorities such as security and citizens' welfare including employment. On the other hand, international imperatives refer to international alliances, RIAs, international relations and aspects of globalisation. Some academic labour migrants maintained that they are aware of the South African domestic imperatives, however, they tend to argue that regional integration and development cannot be separated from migration. According to one respondent:

It is a matter of balancing internal security versus ensuring socio-economic development. So, the part of internal security you want to ensure that the sovereignty of your country is assured, the integrity of your borders is assured and by doing so it also assures that whoever you admit into your country is necessary. But at the same time the aspect of socioeconomic development you also need to bring people who can ensure the development of the country so like the visa requirements for skilled workers should be fast tracked in a way to ensure that if you are a designated migrant it is easier for you to migrate (Respondent 11, Rhodes University).

Overall, this amounts to the discussion on domestic versus international imperatives. Established is that SA is not isolated from the global world it must formulate visa policies which consider both long run and short run effects. At the same time, the SA government is mandated to protect its own citizens and interests.

6.4 Migration management: Effectiveness versus Flexibility

6.4.1 A combination of Iron and Clay?

Although the academic labour migrants' experiential perceptions confirm and tally with the existing literature on the importance of regional integration as a driver for development, there is a big problem with migration management in terms of visa policies. Historical studies on migration including Seggati (1994) prove that migration management is proving to be a failure in SA. This migration management failure can be traced to apartheid; the same weaknesses are

still popular today. Crush (2011) is of the view that the South African migration policy is still following the geography of apartheid, this means that although the apartheid government opened its doors to foreign labour, its policies were not tolerant towards foreign labour through hut tax and this still applies in today's context. Much of interviewed academic labour migrants expressed indignation at having been treated unfairly by South African current visa policies. The following excerpt is being used again since it is relevant to the discussion in context:

I think their visa policy is absolutely rubbish because of more than it attracts migrants, it scares migrants (Respondent 6, Rhodes University).

Another respondent adds:

I think the government ripped us, they told us the new visa system will be efficient and I do not think it's efficient. Are they doing an evaluation to see how people feel about it? I disagree with them if they say it's efficient (Respondent 7, Rhodes University).

This reflects on the state of migration management; the intentions of migration management do not correspond with international goals in the context of regional integration and development. According to Bernstein (2011), the South African migration and visa policies should be able to strike a balance between national interests and international interests as well. Therefore, the visa policies are impeding the interests of regional economic development.

To zoom in migration management in SA, according to Bernstein (2011) the South African economy is strong, hence it attracts both skilled and unskilled labour. From the research findings, academic labour migrants agreed on the fact that the South African economy is the powerhouse of Africa and most neighbouring countries depend on this mother economy. The interdependence of nations and states need to be considered in policy making and migration management. In summary, most of the participants point out that migration management is a complex and problematic process. Besides despising the way SA is managing migration, the participants managed to share detailed analysis on migration management matter. According to one participant:

...it's a matter of balancing internal security versus ensuring socio-economic development. So, the part of internal security you want to ensure that the sovereignty of your country is assured, the integrity of your borders is assured and by doing so it also assures that whoever you admit into your country should be necessary (Respondent 11, Rhodes University).

Therefore, this exposes how migration management is quite fragile and delicate. There is a need to strike balance between migration management and leaving a room for socio-economic development. The current visa policy is affecting the expected mutual relationship of migration management and development. The aspect of socio-economic development talks to the need for proper migration management, the South African foreign policy is bound to that it accommodates and allows immigrants who can contribute to the development of the country. At the same time, the South African government is vigilant in terms of its internal security, allowing all sorts of immigrants will jeopardize national security in terms of crime, terrorism, and other socioeconomic woes.

6.4.2 Further estrangements

It is a shared response amongst the majority of academic labour migrants at Rhodes University that domestic legislation and the current visa regulations are increasingly getting difficult. Therefore, the discussed factors of migration include the generic aspiration to have a better future of the migrants, there is always a case of increasing in international migration population. Therefore, the South African government stipulated various regulations in an effort of managing migration. The stipulated measures include centralization and technological aids.

Amongst the sentiments provided by academic labour migrants at Rhodes University, the introduction of technological aids was appraised with both acceptance and criticism. The majority of academic labour migrants appreciate the significance of the new system. However, some highlighted that the new “advanced system is not flawless”:

I think the visa policy needs, it's great that they are online now. To some level I think it needs to be reflective on the industrial needs, it doesn't need to be just about controlling

the number of people coming into SA but also the impact on economy and national systems even basing the systems on needs rather than the fact that you don't like the fact that there are so many Kenyans, Zimbabweans etc. (Respondent 8, Rhodes University).

The above assertion illustrates the perceptions of academic labour migrants on the nature of the current visa application process system. Besides the shared appraisal on the online system, a lot of loopholes were exposed. In other words, the migration management should be revisited in a way to factor in uncaptured aspects of the new regulations. One respondent opined that:

I think they should also, given how stringent are the laws now, at least allow people the chance to apply for these things here because they are already here (Respondent 5, Rhodes University).

The above quote refers to the renewal in policy stipulated requiring immigrants to go and apply for visas whenever their permits are expired. Academic labour migrants emphasized the cost issue when it comes to this policy, travelling and time spent is claimed to be quite disadvantageous to migrants;

The cost of going home and the risk of going home to start a process that takes months is obviously devastating on individual concerns and the designated company they are working for (Respondent 3, Rhodes University).

On the other hand, the concept of international migration and brain drain is crucial. In this vein, the South African government is giving sending countries the authority to regulate its migration outflow by allowing the respective sending governments to issue visa permits to its own citizens. According to Ozden and Schiff (2006), the international migration, both skilled and unskilled labour migration, has a great impact on economic, social and cultural aspects of both sending and hosting countries. For example, brain drain has a huge impact on economies of the sending countries especially in Africa where multitudes of educated and skilled people migrate, compromising the human capital scale of their countries of origin. It is against this background that I argue that although other migration regulation mechanisms are costly, they are also relevant and important to a significant extent. However, there is a need for a contingent visa

policy, which does not leave any stone unturned, all factors should be considered and weighed to ensure efficiency and effectiveness.

The rigidity of the visa policies made international skilled labour more precarious in the sense that the application for visa permits is uncertain and the criteria can be difficult in different circumstances:

... so, people's cases are different, your set of policies can be rigid in how it addresses everyone, people are different and they got here differently and they are working for different reasons and they need to have an evaluation case based on its own merit. But simply saying you don't have this document to someone who has been here for more years, it does not make sense (Respondent 2, Rhodes University).

Together with Bernstein (2011), this study provides that the challenges to obtaining identity and visa documents are terrific within SADC countries. This shows that migration management is not a failure only in SA but in many SADC countries. Although some countries such as Namibia and Malawi are quite flexible in terms of visa processes and requirements. Importantly, the flexibility of visa policies in terms of identity requirements can be compromising internal securities and interests. In addition, Bernstein (2011) maintains that the South African government should strike a balance between its own internal security and international imperatives.

In addition to the above discussion, the majority of academic labour migrants pointed out the weaknesses of the centralization and privatization of visa facilitation offices. Amongst the weaknesses are the difficulties recorded since the new system was put in place:

I know it is very bad for them to go back, but I think this VFS is not working. One VFS in the Eastern Cape and for someone from Umtata to go there is difficult. In the past, we used to go to different Home Affairs departments wherever you are staying. They used to do the follow up for the applications but for now, you have to travel just to submit an application. VFS has to open many centres at least in every town. But every time I go to Home Affairs I have to travel 130 kilometres, yet Home Affairs is here. To some extent,

we should be able to get access to our applications from the local Home Affairs (Respondent 3, Rhodes University).

Furthermore, the expert highlights on how problematic the online tracking system is. The new technical advancement is not flawless:

Especially the VFS what they say the tracking system, it shows you the date you submitted and nothing else. They are not in the position to tell you specifically on the progress (Respondent 3, Rhodes University).

Analytically, the aired perceptions of academic labour migrants on the weaknesses of migration management does not justify the preceding visa policies, instead, these complains reflects on a continuation of poor migration management and policy making. On the other hand, the discussion on migration management, regional integration and development do not begin and end in SA.

Alternately, the broken nexus on regional integration and development reflects on poor migration management and this is a global problem.

This study agrees with Bauer *et al.*, (2003) on the fact that most immigrants seek economic opportunity in the destination economy. The academic labour migrants have families and some of the families reside in their home countries. After porting their economic endeavours, they support their families through remittances. This already shows how migration can never be separated from poverty alleviation. Moreover, the remittances are further diffused into different economies of different nations and are used to sustain multiple livelihoods thus development. Although it is quite a difficult to calculate the exact amount and figures of remittances, it is logical to argue that they contribute to the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of other countries. Again, the following respondent provides a relevant narration on the issue in context:

I am from Zimbabwe as it is already known that in Zimbabwe there is an economic meltdown. It is one of the push factors that I had to come to SA to look for employment (Respondent 1, Rhodes University).

By searching for employment in a foreign country proves that there is interdependence between economies of different countries. Skilled labour is easily absorbed into the South African labour market since it is more valuable and directly contributes to development relatively more than unskilled labour. The Economic meltdown in other countries exacerbates migration population from time to time. According to Probsting's (2015) concept of spatial fix, the spread and development of capitalism create economic crisis and simultaneously offers some solutions. Through the development of capitalism, there is a great demand for cheap labour and usually economic meltdown results into uncertainties and promotes the vulnerability of the working class; hence, they become prone to exploitation. From the assertion by the aforementioned participant, academic labour migrants qualify as skilled labourers and they are relatively preferred in the host country, SA, to unskilled labourers. International skilled migrants are scattered all over and they receive a better treatment than unskilled international migrants. However, this preference is not a guarantee against exploitation, several factors including racial segregation, sense of belonging, uncertainties at work and the nature of the South African labour law makes it difficult for skilled migrants to escape exploitation. Capitalism exploits human labour power in different dimensions, levels and overall it yearns to maximise the surplus value.

Important to note is the fact that the structural changes including the foreign policy did not just increase the demand for skilled labour, it also increased the exploitation of skilled labour in the context of cheap labour, to maximise the surplus value, the profits for the capitalist. This speaks to the experiential perceptions of the academic labour migrants at Rhodes University; they shared their experience on how their skilled labour is being exploited and there is little or nothing they can do if they are international employees. Moreover, Phiri (2010) adds that the South African foreign policy just like any of its policies, is informed by neoliberal agenda based on capitalism. In other words, the current visa policy is deemed less helpful but it is harsh and securing the needs of the capitalists. The question might be who is the capitalist in the context of academic labour migrants at Rhodes University? It is traditionally known that most of the South African universities were historically white-owned (HWU). With the transition from apartheid to a democratic SA, the neoliberal policies are not unique from the apartheid policies

in the sense that they perpetuate the exploitation of the working class. For example, most of the academic labour migrants expressed their resentment on their positionality at the HWU, most of their cases are based on racial discrimination, stereotyping witnessed on foreign employees and the difficulties experienced in the context of labour market penetration. However, these claims cannot be generalised since similar studies have not been done in other universities.

6.5 Conclusion

The policies and structural changes witnessed since the demise of apartheid have their strengths and weaknesses. The South African government is caught in between the dire need to stipulate a foreign policy which synthesizes both domestic and international interests and the need to maximize internal security. Overall, academic labour migrants revealed that the current visa policy is not without problems, the main theme is notably the hostile nature of the forever changing visa policies on immigrants. Lastly, the circumstances of the current visa policies can be attributed to the capitalist driven neo-liberal policies adopted since the end of apartheid to secure the interests of colonial rule.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE DYNAMICS OF BELONGING AND CONTRIBUTING TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF A HOSTING COUNTRY

7.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the concept of belonging and international labour migration. The chapter discusses host-migrant relations; it explains the impact of the visa policies on the sense of belonging and social relations of academic labour migrants at Rhodes University. The chapter comprises two major sections: inclusion and exclusion and Social corporate responsibility.

7.2 Inclusion and exclusion

The minority of labour migrants in SA integrate and assimilate into the hosting society and yet the majority is encountering exclusion. This introduces the concept of "inclusion and exclusion" in the context of the current visa policies. According to Adida (2011), migrants are not homogeneous and so are the policies of hosting countries, they differ from region to region. The extent to which labour migrants belong to the receiving society is veiled in obscurity, most of the times there are recorded incidences of xenophobia and segregation but there is no clear trace of the original causes. On the other hand, some migrants are well accommodated and they significantly belong to the receiving society. The concept of belonging is not independent of economic factors; a society can accept or reject individuals in the context of economic activities. Therefore, the concept of belonging is tied to social, economic and political factors of both sending and receiving countries. One of the participants adds:

Here in Grahamstown, the working conditions are conducive as compared to my home country. Remuneration is quite good for sustainability, especially when am looking for at my family livelihood I think it's better and I am enjoying being here (Respondent 1, Rhodes University).

Interestingly, the above narration exposes the existing relationship between belonging and economic needs, besides the society accommodating immigrants, immigrants can feel that they

belong if they have money to sustain a better livelihood. However, on the same note, some academic labour migrants argued that the complications evolving around the visa application system have tragic effects on their sense of belonging:

So, having this conversation with you and employers about having particular documents and going through these policies you never really belong. And the reluctance to assisting you which is understandable and just to please out your work relationships so at the end of the day there is a loss of trust, loss of security and once you cannot secure your employee's position you cannot trust them and they cannot trust you. So, you cannot plan ahead, it affects a lot of things. And also, your day to day interaction with your bosses is also tentative around your status which is always uncertain. There is no room for growth, as a professional in this space for growth..... (Respondent 4, Rhodes University).

Moreover, the study established that there is little record on stereotype tendencies against international employees. In fact, there are minimum recorded incidences of stereotyping based on nationality at Rhodes University. Perhaps this confirms Carnibas' (2015) claim that academe is a discipline of no colour nor nationality, therefore there is little segregation re-posted based on being an international employee. However, academic labour migrants posit that the existing stereotypes are general rather than specific:

Not specifically at Rhodes University but in SA in general where about am called names and labels and quite several negative labels on my part but I have just learnt to deal with it because I am a foreigner and I don't have a say. If they are here, these stereotype tendencies are hidden, I never experienced them specifically here at Rhodes University (Respondent 3, Rhodes University).

However, the fact that some labour migrants perceive that they do not have “a say” proves that some sort of stereotype tendencies compromise their sense of belonging. Yes, this also depends on individuals' interpersonal tolerance; however, it all amounts to poor performance and it

affects the goal of productivity. A compromised sense of belonging inherently discourages corporate social responsibility as discussed in the preceding chapter.

Moreover, the current visa policies are not without problems as established. Regardless of the discussion on domestic versus international imperatives, the structural features of the current visa policies are deemed unfit for promoting a good sense of belonging. Some academic labour migrants perceive these structures and measures as hostile and some even termed them as “structuralized xenophobia”, this reflects on the nature of the current visa policies:

I think from a work perspective; I think the real challenge is discriminating between a South African and a non-South African in access to employment. So, at that level there is huge discrimination, you have so much to offer to the society yet they reject it on the basis of you not being a South African of course because of Equity Act that says you have to be South African. The other challenge is the kind of other challenges that you experience in another place you know, but from the perspective of working that is the major challenge in terms of restrictions and therefore are placed on contracts and all of that (Respondent 8, Rhodes University).

In addition, the insecurity instigated by the visa application system effects the sense of belonging of academic labour migrants. Academic labour migrants shared their resentment on the precarious nature of their contracts, first, the *Employment Equity Act* mentioned requires that the same post is open for advertisement and an international employee can only be appointed if no South African is available to take that position. The previous discussion on migration management and development explained that the South African government is at the virtue of designing contingent migration policies. The release of the Green Paper (2016) shows that the government is aware that the current visa policies have some loopholes which tend to impede on the ultimate goals of development, regional integration and international relations.

On a different note, academic labour migrants argued that a combination of both good and bad connotations characterizes the internal system of Rhodes University. There are several

commitments registered by Rhodes University to ensure a good welfare for international employees. For example, one respondent provides that:

Yeah, I think the Human Resources office aside normally supports our efforts to get our permits or our documents (Respondent 12, Rhodes University).

However, the highlighted measures are not sufficient to ensure a smooth sailing of international employees' stay in SA, at Rhodes University. There are many loopholes which all amount to a poor sense of belonging among academic labour migrants. The stipulated internal measures are deemed insufficient in promoting a good welfare of international employees. This can be seen from the following assertion:

The international office is there, I only know that there is an international day meeting where we can gather and eat and mixing which is good because we tend to get together and give each other ideas and you find someone struggling to get their permit and you let them know about the procedures to follow (Respondent 11, Rhodes University).

On the other hand, the internal departments in context are acknowledged for their help and support:

I suppose the international office tries their best to assist but from my own experience the worst department is the Human Resources, they are not helping the staff. At least the international officer is helping. In fact, they make information available to students and staff alike, ways to get papers done faster, for example, they helped me to get a police clearance last year, they contacted two or more people and it was retrieved (Respondent 3, Rhodes University)

This discussion supports the need for a consistent cooperation from all internal departments to enhance a good welfare for international employees. Although the visa policies are deemed hostile, internal departments can do better to ensure that international employees are catered for and this will motivate efficiency and better performance at work. The inconsistency affiliated with Rhodes University's divisions is caused by the lack of awareness and feedback on the experiential perceptions of academic labour migrants. Moreover, academic labour migrants

have faith, they are optimistic that Rhodes University can improve its internal departments to accommodate the needs of academic labour migrants. There are several suggestions aired:

I think HR they have to be sympathetic to staff who have visa issues because there is a disconnect between them and the staff members and they do not seem to care or help or offer assistance and even empathy to say we heard about your problem. So, I think HR could work with the international office so that they will be on the page helping the staff members.

Although this is the case, worth knowing is the fact that the HR department at Rhodes University is bound not to employ international employees without legitimate papers by the South African registration system. On the other hand, for efficiency's sake, the HR department should work hand in hand with the international office to objectively address the needs of academic labour migrants (Respondent 12, Rhodes University).

Lastly but not the least, academic labour migrants point out the feasibility of an efficient system to help international employees at Rhodes university. Their argument is that the International Office should extend its help to academic labour migrants not just limiting its assistance to international students:

I would appreciate if the international office of Rhodes University will engage their legal staff to seek the approval of staff permits. I know the international office is helping with study permits but they need to be an entire office that handles everybody and should be aware of what is happening in Home Affairs and linked to the VFS not that we have to look for each other, which is the current system that we have to find someone with a success story and seek people who are willing to help (Respondent 10, Rhodes University).

Overall, this discussion reveals that Rhodes University's divisions should be innovative and always be updated in terms of the precarious nature of the visa policies. The help and support should be extended to academic labour migrants as well, as it is; it is plausible to conclude that the current International Office's service coverage is strictly addressing international students'

needs and only helping academic labour migrants in passing. If limited resources retard the innovation of the current International Office, then academic labour migrants suggested the need of utilising available resource to enhance a better welfare of international employees at Rhodes University.

7.3 Social corporate responsibility in the context of belonging

Academic labour migrants at Rhodes University exclaimed that their contribution to SA, as a receiving country, is affected by the terms of the current visa policies. Moreover, certain labour laws stipulated to curb unemployment in SA are deemed hostile to foreign labour. The ability to work and grow among academic labour migrants is retarded by employment equity measures.

.... you have so much to offer to the society yet they reject it on the basis of us being not South Africans. The Equity Act says you must be South African to have access to certain services and to participate in other services, this is a challenge that if you are not South African you are not supported to be at your best (Respondent 5, Rhodes University).

Therefore, it is plausible to say that academic labour migrants feel limited in terms of their personal development and contribution to the community. The existence of dichotomies within visa types means that experiential perceptions of academic labour migrants differ, some are permanent residence permit holders and some are temporary work permit holders. In other words, the experiential perceptions of academic labour migrants are not homogeneous; they differ depending on several factors including types of visas and their related advantages and disadvantages. Without going off track, the argument by academic labour migrants on how they are limited in terms of community engagement and contribution to the society is based on the nature of the current visa policies. It is against this background that this study borrows from the Marxist concept of "alienation of labour". According to this concept, labourers are separated from the meaning of their work and the benefits of their work. In this case, academic labour migrants feel alienated from the meaning of their work, in the context of social corporate responsibility, which is a culture of giving back to the community. Although this is the case, migration management in SA caught in between the need to strike a balance between

international relations and domestic imperatives in the context of protecting the interests and safety of its citizens.

Academic labour migrants can “belong to” in different ways and to several elements of the society. From the above discussion on social corporate responsibility, it can be maintained that the more labour migrants are accommodated the more they can offer back to the society. Whenever labour migrants belong to the society, they have a lot to give back to the SA society:

My personal choice to work in South Africa, I think for me it was mostly because I arrived as a student here at Rhodes University. And because after completing my studies it became imperative to remain in SA and to contribute to the socio-economic development of this country and Rhodes University became the place where I have acquired higher level skills and therefore I realized that have to give back to the society that has given me so much and I, therefore, remained here (Respondent 9, Rhodes University).

From this assertion, academic labour migrants argue that a good sense of belonging leads to social corporate responsibility. The relationship between labour migrants and their contribution is socially constructed, simply because it depends on the interpretation of labour migrants whether they feel as belonging or not. This zoom in the concept of inclusion versus exclusion. This is currently challenged by the existing visa policies, technologies of governance which were reinvented in SA to manage the masses of migrants. Early research into migration proved that cultural proximity mirrors the concept of cultural proximity and their converse relationship to the politics of belonging. According to Adida (2011:371), cultural proximity may either "alleviate or exacerbate immigrant exclusions". Furthermore, the politics can never be separated from the importance of political identity in ethnically diverse societies such as in South Africa. Therefore, the existing visa policies reflect on how the South African government has an assignment to foster a healthy conjunction between immigrants and host residents. This will maximize labour migration contribution to the South African society and it will curb sentiments of xenophobia. The latter point has been devastatingly reviewed by Castles (1998) who argues that the concept of inclusion and exclusion should be understood from a Marxist perspective, receiving and sending governments to have less to say in terms of inclusion and exclusion. The

rest of control lies in the hands of the capitalist markets; they choose who to accommodate and who to exclude in pursuit of surplus value.

7.4 Conclusion

The above discussion managed to tease out the experiential perceptions of academic labour migrants in the context of the current visa policies and the sense of belonging which is an aspect of regional integration on a micro level. The relevance of the discussion on domestic versus international imperatives as well as on migration management and development do not nullify the significance of the “sense of belonging”. This chapter manages to establish the fact that a good sense of belonging among academic labour migrants is the bedrock of the reciprocal relationship between migration and development. Importantly, it is crystal clear that the current visa policies need a revisit, which is the aim of the released Green Paper, to mend the relationship between immigrants’ sense of belonging and their contribution to the South African society.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSION

This study set out to document the experiential perceptions of academic labour migrants at Rhodes University in the context of the precarious visa policies in SA. It interrogated how academic labour migrants perceive the changing visa policies in terms of regional integration, development, host migrant relations, migration choices and networks. This chapter seeks to wrap up the discussion of findings of this study to draw a holistic picture on the topic in context. Therefore, this chapter focuses on regional integration in the context of capitalism; failures and success of migration management and lastly a discussion on the relationship between belonging and contribution.

Although the humorous the persistent changing visa policies are attributed mainly to the expansion of capitalism through globalization, academic labour migrants offered crude perceptions. Morawaska (2012) argued that the increase in migration is exacerbated by the development of capitalism, the emergence of new capitalist markets and the expansion of the existing markets. This follows an amplified demand for more cheap labour to guarantee surplus value. The increase in migration replenishes the capitalist markets with cheap labour. Through this study, it is established that regional integration is a key ingredient of development. Therefore, the visa policies should be developed and implemented, with the aim of promoting regional integration. According to Newland (2007:1) "the intersection of international migration and development is not a simple crossroads. It more strongly resembles a complex modern freeway intersection, with multiple levels, on and off ramps and many opportunities to take the wrong direction". The academic labour migrants studied herein attribute their challenges to the evolving visa policies, poor policy making and historical dispositions haunting the present decision-making system of African governments. In other words, the study confirmed that the democratic SA and its neo-liberal policies are not independent from the *modus operandi* of apartheid. The socio-economic and political policies are still following the geography of apartheid. This does not only apply to SA but throughout the colonial countries. Ake (2001) adds that African states' decision-making and their "modus operandi" is informed by the colonial

rule. Therefore, there is a dire need to divorce the colonial rule and come up with contingent visa policies which promote development.

Moreover, the study teased out some hidden stories underlying the South African changing visa policies. It is established through the study that regional bodies are not as efficient and effective as they should be. For example, many countries are subscribing to these bodies but they are liberal to operate contrary to the stipulated RIAs. The study originally discovered that achieving regional integration in Africa is mythical since some nations are neglected to form respective regional bodies. Moreover, not all African countries are from the SADC region and the special treatment witnessed through the current visa policies reflects on segregation and negligence. The study explains the concept of structured xenophobia in explaining how some nationalities perceive themselves as neglected. Overall, this affects the goal of development. However, the economic positionality of SA explains the expo-increase of migration. Although the current visa policies are deemed hostile, academic labour migrants vehemently posit that they are attracted to SA mainly because the economy is better than that of their home countries. This zooms in the concept of “spatial fix”. Hernandez (2015) argues that migration is capitalist driven, capitalism as a system has its own weaknesses and migration is one of its solutions to the enormous demand for cheap labour. This study maintained that skilled labour migration is often falling under the dichotomy of voluntary migration. Contrary to this, it seems as if even skilled migration falls under the spectrum of forced migration in the sense that immigrants feel compelled to migrate due to economic factors. In other words, skilled labour is not homogeneous, some are academic tourists and yet some are economic refugees.

The precarious nature of immigrants’ status in SA highlights the weaknesses evolving around migration management. Although skilled labour migration is not homogenous, academic labour migrants provide that the uncertainties they encounter stem from poor migration management. Migration management in SA can be analysed in the context of visa application systems, the technologies involved, centralization, privatization and the requirement measures.

According to Bernstein (2011) both sending and receiving countries need to weigh both long term and short term effects of the management of social, political and economic aspects of

migration to avoid tragic challenges. The study incepts that the current visa policies are laden with flaws which need attention. In other words, the new visa application system is not without problems. Although academic labour migrants testified to the improvements reported in this new system, the system is perceived as hostile to labour migration. To mention a few, the cost in terms of the application fee, transport and multiple errands is a turnoff to multiple skilled labour migrants.

In addition, the installation of the online application system is treated with much praise. Academic labour migrants shared their appraisal and they highlighted the convenience of this new system. However, it is a shame to discover that the most celebrated technological advancement is alienating migrants from the services of respective immigration offices. The extent of efficiency of the online system is compromised by the fact that some of the applications are not functional. Therefore, they can inconvenience applicants, for example, the tracking system is claimed to be less user-friendly. Provided that international migration is increasing at an exponential rate, then there is a need to innovate efficient ways to ensure clarity and improve access of the application system to the immigrants.

Interestingly, migration management in SA is considerate to the aspects of brain drain and seeks to maintain good diplomatic relations with other countries. According to Ozden and Schiff (2006), international migration has huge socio-economic and political implications on both sending and receiving countries. In this context, brain drain is one of the implications. Briefly, brain drain refers to the migration of skilled experts from their respective countries, usually they migrate from developing countries (Ozden and Schiffs, 2006). Countries invest in their citizens through education, some study through bursaries, scholarships and at some point, even free education. The migration of educated people is considered as a human capital loss. In this context, the South African government gave the sending countries the authority and discretion to give its citizens visas before coming and work in SA. This allows the sending countries to control the outflow of its human capital. However, the nature of the capitalist markets does not fully fledge the right to regulate the outflow and inflow of human capital; instead, labour migrants find themselves resorting to informal ways to acquire visas and permits. This confirms

a common conception that the failure of the formal system inherently gives a rise to the informal system. To conclude this discussion, although academic labour migrants despised the requirement to go back and apply for visas and permits from home countries, the idea has its own positive and negative connotation. Overall, migration management needs to improve from both sending and receiving countries for a better welfare of migration as a system.

The question whether the current visa policies in SA are a success or failure is captured through the discussion on domestic versus international imperatives. The study managed to synthesize different perceptions on the atrocities and challenges evolving around migration management in SA. First of all, SA as a country is bound to secure the interests of its own citizens, protect people of its own and its legacy. Secondly, the South African government is compelled to consider the importance of regional integration in the context of development. As established, there is a reciprocal relationship between migration and development, therefore migration management should be enhancing development. Thirdly, the success of migration management lies within the eligibility to strike a balance between domestic imperatives and international imperatives. Failure to balance the domestic interests and international relations then migration management is prone to tragedy.

The politics of belonging are crucial in establishing the nexus between migration and development.

The study delves into the experiential perceptions of academic labour migrants at Rhodes University. The current visa policies, as established before, are not without problems. According to Carnibas (2015) academe is a discipline of no colour nor nationality, therefore there is little segregation in the academe. This assertion is contrary to the establishment of this study, the current visa policies are claimed to be impeding on the “sense of belonging” of academic labour migrants. The abject effect of the changing visa policies keep on reminding academic labour migrants that they belong to the other, they are reminded that they are not South Africans in many ways. For example, the uncertainties emanating from their contracts, the complications arising from visa application system and the precarious nature of their work.

The fragile nature of belonging and poor migration management amount to poor performance at work. In addition, there is a need to consider the fact that a poor “sense of belonging” affects the contribution of immigrant skilled labour to the South African society. Much of talented and skilled labour migrants are keen to give back to the South African society through social corporate responsibility, however, the current visa policies tend to retard the reciprocity endeavours of immigrants.

However, the study established that some labour migrants are well accommodated and they belong to the South African society than others. According to Ratha and Shaw (2008) cultural or social proximity is one of the drivers of migration. In the context of cultural proximity, some migrants assimilate more than others do likely because of common cultures and languages. Moreover, economic factors can motivate a sense of belonging, for example, migrants who have a stable and better income can afford to assimilate and connect with citizens as well as immigrants of the same class. Overall, the concept of class can never be divorced from the politics of belonging. The fact that skilled labour migration is not homogenous mean that different lifestyles, orientations, income and the way they socially reproduce their labour power mimics the qualifications of a class.

The study acknowledges that there is no clear picture of the social class of academic labour. The concept of class, from the contemporary debates revolving around the discussion on middle class in South Africa. The question remains, how to locate the social positionality of academic labour migrants in SA? Although academic labour migrants are not homogenous, their level of income, leisure aspects and consumption patterns constitute a social class. Moreover, the study concentrated on skilled labour migration. However, there is a need to consider other typologies of migration. There are further aspects tied to migration that need to be addressed.

Migration plays a vital role in a capitalist system. International migration provides a “reserve army of labour” which replenishes the coffers of capitalism from time to time. Moreover, the increase in labour power inherently leads to absolute exploitation of labour. The weaknesses of visa policies are born of the efforts made by colonial governments in trying to strike a balance between the neo-liberal policies and the demands of capitalism.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX ONE: GLOSSARY

This appendix defines key terms and concepts used throughout the thesis for the sake of clarity. These definitions are adopted from various sources as referenced.

Regional integration

It is a process in which neighbouring countries, for example African countries, agree to cooperate through social, economic and political institutions (Ozden and Schiff, 2006). This kind of agreement promotes development through improving economies, trade and through embracing globalisation. There are regional bodies stipulated to facilitate regional integration, these includes

SADC and AU.

Visa policies

The visa policies in South Africa re policies implemented by the South African government to determine and authorise who and who may not enter the South African premises. Therefore, international migrants need to apply for visas in order for them to be accepted in South Africa through legislation and other socio-economic activities. These policies change from time to time.

Moreover, visa policies differ from country to country.

Economic Development

It is the development of economic net outcome (wealth) of countries, regions, communities, and societies. Economic development can be defined as collective efforts of different institutions which all seek to provide a wellbeing of the citizens. Almost every policy implemented in every individual country contributes to economic development.

Migration networks

Massey *et al.*, (1988:396) define migration networks as “sets of interpersonal ties that link migrants, former migrants, and non-migrants in origin and destination areas through the bonds of kinship, friendship and community of origin”. Migration networks are crucial in migration decision making.

Migration choices

Migration choice can be understood in the context of pull and push factors. International migrants are motivated to migrate due to economic, social and political factors, all of these amounts to voluntary and forced migration (Ratha and Shaw, 2007).

APPENDIX TWO: CONSENT FORM

Researcher: Edward Domboka

Supervisor: Dr Komlan Agbedahin

Contact Details: -----

I hereby agree to participate in this research: *South-South labour migration complexities and shifting visa policies in South Africa: A sociological analysis of Rhodes University academic labour migrants' perceptions.*

I am fully aware and chose to participate freely. I also understand that I can withdraw from participating at any point should I not want to continue and that withdrawing will not in any way affect me negatively.

I understand that this consent form will not be linked to what I say, and that my answers will remain confidential.

Signature of participant _____

Date _____

APPENDIX THREE: INTERVIEW GUIDE

Interview schedule: Academic Labour migrants at Rhodes University

Research topic: South-South labour migration complexities and shifting visa policies in South Africa: A sociological analysis of Rhodes University academic labour migrants' perceptions.

Researcher: Edward Domboka edwarddomboka@gmail.com

Supervisor: Dr Komlan Agbedahin

1. What are the reasons that informed your choice to become a labour migrant in South Africa?
2. Could you specifically indicate what informed your choice of becoming Rhodes University employee?
3. Could you share your experiences of living and working in South Africa/Rhodes University?
4. As an international employee, have you ever perceived stereotype tendencies in any sense at Rhodes University?
5. What factors could make you alter your choice to live and work in South Africa?
6. The South African government, through the department of Home Affairs has recently changed the process and requirements of Visa applications. What do you know about the current changes?
7. How have these changes affected you in terms of visa application experiences?
8. How does the current visa policy affect your sense of belonging at work?
9. What forms of support are provided to you as an international staff member?
10. What effects do you think SA's current visa policy has on attracting skilled labour migration?

11. In what ways, if at all, do you think the South African visa policy affects the relationship between your home country and SA?
12. How do you appraise regional integration based on your knowledge and understanding of South African current visa policy?
13. How do you personally feel about SA's commitment to regional organisations such as SADC and AU in terms of socio-economic activities?
14. What changes do you think are necessary in the Visa Policy and its application processes?

THANK YOU FOR YOUR TIME

APPENDIX FOUR: REQUEST FOR AN INTERVIEW

Date: -----

Dear Sir/Madam

Request for Interview: South-South Migration Complexities

I am a Masters' student in the Department of Sociology at Rhodes University and doing my research on the South-South labour migration complexities and shifting visa policies in South Africa: Rhodes University academic labour migrants' narratives.

As part of my research project for the MA, I am hoping to conduct a series of interviews with international academic staff at Rhodes University. The main aim of my research is to understand the complexities embedded in the South African visa policies.

There is one instrument: the in-depth interview schedule. The in-depth schedule covers issues of migration choices and networks, changes in visa policies and the experiential appraisal of the changing visa policies in terms of employment and regional integration. I have followed all the requirements of the University and my research is ethical and confidential. I am willing to share my research report with you.

I really look forward to hearing from you. Please feel free to contact me for any additional information or query.

Kind regards

Edward Domboka

MA Student, Department of Sociology,

Rhodes University