

Despite the growing body of research on immigration in South Africa, there is a notable gap in understanding the public perceptions surrounding immigration and how these perceptions shape attitudes toward immigrants (Crush, 2018). Previous studies (Stern & Szalontai, 2006; Finley & Esposito, 2020) concentrated on the socioeconomic impacts of immigration, xenophobia, and policy analysis but have rarely delved deeply into the nuanced attitudes of South African citizens toward immigrants. This oversight limits our understanding of how these attitudes are formed and influenced by various factors, including demographic characteristics, socioeconomic status, and media representations.

A crucial aspect of this exploration is the so-called "crime-immigration nexus," which is often invoked in discussions about immigration in South Africa. Many citizens associate immigration with increased crime rates, perpetuating a narrative that may not be substantiated by empirical evidence. This research aims to critically analyze the connection between public perceptions of immigration and crime, seeking to understand how media representations, political rhetoric, and personal experiences contribute to the belief that immigrants are linked to criminal activities. While some studies have touched on this nexus, there remains a lack of robust empirical research that fully investigates how these perceptions are constructed and the implications they have for social cohesion and policy-making.

Moreover, the role of intersectionality in shaping public attitudes toward immigration has been largely overlooked in existing literature. Factors such as age, education, and socioeconomic status can significantly influence how individuals perceive immigration and immigrants. By incorporating an intersectional approach, this study seeks to identify how various demographic factors interact to influence attitudes, thereby highlighting the complexities of public perceptions in South Africa. This study addresses critical gaps in the literature by focusing on public perceptions of immigration, examining the influences that shape these attitudes, and exploring the often misunderstood relationship between immigration and crime. By doing so, this study aims to contribute valuable insights to the discourse on immigration in South Africa, ultimately fostering a more nuanced understanding of how public attitudes can impact policy decisions and social dynamics.

The following objectives underpin this study.

1. To explore public perceptions of immigration in South Africa, focusing on attitudes, influences, and the crime-immigration relationship.
2. To examine the demographic and socioeconomic factors influencing these perceptions, focusing particularly on the perceived relationship between immigration and crime.
3. The study aims to provide empirical evidence that can inform immigration policy and promote better integration and understanding between locals and immigrants by examining the predictors of public attitudes, such as age, education, and citizenship.

Immigration studies in South Africa have examined various aspects, including the socioeconomic impacts of immigration, xenophobia, and the effects of immigration policies on both citizens and immigrants (Hewitt, Masikane & Toendepi, 2020). A study by Mafukata (2020) revealed a complex interaction between economic concerns, public perceptions, and media portrayals, all of which contribute to the broader immigration debate.

Socioeconomic Impact of Immigration. A significant body of research has focused on the socioeconomic effects of immigration in South Africa (Stern & Szalontai, 2006). Hewitt, Masikane, and Toendepi (2020) suggest that immigration is often perceived through an economic lens, with immigrants frequently blamed for exacerbating South Africa's socioeconomic challenges. According to Crush and Tevera (2010), immigrants are scapegoated for issues such as unemployment and the



The literature on immigration in South Africa reveals that public attitudes are shaped by a combination of socioeconomic factors, media portrayals, and personal experiences (Muzondidya,

2010). Immigrants are often blamed for the country's economic problems and viewed as competitors for jobs and resources, particularly by older, less-educated South Africans. In contrast, younger, more educated individuals are more likely to appreciate the economic and cultural benefits of immigration. The media's role in amplifying fears about immigration, particularly through the crime-immigration nexus, further shapes these perceptions despite a lack of concrete evidence linking immigrants to increased crime rates. Future research could explore more nuanced perspectives, particularly in how educational interventions and media reforms might address the misperceptions driving xenophobic attitudes in South Africa.

Theoretical Framework. This study draws from Social Identity Theory and Institutional Theory to explain South African citizens' attitudes toward immigration, incorporating the Crime-Immigration Nexus concept. These theoretical perspectives provide a multidimensional understanding of how social, institutional, and media influences shape public perceptions of immigrants.

Social Identity Theory. Ellemers et al. (2012) and Tajfel et al. (1979) explain how individuals categorize themselves and others into in-groups (citizens) and out-groups (immigrants). This classification leads to favoritism towards one's in-group and often negative perceptions of the out-group. Within the South African context, as highlighted by Tsheola (2015), citizens may view immigrants as outsiders who threaten limited resources (e.g., jobs, housing, and services). Such group dynamics can fuel xenophobia and hostile attitudes towards immigrants, as citizens may perceive immigrants as competitors or a source of social and economic problems. SIT helps explain why South Africans might exhibit such attitudes rooted in the psychological need for group identity and differentiation.

Institutional Theory. Scott (2001) examines how societal rules, policies, and institutions influence individual behaviors and attitudes. Immigration policies, media portrayals, and political narratives in South Africa shape public opinion. Institutional failures, such as inadequate service delivery or poor governance, intensify perceptions that immigrants compete with citizens for scarce resources. Political rhetoric emphasizing immigrants as a social problem can further reinforce negative views. The theory highlights the role of state institutions in shaping how citizens interpret immigration and how these interpretations feed into broader social and political discourses.

Integration of Theories in the Study. By combining Social Identity Theory and Institutional Theory, the study offers a comprehensive framework for understanding immigration attitudes in South Africa. SIT addresses the social-psychological dimension, where in-group/out-group dynamics shape individual attitudes. At the same time, Institutional Theory explores the structural dimension, showing how state actions and societal institutions shape public views. The Crime-Immigration Nexus further connects these theories by highlighting the role of misperceptions, often fuelled by media and political narratives, in shaping immigration debates.

Together, these perspectives suggest that demographic and socioeconomic factors, such as age, education, and employment, are influenced by social identity processes and institutional structures, which in turn shape public opinion on immigration. Additionally, the study posits that these attitudes inform and shape immigration policy debates, as public opinion plays a critical role in political decision-making and policy formulation regarding immigration. This theoretical framework provides a foundation for understanding why xenophobic sentiments and fear of immigrants persist, even in the absence of substantial evidence linking immigration to major social problems. It highlights the interplay between individual identity, institutional failures, and media influences, offering a holistic lens through which to analyze public perceptions and policy discussions related to immigration in South Africa.



METHODS

This study followed the quantitative approach using the cross-sectional survey method because it sought to investigate the relationships between different constructs by assessing the views of targeted respondents (Creswell, 2018). Likewise, the survey method enables a more convenient once-off collection of data and an adequate statistical-oriented analysis of gathered information (Netshidzivhani & Molaudzi, 2024). The rationale for this selection stems from the study's predictive and causal nature, as it sought to elucidate the relationships between the research constructs. To optimize the response rate, a hybrid approach was adopted, integrating correlational and survey research designs. A structured questionnaire was utilized as the primary tool for data gathering during the empirical phase of the study. The target population for this study encompasses South African citizens aged 18 and above, representing a wide spectrum of racial, ethnic, and socioeconomic groups. A sample size of $n = 490$ was determined to be sufficient, drawing on the guidance from Hodge (2020), which suggests that sample sizes ranging from 150 to 500 cases are appropriate for multivariate analyses. This range ensures that the statistical significance of the results is not compromised, as might occur with smaller sample sizes. To guarantee that participants from different provinces were adequately represented, non-probability convenience sampling was employed, allowing for the selection of respondents based on accessibility and availability (Epoh, Langton, & Mafini, 2024). In the study, data were analyzed using descriptive and inferential statistics. The Statistical Packages for Social Science (SPSS version 29) was employed as a tool to achieve the complete analysis of data. Ethically, the study was conducted after permission to collect data had been obtained from relevant authorities at the University of South Africa (College of Law RERC Ref #: 1251). Respondents were made aware that their participation in the study was voluntary and that they were free to withdraw from the study at any time without reprisals. Respondents remained anonymous, and their confidentiality was maintained by ensuring that their identities were not mentioned anywhere in the study. Respondents were not given any monetary incentives for participating in the study.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Presentation of Study Results; Respondents' characteristics. The survey data provides a detailed demographic breakdown and responses to various questions regarding immigration perceptions in South Africa. Of the respondents, 49.4% are male and 49.8% are female, with a small percentage (0.8%) identifying as "Other." In terms of age, the largest group is aged 36-45 years (32.4%), followed closely by those aged 26-35 years (31%), while those aged 18-25 years (15.1%) and 46-55 years (16.3%) form smaller portions, and only 5.1% are 56 years or older. Educationally, a majority hold postgraduate degrees (56.1%), while smaller portions have undergraduate degrees (16.9%), diplomas (15.1%), or matric (11.8%). Employment rates are high, with 70.6% employed, 19% unemployed, and 10.4% still studying. In terms of income, 73.1% rely on income from work, with 11.4% depending on relatives and friends, 9.4% lacking a reliable source of income, and 6.1% relying on social grants. Notably, 62.4% of respondents earn over R10,000 monthly, with smaller groups earning lesser amounts. Geographically, the majority are from Limpopo (55.9%), followed by Gauteng (27.6%) and smaller representations from other provinces. Nearly all respondents (98.4%) are South African citizens. When asked about property ownership, 61% own immovable property. Regarding attitudes toward immigration, 22.7% strongly agree, and 35.7% agree that immigration is a positive development, though 22.9% strongly disagree and 18.8% disagree. A vast majority (92%) believe immigration contributes to some of the challenges South Africa faces. In terms of personal impact, 40.6% cite the strain on service delivery (housing and healthcare), 40.2%



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express concern over job competition, 15.1% believe South Africa has its internal challenges, and only 0.8% see intercultural experiences as a benefit. Table 1 presents the summary results.

Table 1. Respondents' characteristics (n=490)

		Frequency	Percent
What is your gender?	Male	242	49,4
	Female	244	49,8
	Other	4	0,8
How old are you?	18-25	74	15,1
	26-35	152	31
	36-45	159	32,4
	46-55	80	16,3
	56+	25	5,1
What is your level of education?	Matric	58	11,8
	Diploma	74	15,1
	Undergraduate Degree	83	16,9
	Postgraduate Degree	275	56,1
Are you employed?	Yes	346	70,6
	No	93	19
	Not yet still studying	51	10,4
What is your main source of monthly income?	Income from work	358	73,1
	Social grant	30	6,1
	I rely on relatives and friends	56	11,4
	I do not have any reliable source of income	46	9,4
Which Province of South Africa are you in?	Gauteng	135	27,6
	KZN	8	1,6
	Mpumalanga	16	3,3
	Limpopo	274	55,9
	Northern Cape	4	0,8
	Eastern Cape	50	10,2
	Western Cape	3	0,6
Are you a South African citizen?	Yes	482	98,4
	No	8	1,6
Do you own any immovable property, such as a house or land in South Africa?	Yes	299	61
	No	191	39
How much income do you receive per month from work, grants or relatives?	R100-R500	42	8,6
	R600-R900	23	4,7
	R1000-R5000	73	14,9
	R6000-R10000	30	6,1
	More than R10000	306	62,4
	None	16	3,3
South Africa is home to people from its neighbors and other parts of the world, which can be considered a positive development.	Strongly Agree	111	22,7
	Agree	175	35,7
	Strongly Disagree	112	22,9
	Disagree	92	18,8
	Yes	451	92



Do you consider immigration as a cause of some of the challenges that people in South Africa experience?	No	39	8
In what way does the coming in of people from other countries (with the intention of living permanently in South Africa) affect you as a citizen?	Competition for jobs and economic opportunities	197	40,2
	South Africa has its challenges	74	15,1
	Intercultural experience	4	0,8
	It impacts the delivery of services such as housing and healthcare	199	40,6
	None of the Above	16	3,3
Total		490	100

Binomial logistic regression results

Table 2. Model Fit Measures

Model	Deviance	AIC	R ² _{McF}
1	249	275	0.145

The model fit measures for the analysis of Perceptions and Attitudes of South African Citizens towards Legal and Illegal Immigration show that the model has a deviance of 249, indicating a reasonable fit to the data. The Akaike Information Criterion (AIC) of 275 suggests that the model balances fit and complexity effectively, though comparison with other models would be needed to confirm this. McFadden's pseudo-R² of 0.145 indicates that the model explains 14.5% of the variation in public attitudes, which is considered a moderate fit for logistic regression models, highlighting that the independent variables capture some of the influences on immigration perceptions, though other factors remain unexplained.

Table 3. Model Coefficients

Predictor	Estimate	SE	Z	p	Odds ratio
Intercept	-0.61134	2.210	-0.2767	0.782	0.5426
Q1	0.11195	0.383	0.2920	0.770	1.1185
Q2	1.04178	0.301	3.4595	< .001	2.8342
Q3	0.65241	0.197	3.3082	< .001	1.9202
Q4	0.26689	0.496	0.5382	0.590	1.3059
Q5	0.05821	0.305	0.1908	0.849	1.0599
Q6	-0.15875	0.110	-1.4465	0.148	0.8532
Q7	-3.48279	0.862	-4.0390	< .001	0.0307
Q8	0.53557	0.507	1.0567	0.291	1.7084
Q9	-0.00776	0.167	-0.0464	0.963	0.9923
Q10	0.01059	0.195	0.0544	0.957	1.0106
Q11	-0.08170	0.570	-0.1433	0.886	0.9215



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Predictor	Estimate	SE	Z	p	Odds ratio
Q12	-0.10670	0.145	-0.7375	0.461	0.8988

Q1. What is your gender? Q2. How old are you? Q3. What is your level of education? Q4. Are you employed? Q5. What is your main source of monthly income? Q6. Which Province of South Africa are you in? Q7. Are you a South African citizen? Q8. Do you own any immovable property, such as a house or land in South Africa? Q9. How much income do you receive per month from work, grants or relatives? Q10. South Africa is home to people from its neighbors and other parts of the world. This can be considered as a positive development. Q11. Do you consider immigration as a cause of some of the challenges that people in South Africa experience? Q12.In what way does the coming in of people from other countries (with the intention of living permanently in South Africa) affect you as a citizen?

Table 3 presents model coefficients for the analysis of the Perception and Attitudes of South African Citizens towards Legal and Illegal Immigration. The intercept and most predictors (Q1, Q4, Q5, Q6, Q8, Q9, Q10, Q11, Q12) are not statistically significant, as indicated by their high p-values (greater than 0.05), showing little influence on the outcome. However, Q2 (Odds ratio = 2.8342) and Q3 (Odds ratio = 1.9202) are both highly significant ($p < 0.001$), suggesting they have strong positive impacts on perceptions of immigration, significantly increasing the odds of a particular attitude or outcome. In contrast, Q7 is also highly significant ($p < 0.001$) but with a negative estimate and a very low odds ratio (0.0307), indicating it greatly reduces the likelihood of a certain outcome. The remaining variables show small or negligible effects on perceptions, as their odds ratios hover around 1.

The results of this study provide a comprehensive overview of South African citizens' perceptions and attitudes towards immigration, both legal and illegal. Demographically, the survey highlights a balanced gender distribution, with most respondents aged between 26 and 45 years. The respondents are predominantly well-educated, with a majority holding postgraduate degrees, and the employment rate is high, though concerns about job competition due to immigration are evident. Geographically, most respondents reside in Limpopo and Gauteng, regions known for higher immigration rates.

The logistic regression analysis reveals important insights into the predictors influencing public attitudes toward immigration. Age (Q2) and education level (Q3) are significant predictors of positive perceptions, as indicated by their strong odds ratios (2.8342 and 1.9202, respectively), suggesting that older and more educated individuals are more likely to view immigration favorably. However, citizenship (Q7) has a strong negative influence, as evidenced by the very low odds ratio (0.0307), implying that being a South African citizen correlates with a negative perception of immigration. Other factors like gender, employment status, income, and property ownership show little to no impact on attitudes, as reflected by their non-significant p-values.

Interestingly, despite a majority agreeing that immigration has contributed to South Africa's challenges, a notable portion still views it as a positive development. These mixed sentiments reflect the complexity of immigration's impact on various aspects of life, including economic opportunities and service delivery. The model's McFadden R^2 value of 0.145 suggests that while the predictors explain some variance in attitudes, other factors – possibly emotional, political, or cultural also play a role.

CONCLUSION



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Logistic regression analysis identified age and education as significant predictors of positive perceptions toward immigration. Older and more educated individuals were more likely to view immigration favorably, while South African citizenship was a strong predictor of negative attitudes. Gender, employment status, income, and property ownership did not significantly influence perceptions.

Service Delivery Concerns. Given the high level of concern over service delivery and job competition, policies that address infrastructure challenges while creating job opportunities could alleviate negative perceptions. Emphasizing the contribution of immigrants to sectors like healthcare and entrepreneurship could also shift attitudes.

Limitation and Future Research. Future studies will focus on longitudinal. The research could explore how public attitudes shift over time, particularly in response to changing economic conditions or immigration policies. Understanding how external factors like unemployment rates or political rhetoric affect perceptions could inform more adaptive policy responses. Secondly, Comparative Regional Studies will be conducted. Given the geographic concentration of respondents in Limpopo and Gauteng, comparative studies across different provinces could offer insights into how regional dynamics, such as economic conditions or local immigration patterns, influence public attitudes. This would help tailor policies to regional needs.

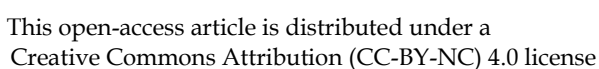
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