African Journal of
Political Science and
International Relations

ACADEMIC
JOURNALS
expand your knowledge

About AJPSIR

African Journal of Political Science and International Relations (AJPSIR) is an open access journal that publishes rigorous theoretical reasoning and advanced empirical research in all areas of the subjects. We welcome articles or proposals from all perspectives and on all subjects pertaining to Africa, Africa's relationship to the world, public policy, international relations, comparative politics, political methodology, political theory, political history and culture, global political economy, strategy and environment.

Indexing

The African Journal of Political Science and International Relations is indexed in:

Dimensions Database, Google Scholar, Matrix of information for the analysis of journals (MIAR) Microsoft Academic

AJPSIR has an h5-index of 7 on Google Scholar Metrics

Open Access Policy

Open Access is a publication model that enables the dissemination of research articles to the global community without restriction through the internet. All articles published under open access can be accessed by anyone with internet connection.

The African Journal of Political Science and International Relations is an Open Access journal. Abstracts and full texts of all articles published in this journal are freely accessible to everyone immediately after publication without any form of restriction.

Article License

All articles published by African Journal of Political Science and International Relations are licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License. This permits anyone to copy, redistribute, remix, transmit and adapt the work provided the original work and source is appropriately cited. Citation should include the article DOI. The article license is displayed on the abstract page the following statement:

This article is published under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution License 4.0
Please refer to https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/legalcode for details about Creative Commons Attribution License 4.0

Article Copyright

When an article is published by in the African Journal of Political Science and International Relations, the author(s) of the article retain the copyright of article. Author(s) may republish the article as part of a book or other materials. When reusing a published article, author(s) should; Cite the original source of the publication when reusing the article. i.e. cite that the article was originally published in the African Journal of Political Science and International Relations. Include the article DOI Accept that the article remains published by the African Journal of Political Science and International Relations (except in occasion of a retraction of the article) The article is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License.

A copyright statement is stated in the abstract page of each article.
The following statement is an example of a copyright statement on an abstract page.
Copyright ©2016 Author(s) retains the copyright of this article.

Self-Archiving Policy

The African Journal of Political Science and International Relations is a RoMEO green journal. This permits authors to archive any version of their article they find most suitable, including the published version on their institutional repository and any other suitable website.
Please see http://www.sherpa.ac.uk/romeo/search.php?issn=1684-5315

Digital Archiving Policy

The African Journal of Political Science and International Relations is committed to the long-term preservation of its content. All articles published by the journal are preserved by Portico. In addition, the journal encourages authors to archive the published version of their articles on their institutional repositories and as well as other appropriate websites.
https://www.portico.org/publishers/ajournals/

Metadata Harvesting

The African Journal of Political Science and International Relations encourages metadata harvesting of all its content. The journal fully supports and implement the OAI version 2.0, which comes in a standard XML format. See Harvesting Parameter

Memberships and Standards

OPEN ACCESS

Academic Journals strongly supports the Open Access initiative. Abstracts and full texts of all articles published by Academic Journals are freely accessible to everyone immediately after publication.

creative commons

All articles published by Academic Journals are licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License (CC BY 4.0). This permits anyone to copy, redistribute, remix, transmit and adapt the work provided the original work and source is appropriately cited.

Crossref

Crossref is an association of scholarly publishers that developed Digital Object Identification (DOI) system for the unique identification published materials. Academic Journals is a member of Crossref and uses the DOI system. All articles published by Academic Journals are issued DOI.

Similarity Check powered by iThenticate is an initiative started by CrossRef to help its members actively engage in efforts to prevent scholarly and professional plagiarism. Academic Journals is a member of Similarity Check.

CrossRef Cited-by Linking (formerly Forward Linking) is a service that allows you to discover how your publications are being cited and to incorporate that information into your online publication platform. Academic Journals is a member of CrossRef Cited-by.

<idpf>

Academic Journals is a member of the International Digital Publishing Forum (IDPF). The IDPF is the global trade and standards organization dedicated to the development and promotion of electronic publishing and content consumption.

COUNTER (Counting Online Usage of Networked Electronic Resources) is an international initiative serving librarians, publishers and intermediaries by setting standards that facilitate the recording and reporting of online usage statistics in a consistent, credible and compatible way. Academic Journals is a member of COUNTER

Portico is a digital preservation service provided by ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization with a mission to help the academic community use digital technologies to preserve the scholarly record and to advance research and teaching in sustainable ways.

Academic Journals is committed to the long-term preservation of its content and uses Portico

Academic Journals provides an OAI-PMH(Open Archives Initiatives Protocol for Metadata Harvesting) interface for metadata harvesting.

Contact

Editorial Office:	ajpsir@academicjournals.org
Help Desk:	helpdesk@academicjournals.org
Website:	http://www.academicjournals.org/journal/AJPSIR
Submit manuscript online	http://ms.academicjournals.org

Dr. Dirk Kotzé
Political Sciences Department
University of South Africa (UNISA)
South Africa.

Prof. S. M. Omodia
Department of Political Science
Kogi State University
Anyigba,
Nigeria.

Dr. Maria Barbal Campayo
Central China Normal University
152, Luoyu Avenue, 430079 Wuhan, Hubei,
People's Republic of China.

Table of Content

African Journal of Political Science and International Relations

Full Length Research Paper

Debunking "The New Dawn" Myth: A comparative analysis of South Africa and Zimbabwe

Bheki R. Mngomzulu

Centre for the Advancement of Non-Racialism and Democracy (CANRAD), North Campus, Nelson Mandela University, South Africa.

This paper is a comparative analysis of the politics of South Africa and Zimbabwe. It aims to demystify "The New Dawn" phenomenon espoused by the presidents of the two countries. On 24 November 2017, Emmerson Mnangagwa was sworn in as Zimbabwe's President. This followed the forced resignation of President Robert Mugabe by the country's military after spending over three decades in office. In South Africa, President Jacob Zuma was also forced to resign as President of the country by the African National Congress. On 15 February 2018, Cyril Ramaphosa became the new President. Strikingly, both these new leaders announced that they were bringing with them the so-called "New Dawn" for their respective countries. This was even though they were both from the governing political parties in the two countries and were going to implement the same policies. The paper uses the Constitutions of the governing political parties in South Africa and Zimbabwe to demonstrate why "The New Dawn" was a myth from the day the concept was appropriated by the two leaders. Indeed, five years after these leaders made such a claim, "The New Dawn" remains a myth. Instead, the socio-political situation has become worse than when they assumed office.

Key words: Constitution, Myth, South Africa, The New Dawn, Zimbabwe.

INTRODUCTION

South Africa and Zimbabwe share a lot in common. During the liberation struggle, the African National Congress (ANC) and Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) worked together as they waged war against white supremacy in both countries. Even after obtaining political independence, these movements kept their close ties under a new identity of being the governing political parties. It is not surprising that the leaders of these parties sing from the same hymn book as they talk about the so-called "New Dawn," which has become a myth. The word "myth" is linked to origin; it explains how things began. As aptly captured by Losada (2015: 930), "every myth is essentially etiological." This view is predicated on the understanding that the aim of the myth is to make sense of a particular situation. Jaja (2014:9) opines that "generally, a myth is a story which is believed to be true…." In simple terms, a myth does not necessarily have to be true but should appear as such so that people could believe it. Man cannot live without myths (Anyanwu, 1987). Historically, "myth" can be traced

back to the 6th century BC in the Greek cities of Asia Minor (Madondo, 2008). Madondo (2008:71) avers that "Myth is not only a narrative, but also a discourse of desire and feeling. It does not express itself through ideas or concepts and it develops on the fringes of rationality; its object is to tell the psychic truth." This conceptualisation of "myth" explains why the claims by Presidents Emmerson Mnangagwa of Zimbabwe and Cyril Ramaphosa of South Africa amount to 'imagined reality' in the same manner that Anderson (1983) talked about 'imagined communities.' Invoking this concept aimed at instilling new hope. These leaders knew very well that what they were promising was impractical and unrealistic. This was not an anomaly; other politicians make empty promises which they know they will not fulfil. They do this in order to obtain and/or retain political power and to win support. The phrase "New Dawn" has been abused for different reasons. Politicians have joined the bandwagon and appropriated it for their own political gains. Sometimes they either do not understand its meaning entirely or pretend not to. This calls for an explication of this concept to allow for informed engagement with those who wittingly and unwittingly use it loosely. This paper unpacks the phrase in the contexts of South Africa and Zimbabwe. On assuming power between 2017 and 2018, Presidents Mnangagwa and Ramaphosa appropriated this phrase in order to position themselves as the 'Messiahs'. They did so in order to distance themselves from their predecessors, President Robert Mugabe, and President Jacob Zuma. Mnangagwa averred that "the voice of the people is the voice of God" (Mudzanire and Banda, 2021:1). Like Mugabe, he argued that God wanted him to rule Zimbabwe. However, he believed that his mission was to rescue the country from the misery caused by Mugabe. He saw himself as the unifier of the divided nation (Garusa, 2019). Chiminge (2019:47) did an analysis of Mnangagwa's usage of God in his speeches in order to entrench himself.

Both these leaders had worked together with their predecessors as Deputy Presidents. They had been part of the team which was responsible for the implementation of party policies. Therefore, for anyone who fully understands what the "New Dawn" means, it was clear from the start that these leaders were exercising political grandstanding (Jakaza, 2021). Both Presidents gave their people and the international community false hope about better things to come. Deep down in their hearts, they knew that their promise would not be kept. They understood how their political parties operate. They also knew that any sitting President implements party policies. Importantly, they understood the circumstances which had led to their parties not performing well. The paper will reflect on certain clauses in the Constitutions of the governing political parties of the two countries. The primary aim will be to establish the extent to which their claim can be authenticated by party Constitutions.

Structurally, the paper will first discuss the methodological approach followed. It will then provide the meaning of the "New Dawn" from a general perspective. This section of the paper will also discuss the contextual and theoretical understanding of this phrase. The paper will then zoom directly into the two case studies. Lastly, it will conclude if the phrase as appropriated by the two leaders has adopted the *real* and conventional meaning or is just a myth and political rhetoric.

METHODOLOGY

The study falls within the qualitative paradigm – although some statistical data from secondary sources are used. The methodology used to gather information for this paper was document analysis and direct observation. In short, the paper is based on desktop research which analysed available documents such as the Constitutions of the two political parties, statements by the two leaders, and various reports (including both media and research reports) about the performance of the two countries in various spheres of life. Observation of what has been happening in both South Africa and Zimbabwe under the two leaders (Presidents Ramaphosa and Mnangagwa) also constituted the research methodology used in the study. Literature review was also used to obtain data and to provide the necessary context within which the paper should be understood.

DEFINITION OF THE "NEW DAWN" AS USED IN THE LITERATURE

Generally, the "New Dawn" denotes a new beginning; a turning point or a fresh start. It marks deviation from the previous or current situations and promises change to something better and more progressive compared to what was there before. According to the *Collins Dictionary*, the word "dawn" on its own literally means the time of the day when light first appears in the sky, just before the sun rises. Therefore, when understood from this context, the "New Dawn" marks a new beginning, a new start. Other words commonly used to refer to the "New Dawn" include but are not limited to the following list: restoration, resurgence, revitalization, rebirth, renewal, regeneration, resurrection, rejuvenation, revival, renaissance, and rebuilding. The understanding is that one breathes fresh life into what has been there.

The common thread running through these words is that one is starting anew and is leaving the past (the old) behind. The envisaged change is one that brings about new hope. Implicit in this understanding is that for anyone who propagates the "New Dawn" phenomenon the assumption is that such a person was either not part of the old order or was disempowered under the old dispensation and thus unable to make any change. With the newly-obtained power, such a person is prepared to make evident and significant change and to open a new page to ensure that the lives of the people are impacted

positively With the benefit of hindsight, it remains unclear if this line of thought is applicable to Presidents Mnangagwa and Ramaphosa. Firstly, both were Deputy Presidents of their respective political parties and countries. They had political power and access to state resources. Secondly, as shall be seen later, since assuming office, the social and political life of the people in both countries has deteriorated. The countries' economies are not doing well, and corrupt activities have escalated. Importantly, in South Africa, the energy crisis has derailed all development projects – including job creation and investments. At the contextual and theoretical levels, the "New Dawn" (as mentioned earlier) means starting anew, it is premised on the understanding that nothing similar has happened before. It paints the picture that something new is going to happen. Thus the "New Dawn" phenomenon makes people think about something that will set society on a new pedestal and impact their lives positively. Therefore, it is not an exaggeration to state that the phrase triggers optimism and positive thinking about the future. Reflecting on BRICS [Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa), various authors put together chapters in a book titled *A new dawn* (2020). They grounded this book on cooperation theory. The thrust of the argument in the book is that when BRICS was conceptualised, it was envisaged to be a body that would instil positive change among the countries of the global South. This aim was going to be achieved through cooperation in different spheres of life, which would empower member states in an unprecedented manner and improve the lives of their citizens. Therefore, BRICS was perceived to be the real "New Dawn"! When Presidents Mnangagwa and Ramaphosa talked about the "New Dawn," they projected themselves as "liberators" who were going to miraculously save Zimbabwe and South Africa from the perceived suffering endured under Presidents Mugabe and Zuma. Their cogently thought through agenda, which was assiduously crafted and elegantly articulated, was to make their countrymen believe that they were going to start afresh and take their countries out of the present predicament. Even authors who write entertainment books use the title "A New Dawn" (Pustakalaya, 2013) with the same understanding that it denotes a new beginning and a positive change.

Theoretically, in tracing the history of nationalism studies, Storm (2018) argues that it was the path-breaking works of authors like Anderson, Gellner as well as Hobsbawm and Ranger which constituted the starting point of nationalism studies. All these works were published in 1983. According to this argument, before 1983, nationalism studies were not in place as the area of academic investigation. This should not be misconstrued to mean that there was no discussion on nationalism at all. Reference is made strictly to nationalism studies. After 1983, this theme gained momentum. Here, the phrase the "New Dawn" was applicable in the sense that the works cited above set nationalism studies on a new path. Since then, nationalism studies have gained new impetus and attraction. The book by Richard Lenzi titled *Facing toward the dawn* (Lenzi, 2019) points to the direction where something new was expected to come from. The book provides an illumination of an unfamiliar aspect of Connecticut history. Reviewing this book in 2020, Rogers sustained this view and subscribed to the correct meaning of "The New Dawn." He applied it appropriately to talk about the direction from which something new was going come from. In the realm of politics, the "New Dawn" is generally understood in line with the definitions provided earlier in this paper. An article by Ahluwalia and Miller (2017) titled "A new dawn for Cuba: the end of an era" encapsulated the envisaged "New Dawn" for Cuba. This was in reference to the visit by American President Barak Obama to Havana in 2016. Such a visit marked the beginning of renewed bilateral relations between Cuba and America. For a period of almost five decades, the two countries had not been in good terms diplomatically. President Obama turned a new page through his reconfiguration of these relations. His view was that time had come for America and Cuba to smoke a peace pipe and mend the wall for the sake of the people of both countries. Had President Donald Trump not subsequently reversed these gains, the "New Dawn" would have been sustained; America and Cuba would still be having good and renewed relations at all levels and in all spheres of life. Another example of the "New Dawn" can be witnessed in the wording of a Report by Fakude (2019), titled: "Ethiopia: A real new dawn?". Although the author posed this as a question, the idea remained the same that something new was anticipated for Ethiopia. This was in reference to the new political developments that were taking place in that country, epitomised by Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed assuming office in February 2018. There was renewed hope that political stability would eventually prevail in Ethiopia after a tumultuous period marked by political intolerance. It was during this time that multilateral institutions started looking at Ethiopia in a more positive light compared to the earlier periods of political turmoil. Here, the "New Dawn" phrase was used in an appropriate manner to fit what was happening and what was envisaged.

Similarly, in 2019, Russian scholar, Vladimir Shubin reflected on South Africa's politics in the early 1990s following the unbanning of liberation movements. He penned his article: "South Africa: A new dawn?" (Shubin, 2019). This title was in reference to the fact that the ANC held its first National Conference in Durban in July 1991 following the historic decision by President FW De Klerk to unban all liberation movements and to release Nelson Mandela and others in 1990. Shubin wondered if this development marked the "New Dawn" or the new beginning. His focus was both on the ANC as an

organisation and on South Africa as a country. Shubin's view was that both the ANC and South Africa had a chance to start anew and do things differently from what the apartheid government used to do. Here, too, the phrase the "New Dawn" was applied correctly; it referred to the anticipated positive change.

All the examples cited above have one common thread. They paint a positive picture by giving hope that something new and better will come about through the "New Dawn." In these cases, the expected changes were going to mark a new start, a new beginning, a real "New Dawn"!

ANALYSIS OF ANC AND ZANU-PF POLICY PROCESSES VERSUS THE "NEW DAWN" NARRATIVE

In order to establish if Presidents Mnangagwa and Ramaphosa applied the phrase the "New Dawn" correctly, it is of cardinal importance to take a closer look at succession politics in both the ANC and in ZANU-PF. In so doing, it is important to scrutinise the Constitutions of both political parties with the view to understand what they say about succession politics in general and about party leaders and what is expected of them once they assume their office. Such an analysis will assist in establishing the extent to which the two leaders were honest when they appropriated the term the "New Dawn" while being guided by the same Constitutions.

Succession politics in the ANC

The election of office-bearers in the ANC happens through elective conferences which are encapsulated in the party's Constitution. The election process starts at branch level where Branch General Meetings (BGMs) are convened. At this level, branch leaders are elected. This is followed by regional conferences. The process culminates in the provincial conferences where each province compiles a list of its candidates to represent it at the national conference. The provincial leadership in the form of the Provincial Executive Committee (PEC) also takes a stance on draft policies to be discussed at the national conference. Rule 17 of the ANC Constitution focuses on Provincial Conferences. Among other things, it states that the provincial conference will "Promote and implement the decisions and policies of the National Conference, the National General Council, the NEC and the NWC" (ANC Constitution, Rule 17.3(1)). Therefore, local processes cannot be divorced from national processes. Provincial conferences are followed by the National Conference, which sits every five years. Rule 10 of the ANC Constitution talks about the National Conference covering voting and non-voting delegates as

well as the National General Council (NGC). Rule 11 speaks directly to the powers and duties of the National Conference. It states *inter alia* that the National Conference shall "decide on and determine the policy, programme and Constitution of the ANC" (Rule 11.1). According to Rule 11.4, the National Conference shall "elect the President, the Deputy President, National Chairperson, the Secretary General, Deputy Secretary General, the Treasurer General and the remaining 80 (eighty) additional members of the NEC," which is the National Executive Committee. The first six office bearers have traditionally been referred to as "The Top Six" until December 2022 where a decision was taken to add the second Deputy Secretary General, thus changing the structure to "The Top Seven". Before the National Conference, which is usually held in December of the fifth year, there is a Policy Conference, which is normally held in June/July of that year. The main aim of the Policy Conference is to deliberate on the proposed policies which the ANC aims to implement if it emerges victorious in the national election. It is for this reason that both the Policy Conference and the Elective Conference are held about two years before the national general elections.

This timeframe is meant to allow the ANC to ruminate about its policy positions and to factor them into their election manifesto. It also gives the ANC ample time to share its policy positions with all its structures before the election takes place. This is meant to ensure that everyone reads from the same script on those policy positions across all the levels of the organisation. Ideally, all ANC members should be able to articulate the party's policies unambiguously and confidently when asked to do so. They also need to have the same understanding when the manifesto is presented to the public and when the policies are implemented after the elections. All the policies discussed at the Policy Conference are also tabled at the Elective Conference, which is attended by delegates from all nine provinces and where branches are also represented. It is at this level where the draft policies are deliberated upon and subsequently adopted as the position of the party. For example, in 2017, the ANC's policies were discussed and adopted at the 54th National Conference (ANC. 54th National Conference Report and Resolutions). The eight resolutions listed on pages 13-70 are: Organisational Renewal, Communications and the Battle of Ideas; Economic Transformation; Education, Health and Science and Technology; Legislature and Governance; International Relations; Social Transformation; Peace and Stability; and Finance and Fundraising. Each of these resolutions was expounded to give it both meaning and context. This was done in order to assist all those who would be elected into office to be able to implement these resolutions understanding fully well what each one of them means and hopes to achieve for the country.

Procedurally, once the policies have been adopted, any

member of the ANC who gets elected at the conclusion of the National Conference does not have to scratch his or her head trying to figure out what to do. Each resolution prescribes what the incumbent must do. All that is left is for the appointee to implement the resolutions of the party in line with government processes. This depends on the outcome of the deliberations by the National Assembly on each resolution of the ANC and subsequent adoption by parliament, not based on who the ANC leader is at any given time. Even if the leader is replaced by another, the new one implements the same policies because the mandate remains unchanged. Therefore, this makes it difficult to claim that the policies of a new leader are a 'New Dawn.' The issue of the "New Dawn" in the ANC is only a dream; it does not exist in practice. Anyone who claims its existence misrepresents the ANC and misleads the public – both those within the ANC and beyond. What would be correct would be to state that the new leader will correct some mistakes committed by the predecessor but within the confines of the rules of the party. Such changes and/or improvements do not amount to the "New Dawn."

Flowing from the analysis above, the "New Dawn" as espoused by Ramaphosa is a misnomer. His argument cannot be sustained – both from a theoretical perspective and contextually.

Succession politics in ZANU-PF

Chiminge (2019:41 argues that "In Zimbabwe, politics unlike other spheres of life is about populism and for this to happen, legitimacy is an important ingredient to promote amicable local, regional and international relations." But as is the case in the ANC, ZANU-PF is guided by its own Constitution, which spells out how leaders are elected and dictates what its leaders should do when they assume office. Article 11 of the ZANU-PF Constitution focuses specifically on the National Consultative Assembly (NCA), which normally meets twice a year – convened by the President of the party and the First Secretary after discussions with the Central Committee. The NCA comprises six types of members, which are classified as follows:

1. Members of the Central Committee;
2. Members of the National Assembly of the Women's League and their Deputies;
3. Members of the National Assembly of the Youth League and their Deputies;
4. Members of the ten Provincial Executive Councils;
5. Such other members designated by the Central Committee on account of their contribution to the liberation struggle or development of the country after independence; and
6. Former members of the Central Committee.

Regarding the powers and functions of the NCA, Section 85 clearly states that the powers and functions of the NCA shall be: to receive, hear and debate any major matters of policy as the President and First Secretary or the Central Committee shall from time to time determine; and to make recommendations to the Central Committee on any matter of policy relating to the Party or Government. Implicit in this ZANU-PF article is the view that policy decisions within the party are not necessarily the prerogative of a particular individual who makes decisions unilaterally. Instead, they constitute a collective effort by all party members. While it is true that the incumbent President may propose policy positions to be considered by the collective, the final decision is reached after wide deliberation by party members. The final decisions are binding to all members – including the sitting President of the party and the successor(s). The Provincial Coordinating Committee (PCC) as discussed under Article 12 is primarily responsible for looking after the interests of the province and is chaired by the Chairperson of the Province. This Committee meets once every three months or as the situation demands from time to time. It is convened by either the Chairperson or the Provincial Executive Council (PEC). In other instances, at least one third of members of the Central Committee and the National Consultative Assembly in the Province could push for the meeting to sit. When it comes to the functions of the PCC, it is tasked to do three things: to act as the Elections; Directorate of the Province; to monitor and recommend any political or development programmes and initiatives in the province; and to foster an integrated approach to provincial issues between Party, Government, and non-governmental organisations" (ZANU-PF Constitution, 88(2(a-c). There are also District Coordinating Committees (DCCTs) whose primary focus is specifically on issues happening at the district level. The overall aim remains the same but the focus differs as per the level in the hierarchy. Article 6 of the ZANU-PF Constitution is about the National People's Conference (NPC). Regarding the composition of this structure, it comprises the following:

1. Members of the central Committee;
2. Members of the National Consultative Assembly;
3. Members of the National Council of the Women's league;
4. Members of the National Council of the youth leagues;
5. Members of the Provincial Coordinating Committee;
6. Members of the Provincial Councils; and
7. Members of the District Executive Councils as may be invited by the Central Committee from time to time (Constitution of the Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front).

The five powers and functions of the NPC are:

1. To receive and consider reports of the Central

Committee on behalf of Congress;

2. To co-ordinate and supervise the implementation of decisions and programmes of Congress by the Central Committee;

3. To declare the President of the Party elected at Congress as the State Presidential Candidate of the Party;

4. To exercise any such powers and authority as may be incidental thereto; and

5. To make resolutions for implementation by the Central Committee (Constitution of the Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front. ZANU-PF, 33(1-5).

Implicit in these functions is the understanding that, as is the case with the ANC, party decisions on policies and programmes in ZANU-PF are taken collectively. They are decided upon after broad consultation within party structures. Those who are deployed into parliament (inclusive of the President) are given a clear mandate to ensure that these party decisions receive expression in parliament. This means that both party members outside of Parliament as well as those in government sing from the same hymn book in unison.

Flowing from this synopsis, it is evident that both the ANC and ZANU-PF have a clear process of adopting policies and electing leaders. In both instances, National Conferences constitute the culmination of processes that begin at the lower structures of each political party. Once adopted by the party, policies are implemented by whoever emerges victorious at the party's elective conference. When these individuals eventually go to parliament to represent their organisations, they implement what has already been decided upon by their parties. In that sense, the "New Dawn" phenomenon is hard to fathom or comprehend.

ANALYSIS OF THE "NEW DAWN" CLAIM BY RAMAPHOSA AND MNANGAGWA

Considering the above, the key question becomes: is the claim to a "New Dawn" as espoused by Presidents Ramaphosa and Mnangagwa sustainable (or valid/accurate)? The immediate response is an emphatic no! As mentioned earlier, both leaders were Vice-Presidents in their political parties and in government. Therefore, they implemented the same party policies as their superiors, and later predecessors. On assuming office, it would be a delusion to expect that they were going to bring about a new political dispensation in terms of policy positions. In the case of South Africa, Ramaphosa was President Jacob Zuma's Deputy – both in the ANC as a political party and in government too. Constitutionally, the Deputy President in South Africa "must assist the President in the execution of the functions of government" (The Constitution of the

Republic of South Africa (Act 108 of 1996), Section 91(5). Therefore, should government derail, the Deputy President cannot claim innocence. The Deputy President co-governs with the President and serves as the President's advisor on government issues. Such a person usually serves as the Acting President whenever the President is not available in terms of Section 90(1)(a). This includes chairing Cabinet meetings where policies and Bills are processed and adopted before they are tabled in parliament for deliberation by the various political parties. Once approved by the National Council of Provinces (NCOP), the Bill is sent to the President where it is approved into law. The Deputy President performs this role in the absence of the President. Therefore, neither the President nor the Deputy President can claim to have no knowledge of such a policy or legislation. The process outlined above is sacrosanct until such time that there is a Constitutional Review. It is the same process that was followed when Ramaphosa was Zuma's Deputy. They were guided by the same Constitution in executing their mandate. Therefore, if President Zuma's administration did not perform well, thus resulting in the so-called "nine wasted years," Ramaphosa cannot speak as though he was an outsider. It does not make sense that he would suddenly talk about the "New Dawn" when he took over from Zuma. If the argument was that Ramaphosa was not going to abide by the ANC's resolutions and policies that would raise several questions about party discipline and Ramaphosa's party loyalty. While it is true that a new leader can improve on the predecessor's activities within the confines of the party's laws, any such improvements would not amount to a "New Dawn." When President Ramaphosa told the World Trade Organisation (WTO) in Davos, Switzerland that there were "nine wasted years" or "nine lost years" under President Zuma, he failed to add that he was also part of that. Initially, Ramaphosa referred to the decade 2008-2018 but revised this period so that it could focus on Zuma's time. When Ramaphosa talked about the "New Dawn" under his administration, he unwittingly undermined ANC processes and practices. He deviated from the conceptualisation of this phrase ["New Dawn"] as discussed earlier in this article. After five years since President Ramaphosa made his promise, the "New Dawn" has not yet materialised. On the contrary, the situation in the country has worsened from what it was under President Zuma's administration. According to Statistics South Africa (StatsSa) reports, the unemployment rate has risen from 26.91 per cent in 2018 when Ramaphosa took over as President, to 32.9 percent in the last quarter of 2022; with that of the youth standing at over 77% (Maluleke, 2022). These figures do not include the expanded definition of "unemployed." Economic growth in South Africa has either stagnated or declined. In March 2023, the World Bank reported that at the end of 2022, there were still close to half a million

fewer jobs than at the end of 2019, with women and youth being the mostly affected. Inequality in South Africa was also reported to be still among the highest in the world, and poverty was an estimated 63% in 2022 based on the upper-middle-income country poverty line. Overall, GDP growth was said to be slowing to 2% in 2022 from 4.9% in 2021 (World Bank in South Africa, 2023).

According to the World Bank report, socio-economic challenges were further exacerbated by rising fuel and food (bread and cereals) prices, which disproportionately affected the poor. Inflation averaged 6.9% in 2022 but was 8.2% for those at the bottom 20% of the income distribution. Other sources confirm this situation. For example, the National Economic Development and Labour Council (2023:5) reported that "the unemployment rate has been on a resilient upward trend. This upward trend accelerates from 0.4 percentage points per quarter pre-pandemic to 0.7 percentage points per quarter post-pandemic." These figures do not confirm the "New Dawn" narrative. Conversely, they point to a worsening situation.

Corruption remains rampant in South Africa. Transparency International reported that South Africa scored 43 points out of 100 on the 2022 Corruption Perceptions Index (www.tradingeconomics.com/south-africa/corruption-index). Service delivery backlog has worsened as evidenced in service delivery protests. At the beginning of 2023, the *Mail and Guardian* (2 February 2023) observed that "data shows that service delivery protests will increase, intensify in 2023." The crime rate is at an unprecedented high level. This is confirmed by the successive crime statistics released by the Minister of Police, Bheki Cele. The first quarter crime statistics for the April 2021/2022 Financial Year reported that there was an increase of between 60.6 and 74.1% (Annual Crime Statistics 2021/2022 Presentation; Fourth Quarter 2022/2023 Crime Statistics Presentation). The energy crisis has worsened since Ramaphosa took over. A report published on 18 January 2023 by CNN Business stated that "South Africa's energy crisis deepens as blackouts hit 12 hours a day." Under Zuma's administration, Brian Molefe who was appointed CEO of Eskom in 2015 was able to contain the situation and dealt with loadshedding. Addressing the State Capture Commission, Molefe argued: "We defeated load shedding on August 8, 2015, and we never had load shedding again for three years after I left" (Sidimba, 2021). Noticeably, after Ramaphosa took over, the country moved up to Stage 6 of loadshedding, thereby crippling the economy and resulting in more job losses. To this day, there is still no solution to the country's energy crisis, although talks are underway with neighbouring countries like Mozambique, and BRICS partners such as China to seek assistance.

Certainly, Ramaphosa is not directly responsible for the current energy crisis; there are several contributing factors. Among them are poor maintenance of power lines, use of low-quality parts, and high demand for electricity which exceeds the supply. Given this situation and the many promises that he made when he assumed office, would it be proper to say that Ramaphosa came with the "New Dawn" for South Africa? The answer to this question is an emphatic no! Any response to the contrary would be naïve and oblivious to the facts. Therefore, the "New Dawn" narrative cannot be sustained as being characteristic of Ramaphosa's administration. Commenting about Ramaphosa, Desai (2019:234) argues that Ramaphosa's holding "does not signal a deeper and more fundamental shift, especially at the level of the economy." Such observations debunk the "New Dawn" phenomenon and make it fit the label of being a myth and a far-fetched dream. Similarly, in Zimbabwe, the Vice-President of the country wields significant power and forms part of the senior administration. The Deputy President is the second highest ranking government official after the President. As is the case in South Africa, the incumbent of this position serves as the President's main advisor. He or she is the governing partner who works closely with the President and represents the President when the latter is not available. The Zimbabwean Constitution creates space for the appointment of the First and Second Vice-Presidents. Regarding seniority, the First Vice-President is the senior of the two and is an influential person. In the absence of the President, the First Vice-President takes charge of the country. Such a person cannot talk about the "New Dawn" on assuming office after having been part of the same administration. Mnangagwa was the late President Robert Mugabe's second in command. They were both members of ZANU-PF. Thus, they were guided by the same party mandate. Importantly, the two leaders had met in the early 1950s during the liberation struggle and worked together for decades even outside of government. After Zimbabwe obtained political independence in 1980, Mnangagwa served in Mugabe's different Cabinets. When Mugabe's government annihilated over 20 000 people from Matabeleland (Joshua Nkomo's stronghold) in what became known as Gukurahundi massacre, Mnangagwa was the Minister of State Security (Gusha, 2019). He held this position from 1980 to 1988. Therefore, it is hard to fathom why President Mnangagwa would talk about the "New Dawn" when he ascended to power following the ousting of President Mugabe as though he was a newcomer. Since Mnangagwa assumed the Presidency in November 2017, is Zimbabwe better than it was under President Mugabe? An answer to this question would determine if the "New Dawn" narrative is sustainable. In the realm of politics, reports by the International Trade Organisation (ITO) observe that "political tensions and civil unrest persist since the end of Robert Mugabe's rule in November 2017" (ITO, 2 August 2022). This does not show positive change.

On the economic front too, no "New Dawn" has been witnessed. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) reported in 2022 that "real GDP contracted cumulatively by 11.7% in 2019-20 and inflation reached 837% (y/y) by July 2020" (IMF Country Report No.22/112). If there was the "New Dawn" as Mnangagwa claimed, why would Zimbabweans continue to emigrate? Based on these facts, it would not be an exaggeration to state that the "New Dawn" narrative in Zimbabwe is a myth that is not backed up by evidence. As confirmed by Helliker and Murisa (2020) in the context of Zimbabwe, economic crises are rampant in post-November 2017 Zimbabwe, and even more so since the national election held in 2018, which confirmed Mnangagwa as Zimbabwe's new President. Various reports (Mangudya, 2020; Robalino and Motsaka, 2021) unanimously concur that between 2009 and 2018, Zimbabwe's economy grew at an annualized rate of 7 percent and, for the first time in almost 20 years. However, in 2019, the country's GDP contracted by 6.5 per cent (Mangudya, 2020:3). There is a temptation to link this decline to the COVID-19 pandemic. But reports confirm that even before this international health crisis, Zimbabwe's economy was already in recession, contracting by 6.0% in 2019 (African Development Bank Group, 2023). Not even President Mnangangwa's mantra that 'Zimbabwe is open for business' has produced positive results for the country. In fact, Zimbabweans and non-Zimbabweans alike hold divergent views on the question posed above. As the country's inflation rate worsened, as more Zimbabweans left the country to look for a better life in other neighbouring countries such as South Africa, Botswana, and Mozambique, the "New Dawn" phenomenon has been put into question. Drawing from the discussion above, it is fair to argue that the "New Dawn" concept/terminology has been wittingly and/or unwittingly misused by both Presidents Ramaphosa and Mnangagwa in order to score political points. There is no substance to it. Firstly, both these leaders were part and parcel of the old administration of their predecessors. Secondly, they are members of the same political parties like their predecessors. Thirdly, very little positive change has been recorded in the two countries since Ramaphosa and Mnangagwa assumed power. Instead, the situation has deteriorated on many fronts as evidenced by the data presented above. Given these observations, the phrase the "New Dawn" is misplaced in both the South African and Zimbabwean contexts. Presidents Ramaphosa and Mnangagwa created a myth and gave their countries false hope that people's lives were going to change for the better under their administrations. The opposite has happened. Given these and many other realities, the question arises: does the "New Dawn" phenomenon apply to the two leaders? Evidence points to the contrary. The decision by the two leaders to appropriate the "New Dawn" phenomenon on assuming office amounted to

political rhetoric. They have failed to change the fortunes of their citizens positively as they had promised. The "New Dawn" has not yet descended!

CONCLUSION

Flowing from the discussion above and the statistical data presented any reference to the "New Dawn" by either the ANC's Ramaphosa or ZANU-PF's Mnangagwa cannot be substantiated by evidence. There is a general tendency among politicians to elevate themselves at the expense of their predecessors. They promise the electorate heaven and earth but end up disappointing them. In Zambia, Frederick Chiluba painted President Kenneth Kaunda negatively and promised to draw from his religious and trade unionist experiences to serve his people well. Unlike his predecessor who had been in office from 1964 until 1991, Chiluba promised to lead the country only for two terms. Ironically, in the middle of his second term, he tried to change the Constitution so that he would be eligible to run for the presidency for the third term. He could not sustain the "New Dawn" narrative. Like many other African leaders who tried the same (including Nigeria's President Olusegun Obasanjo), Chiluba failed (Mngomezulu, 2013). What Presidents Ramaphosa and Mnangagwa did when they invoked the "New Dawn" concept was to portray themselves as the "Saviours" who were going to save their countries. Their "New Dawn" remained political rhetoric. As shown above, five years since these leaders ascended to power, living conditions in South Africa and Zimbabwe have worsened as reflected in the GDP and crime statistics, among other areas. Therefore, the "New Dawn" remains a myth in both countries. In conclusion, this paper has demonstrated that Presidents Ramaphosa and Mnangagwa were not being truthful when they promised the citizens of their countries that they were bringing the "New Dawn." They knew very well that they were going to implement the same party policies. They also knew what the Constitutions of their political parties say. However, like many politicians, they invoked this phrase solely to win support. Over time, their empty promises were laid bare by the deteriorating living conditions. Therefore, the "New Dawn" narrative cannot be sustained in the two countries; it is a myth!

CONFLICT OF INTERESTS

The author has not declared any conflict of interests.

REFERENCES

African Development Bank Group (2023). https://www.afdb.org/en/countries/southern-africa/zimbabwe/

zimbabwe-economic-outlook

African National Congress (2017). 54th National Conference. Report and Resolutions: Towards Unity. Renewal and Radical Socio-Economic Transformation.

Ahluwalia P, Miller T (2017). A new dawn for Cuba: the end of an era. Social Identities. Journal for the Study of Race Nation and Culture 23(2):123-125.

Anderson B (1983). Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism. London and New York: Verso.

Anyanwu CK (1987). The idea of art in African thought. Contemporary philosophy. A new survey. Dordrecht: Martins Nyhoff Publishers.

Chimininge V (2019). 'The Voice of the People is the Voice of God'. A Critical Reflection on the use of God in promoting political legitimacy in the New Dispensation in Zimbabwe. In: Jevtik, M. and Vekovic, M. (eds.) Politicology of Religion. A Biannual Conference 2018. Conference Proceedings pp. 37-59.

Constitution of the Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front (ZANU   PF). https://www.veritaszim.net/sites/veritas_d/files/Constitution%20of%20 the%20ZImbabwe%20African%20National%20Patriotic%20Front%20 ZANU%20PF.pdf

Desai A (2019). Between Ramaphosa's New Dawn and Zuma's Long Shadow: Will the centre hold? Alternation: Interdisciplinary Journal for the Study of Arts and Humanities in South Africa 26(1):214-238.

Fakude T (2019). Ethiopia: A real new dawn? Aljazeera Centre for Studies. Reports.

Garusa T (2019). God is the solution' says Mnangagwa. https://www.newzimbabwe.com/god-is-the-solution-says-mnangagwa.

Gellner E (1983). Nations and nationalism. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Gusha I (2019). Memories of Gukurahundi Massacre and the challenge of reconciliation. Studia Historiae Ecclesiasticae 45(1):1-14.

Helliker K, Murisa T (2020). Zimbabwe: continuities and changes. Journal of Contemporary African Studies 38(1):5-17.

Hobsbawm EJ, Ranger TO (1983). The invention of tradition. New York: Cambridge University Press.

IMF Country Report No. 22/112, Zimbabwe. April 2022. http://www.imf.org.

Jaja JM (2014). Myths in African concept of reality. International Journal of Educational Administration and Policy Studies 6(2):9-14.

Jakaza E (2021). 'Political grandstanding as strategic communications in the Zimbabwean government's communication about the COVID-19'. In: Rusero A. M. and Mashavira N. (eds.), Covid 19 Ramifications in Zimbabwe, Africa and Beyond- An Interdisciplinary perspective. Cameroon: Langaa RPCIG.

Lenzi R (2019). Facing toward the dawn: The Italian anarchists of New London. Albany, New York: State University of New York Press.

Losada JM (2015). Myth and origins: Men want to know. Journal of Literature and Art Studies 5(10):930-945.

Madondo SH (2008). Definitions of myth. TRICTRAC: Journal of World Mythology and Folklore 1:68-81.

Mail Guardian (2023). Data shows that service delivery protests will increase, intensify in 2023.

Maluleke R (2022). Stats SA Quarterly Labour Force Survey (QLFS) Q3.

Mangudya J (2020). Monetary Policy Statement. Focusing on price and exchange rate stability. Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe.

Mngomezulu BR (2013). The president for life pandemic in Africa: Kenya, Zimbabwe, Nigeria, Zambia, and Malawi. London: Adonis-Abbey.

Mudzanire S, Banda C (2021). Mocking the just God? A theological critique of President Mnangagwa's use of the name of God to justify his rule in Zimbabwe. Verbum et Ecclesia 42(1):1-10.

National Economic Development and Labour Council (2023). Economic and Employment Trends in South Africa 1(4):1-16.

Pustakalaya NB (2013). A new dawn. New Delhi: National book Trust.

Robalino D, Mutsaka B (2021). Putting decent jobs at the centre of the economic development strategy. Zimbabwe: ILO.

Rogers DW (2020). Book Review. Connecticut History Review 59(2):120-123.

RSA Police recorded crime statistics First Quarter of 2021/2022 Financial Year (April to June 2021).

Shubin V (2019). South Africa: A new dawn? Brazilian Journal of African Studies 4(8):33-49.

Sidimb L (2021). Brian Molefe: Ramaphosa is responsible for load sheddng. IOL, 15 January.

South African Police Service. Annual Crime Statistics 2021/2022 Presentation.

South African Police Service. Fourth Quarter 2022/2023 Crime Statistics Presentation.

Storm (2018). A new dawn in nationalism studies? Some fresh incentives to overcome historiographical nationalism. European History Quarterly 48(1):113-129.

The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Act 108 of 1996).

World Bank in South Africa (2023). https://www.worldbank.org/en/country/southafrica/overview www.tradingeconomics.com/south-africa/corruption-index.

ACADEMIC JOURNALS
expand your knowledge

African Journal of Political Science and International Relations

Full Length Research Paper

An initial exploration of the adaptation status of African new residents in Taiwan

Yu-Kang Lee[1]* and Dramane Thiombiano[2]

[1]Department of Political Economy, National Sun Yat-sen University, Taiwan.
[2]Department of Business Administration, National Yunlin University of Science and Technology, Taiwan.

While the presence of African new residents in Taiwan may not be as pronounced as that of Southeast Asian counterparts, a noteworthy number have settled in diverse regions of the island in recent years. The adaptation experiences of these African residents remain under-explored in academic literature, rendering this study a pioneering effort in examining this pertinent subject. Through meticulous in-depth interviews with 15 African residents, this research delves into multifaceted dimensions of their adjustment in Taiwan, encompassing social, cultural, quotidian practices, civic engagement, and professional integration. Our findings reveal both challenges and competencies in the adaptation process. While certain adaptive difficulties have been identified, the majority of respondents exhibit resilience and coping mechanisms. Drawing from our primary insights, the study subsequently offers specific recommendations for governmental agencies and relevant institutions, advocating measures to strengthen resident adaptation and foster a more inclusive Taiwanese society.

Key words: African new residents, Taiwan, adaptation status, cultural differences, language barriers.

INTRODUCTION

In an increasingly interconnected world, the phenomenon of global migration has become a significant force shaping the demographics and cultural landscape of various societies (Castles et al., 2014; Vertovec, 2007; Czaika and de Haas, 2014). As people from different countries and cultures move and settle in new environments, understanding their adaptation and integration experiences becomes paramount to ensuring social cohesion and the well-being of all members of the community (Berry, 1997). Taiwan, a vibrant and economically advanced society, has witnessed an influx of residents from different corners of the globe (Lan, 2006; Wang and Chang, 2002), including Africa.

The number of African residents in Taiwan remains relatively small compared to residents from other regions, such as Southeast Asia and mainland China. According to the statistics from the National Immigration Agency (NIA) of the Ministry of the Interior (2023), the average number of inbound visitors during the last ten year remains a steady increase from 2011 close to 9,000 to more than 12,000 in 2019 except for the last three years due to the Covid-19 pandemic. The purposes for African residents coming to Taiwan can be diverse. The purposes for African people coming to Taiwan, in descending order, are business, tourism, visiting relatives, attending conferences, and pursuing education.

*Corresponding author. E-mail: yklee@g-mail.nsysu.edu.tw.

Gaining a comprehensive understanding of the demographic profiles of African residents in Taiwan presents challenges due to their dispersed settlement across the island. Notwithstanding, one can broadly delineate the African population in Taiwan into two principal categories:

1) Long-term residents and entrepreneurs: This segment predominantly consist of individuals who migrated to Taiwan for professional or business endeavors and have been long-term residents, spanning over two decades. A significant portion of this group has established familial roots, often through matrimony with Taiwanese nationals. Furthermore, a considerable number within this category have either secured Taiwanese citizenship or possess some form of residency status, be it temporary or permanent.

2) Academic pursuers: This group encompasses individuals who ventured to Taiwan bolstered by scholarships, holding student visas. Their primary academic ambitions range across fields like agriculture, engineering, international relations, and international business, with a subset aiming to master Mandarin Chinese. Post-academic completion, a segment seeks employment within Taiwan, aligning with their academic specializations. Successful employment often culminates in a visa transition from student to work status. Their professional roles in the Taiwanese corporate sphere are diverse, encompassing positions like international sales executives, regional managers, and engineers. Notably, their linguistic proficiency in Mandarin augments their employability, serving as a cornerstone of their professional success in the Taiwanese job market.

In summation, two pivotal motivations underscore the African diaspora's attraction to Taiwan. The first hinges on the allure of Taiwan's technologically advanced and rule-of-law-driven market landscape. Concurrently, the second motivation pertains to the academic opportunities proffered by Taiwan's eminent institutions of higher learning.

While the African immigrant population may not be as large as other groups in Taiwan, their experiences provide valuable insights into the complexities of cultural adaptation and integration. This paper aims to explore the adaptation status of African residents in Taiwan, delving into critical aspects such as language acquisition, cultural acculturation, employment opportunities, and social support networks. Therefore, this research seeks to provide a comprehensive understanding of the adaptation experiences of African residents in Taiwan by examining the critical areas of language proficiency, cultural adaptation, employment, and social support. Through this exploration, we aim to contribute valuable insights to the growing body of literature on immigrant adaptation and inform the development of policies and interventions that can foster a successful integration and well-being of the African residents in Taiwan.

Taiwan's legislative framework governing residents maintains a universalistic approach, without specific differentiation between nationals from African countries and those from other global regions. International students aspiring for academic pursuits in Taiwan are eligible to procure a student visa, subject to annual renewals. The stipulations governing work visas, as well as other visa categories, are consistently applied across all foreign nationals irrespective of origin. Notably, nationals from African countries that diplomatically recognize Taiwan benefit from a visa exemption for short-term stays, ranging from 30 to 90 days. (Bureau of Consular Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Taiwan, 2023)

Research objectives

In the backdrop of Taiwan's growing appeal as a destination for foreign residents—including a noticeable influx of individuals from Africa—it has become pertinent to address the adaptation experiences of these newer inhabitants. Factors such as cultural nuances, distinct societal norms, and linguistic barriers make their integration into Taiwanese society a subject of considerable interest. This study aims to comprehensively examine the adaptation trajectories of African residents in Taiwan, encompassing multiple facets such as political, economic, societal, and cultural dimensions. The ensuing research objectives have been delineated as follows:

1) To understand the living and working conditions of African residents in Taiwan, including their employment status, financial situation, housing conditions, and reasons for settling in Taiwan.
2) To explore the adaptation status of African residents in Taiwanese society, including language barriers, racial discrimination, cultural differences, political inclusiveness and other related factors.
3) To examine the support and assistance provided by the government and social institutions to African residents, and whether these services meet their needs.
4) To analyze the cultural adaptation status of African residents in Taiwan, including the impact of cultural differences on their daily life and work.

With this study, our objectives are to delve deeper into the adaptation experiences of African residents in Taiwan. In doing so, we seek to furnish pertinent public agencies and the wider society with insights and recommendations, thereby enhancing support mechanisms for foreign residents and facilitating their smoother adaptation into Taiwanese society.

LITERATURE REVIEW

A literature review on the topic of African residents in

Taiwan and their adaptation, including relevant academic journal articles, government statistical reports, social surveys, and related studies on ethnic and cultural diversity of residents are conducted. The literature review provides important information and insights on the adaptation of African residents in Taiwan, including their living and working conditions, social adaptation, support from government and social institutions, cultural adaptation, and more. As argued by Massey et al. (1999), migration cannot be understood as the action of individual decision-makers, but rather as a process that's embedded within broader social structures. These studies not only offer an in-depth understanding of the situation of African residents in Taiwan but also provide recommendations for local governments and societies to improve support and assistance for foreign residents, enabling them to better integrate into Taiwanese society.

Historically, the majority of residents in Taiwan have come from Southeast Asia and mainland China, largely due to geographical proximity and shared cultural and linguistic roots (Momesso, 2016; Wang and Chang, 2002). However, the past few decades have seen an increase in the number of African residents, driven by a combination of factors such as Taiwan's growing economic ties with African countries (Rich, 2009), educational opportunities (Ministry of Education, 2019), and the pursuit of better living standards (Everington, 2022). As this trend continues, the adaptation status of African residents in Taiwan becomes a topic of increasing relevance and importance for both researchers and policymakers.

Adapting to a new environment involves various challenges and processes, including learning a new language, adjusting to cultural norms, finding employment, and building social connections (Sam and Berry, 2010). The ability to speak and understand the local language is a fundamental factor in the adaptation process, as it directly influences the ease of navigating daily life, accessing resources, and forming relationships with locals (Chiswick and Miller, 2001). In Taiwan, African residents face the challenge of learning Mandarin Chinese, a language vastly different from their native tongues, both in terms of structure and script (Lan, 2018). This paper will examine the factors affecting language acquisition among African residents, as well as the impact of language proficiency on their overall adaptation experience.

Cultural adaptation serves as a cardinal component in the intricate tapestry of settling into a new environment, necessitating both the navigation and wholehearted acceptance of the traditions, core values, and societal anticipations of the receiving community (Ward et al., 2001; Gatwiri et al., 2021). In the context of Taiwan, African residents might grapple with an array of challenges rooted in local cultural nuances, evidenced in multifaceted realms of daily existence - ranging from culinary predilections and modalities of communication to entrenched societal etiquettes and foundational beliefs (Akyeampong, 2000; Anshan, 2015). This study will explore the cultural adaptation experiences of African residents, highlighting the challenges they face and the strategies they employ to overcome them.

The availability of viable employment opportunities and the assurance of economic stability play a pivotal role in the seamless adaptation of new residents, as they not only bestow a foundational sense of security but also act as catalysts in fostering deeper social integration and interconnectedness within the host society (Kogan, 2006). Our research will investigate the labor market experiences of African residents in Taiwan, focusing on the barriers they face in securing jobs, the types of employment they obtain, and the role of education and skills in shaping their economic outcomes.

Compared to cultural, social, or educational dimensions, political integration of new residents is an aspect that often receives limited attention (Dollmann, 2022). In their study, Just and Anderson (2014) assert that prevailing societal attitudes, whether characterized by hostility or openness towards immigrants, have a substantial impact on the landscape of immigrant political engagement. These attitudes shape the potential social costs and political benefits linked to political participation. A friendly opinion climate towards immigrants is argued to not only foster political action among immigrants but also to facilitate the transformation of political dissatisfaction into active political engagement.

Lastly, social support networks emerge as indispensable pillars during the adaptation journey, offering not only emotional sustenance and pragmatic aid but also instilling a profound sense of belonging and communal affinity within the individual, as underscored by Ager and Strang (2008). This study will examine the social networks and community involvement of African residents in Taiwan, exploring the sources of support they rely on, the challenges they face in building connections, and the role of community organizations in facilitating their integration.

RESEARCH METHODS

At present, there remains a significant dearth of research and information regarding the adaptation of African residents in Taiwan. In order to study this topic and the proposed objectives, this study uses in-depth interviews to understand the individual situations of the respondents through one-on-one interviews. I opt for a qualitative research methodology, particularly in-depth interviews. The rationale behind this choice stems from the logistical challenges associated with researching this specific demographic. Given the relatively limited number of African residents in Taiwan, attempting a large-scale quantitative study encompassing over 150 participants would be a daunting, if not an almost impossible task. Moreover, qualitative methods, like in-depth interviews, allow for a richer and more nuanced understanding of the personal experiences, stories, and challenges faced by these residents. This approach ensures that even with a much smaller sample size, the insights gleaned are both profound and representative.

In-depth interviews offer a range of benefits when studying the adaptation status of new African residents in Taiwan. These interviews would provide comprehensive insights into the personal experiences, opinions, and feelings of the interviewees which allow researchers to better understand the complexities of cultural adaptation. The flexibility of this method also enables researchers to somehow tailor their questions to each participant, exploring different aspects of adaptation based on the interviewee's responses, leading to more accurate and insightful information. Furthermore, in-depth interviews are effective in establishing rapport and trust with interviewees, making them feel comfortable and encouraging them to share their honest opinions and experiences openly, which is essential when discussing sensitive topics like adaptation. By conducting one-on-one in-depth interviews, researchers can uncover unique perspectives on adaptation that might not be captured in group settings or through quantitative research methods. Analyzing data collected from multiple in-depth interviews can help identify recurring themes and patterns related to adaptation, shedding light on the broader experiences of African residents in Taiwan. In-depth interviews are well-suited to explore complex and sensitive topics related to adaptation, such as language barriers, cultural differences, discrimination, and personal struggles, which may be difficult to address through other research methods. Additionally, in-depth interviews can provide insights into how African residents navigate and make sense of their new environment in Taiwan, revealing the strategies and resources they use to adapt and integrate into the local society.

Sample selection and sample overview

Selection of interviewees

The research focuses on African newcomers in Taiwan as its primary subjects. To ensure a diverse and comprehensive sample, participants are meticulously recruited through various channels, including non-governmental organizations (NGOs), community-based organizations, and other networks deeply rooted within the immigrant community. Engaging these entities not only broadens the outreach but also aids in accessing a more representative cross-section of this demographic. Once identified, these participants are then engaged in face-to-face interviews, allowing for an in-depth exploration of their experiences and insights.

Sample overview

The study encompasses a cohort of 15 African nationals currently domiciled in Taiwan. The demographic profile of participants spans an age spectrum of 20 to 50 years, with a gender composition manifesting 11 males and 4 females.

These individuals originate from a diverse array of African nations, notably Burkina Faso, Ghana, Nigeria, Cameroon, Uganda, Senegal, and Kenya. Their tenure in Taiwan exhibits variance, ranging from a minimum of one year to a maximum of eight years. Within this cohort, a segment is enrolled in tertiary educational institutions, undertaking both undergraduate and postgraduate courses, while others are embedded in various professional sectors, inclusive of entrepreneurial ventures, industrial employment, and pedagogical roles in English-language cram institutions. The primary impetuses for their relocation to Taiwan are delineated as academic aspirations, vocational pursuits, and matrimonial affiliations. Each qualitative interview transpires over an approximate duration of one hour, and is orchestrated in environments conducive to candid discourse, predominantly eateries or beverage outlets. Subsequent to each discourse, verbatim transcripts are disseminated to the corresponding interviewees for verification, ensuring fidelity and eliminating potential misinterpretations. The culmination of this rigorous analysis elucidates the acclimatization trajectories of African residents in Taiwan, concurrently highlighting the inherent challenges and exigencies they confront. To address these insights, the research promulgates astute policy recommendations and socio-supportive frameworks, intended to ameliorate the experiential and adaptive paradigms of African expatriates in Taiwan for the consideration of policymakers and affiliated stakeholders.

Outline of the interview guidelines

Here are six interview guidelines that are used to investigate the adaptation of African residents to life in Taiwan. It is not necessary to follow the order of the following guidelines when performing interviews. The authors may adjust the order according to the flow of the interviews.

1) What motivated you to move to Taiwan, and how has your experience been so far in terms of adapting to the local society and culture?
2) What challenges have you faced while living in Taiwan, both in terms of practical issues like language barriers and in terms of broader social and cultural differences?
3) How have you found the job market in Taiwan, and have you experienced any discrimination or other obstacles in finding work?
4) In your view, how does Taiwan's political and social environment compare to that of your home country, and do you feel that you have been able to fully participate in Taiwan's civic life?
5) How have you found the overall standard of living in Taiwan, and have you encountered any issues related to housing, healthcare, or other basic necessities?
6) What suggestions do you have for the Taiwanese government or civil society organizations to better support the needs of residents, and what changes would you like to see in terms of policies and programs related to immigration and integration?

FINDINGS

ANALYTICAL OVERVIEW AND PRIMARY INSIGHTS

Drawing from the rich qualitative insights garnered from our in-depth interviews, we delineate the subsequent analysis and distill the pivotal findings as follows:

Motivations and diplomatic influences to choose Taiwan

The interviewees articulate a myriad of motivations driving their desire to immerse themselves in a lifestyle divergent from that of their native lands. Prominently, the allure of scholarship opportunities emerges as a pivotal factor.

Additionally, the prospect of mastering Chinese—a language commanding immense global resonance given its status as one of the most widely spoken tongues—stands out as another significant incentive. Their predilection for Taiwan, specifically over China, is influenced by the diplomatic rapport Taiwan shares with their home nations, rendering it a more congenial and accessible choice for their overseas endeavors. One respondent, for example, mentions that:

"I wanted to learn Chinese, one of the most spoken languages in the world, to capitalize on the fact that knowing Chinese would open more doors of opportunity. I came to Taiwan because my country had diplomatic ties with Taiwan, making it easier for me than going to China."

Embracing cultural integration: Resilience through open-mindedness and faith

Several interviewees underscore the pivotal role of cultivating an open-minded disposition, demonstrating adaptability, and grounding oneself in biblical principles to seamlessly navigate and meld into the host culture and society.

Confronted with the inevitable episodes of culture shock, these individuals harnessed their resilience and foundational beliefs, not merely to surmount these challenges but also to derive pleasure and fulfillment from their journey of immersion into Taiwanese cultural intricacies. One interviewee, for instance, makes a remark that:

"I have faced many instances of culture shock but I managed to overcome them and enjoyed being integrated in the Taiwanese culture."

Navigating linguistic and social challenges in Taiwan

The interviewees provide detailed insights into the multifaceted challenges encountered during their acclimatization journey in Taiwan. Grappling with the intricacies of Mandarin Chinese emerges as a formidable challenge, given its nuanced tonal distinctions and the complexity of its characters. On a social front, they observe a certain reticence among segments of the Taiwanese populace, where interactions with foreigners might be more restrained. Moreover, they occasionally grapple with the discomfort of derogatory remarks and incongruous inquiries, which further underscores the complexity of their adaptation experience. For example, one respondent mentions that:

"Socially, many Taiwanese are shy and rarely interact with foreigners to the extent that some of them call foreigners especially black people 'monkeys' which is not a social attitude in the global world. They also ask many irrelevant questions that add no value to them."

Adjusting to the local cuisine is another challenge, as they find the food to be overly sweet due to high sugar and salt content. Despite these initial difficulties, the interviewees eventually learn to adapt to Taiwanese culture, embracing the idea of 'when in Rome, do as the Romans do.' Over time, they manage to overcome language barriers and cultural misunderstandings, becoming more integrated into the local way of life.

The interviewees discuss the challenges of entering the Taiwanese job market, especially for foreigners. They highlight the importance of Mandarin Chinese proficiency, as it is often a requirement for most job opportunities. One interviewee, for instance, argues that:

"Taiwanese job market is very challenging based on the education requirements. Almost all jobs in Taiwan require at least Mandarin Chinese proficiency to secure one."

Additionally, they note that obtaining employment can be difficult without being a student or a spouse of a Taiwanese citizen, as an Alien Resident Certificate (ARC) and work permit are typically necessary. While the interviewees acknowledge that these challenges can be seen as forms of discrimination and obstacles for foreigners, particularly recent graduates, they do not conclusively determine if there is specific discrimination against black individuals in the job market. They do observe that speaking Chinese can significantly increase job prospects, and that companies are ultimately focused on hiring skilled individuals to maximize profits. One of the interviewees expresses that:

"What I have noticed is that if you speak Chinese, you will have more job opportunities than if you do not. Companies are looking to make profit, therefore, they will not refrain themselves from hiring a skilled black person."

Perceived political stability and civic inclusion in Taiwan

The respondents underscored the commendable facets of residing in Taiwan, notably its robust democratic governance. Such a system has cultivated a tranquil atmosphere devoid of tumultuous rallies or election-related protests. The consistent stability and safety of Taiwan's socio-political landscape stand in marked contrast to their native countries. In terms of politics, Taiwan's commitment to democracy and political liberty ensures an ambiance of peace, conspicuously absent of riots and demonstrations pre and post-elections. The sense of security here is unparalleled. One of the interviewees articulately remarks that:

"Politically, there's democracy and political freedom in Taiwan which makes it peaceful without riots and demonstrations before, during and after elections. Taiwan is more secure."

Respondents commend Taiwan for its pristine

environment and reduced levels of pollution, clearly distinguishing the nation's commitment to cleanliness. Yet, they also express concerns regarding the hurdles faced by foreigners in assimilating into Taiwan's civic milieu, attributed to stringent immigration policies, a predominantly homogenous societal fabric, and a perceived deficiency in multicultural inclusivity. Nonetheless, despite these impediments, Taiwan garners consistent appreciation for its stability, safety, and impeccable sanitation standards. For instance, one respondent claims that:

"I feel like it difficult for foreigner to participate in Taiwan's civic environment given its tough immigration laws, and also its (almost) homogenous population and its lack of multiculturalism."

Perceptions of living standards in Taiwan

The interviewees elucidate that Taiwan's high standard of living often reflects its elevated cost of living, encompassing significant expenses in healthcare and housing. While they personally remain insulated from healthcare-related concerns or challenges in accessing basic necessities, they do observe some African acquaintances grappling with impediments, especially when seeking housing — an issue that could be rooted in potential prejudice from security personnel or fellow residents. One of the interviewees mentions that:

"I did not personally encounter any issue related to healthcare or satisfying basic necessities. But some black friends have found it difficult to rent houses. Some people complained that the security guards or some tenants give them suspicious looks."

On a lighter note, they comment on the fresh produce market in Taiwan; despite the premium price tags on fruits, many, with the exception of oranges, lack the rich flavor they expect. In summation, while the participants acknowledge Taiwan's commendable standard of living, they don't shy away from highlighting the specific adversities certain foreigners might encounter.

Enhance foreign residents' experience in Taiwan

The interviewees offer actionable recommendations aim to amplify the experiences of foreign nationals in Taiwan. Foremost among these is a suggestion for the government to grant work permits to all international students graduating from Taiwanese institutions. This step would be instrumental in seamlessly integrating these graduates into the nation's workforce. In a bid to enhance communication and comprehension, they advocate for a widespread adoption of bilingual policies

across governmental bodies, corporate entities, and civil society organizations, taking a cue from initiatives already underway in the educational domain. One respondent argues that:

"Taiwanese government, companies and civil society should adopt bilingual language as they have started in Education sector."

On a broader scale, a call is made for a more inclusive approach by the Taiwanese authorities. This includes introducing social benefits tailored for foreigners, crafting special assistance programs, and even setting up dedicated institutions that support their seamless assimilation into the local community. A resounding sentiment shared by the respondents is the aspiration for a more straightforward route to Taiwanese citizenship, one that doesn't necessitate the relinquishing of their original national identity. A number of interviewees claim that:

"I really hope, it could be easier to apply for the Taiwanese citizenship, i.e. a person willing to be Taiwanese should not have to renounce his/her citizenship."

Based on the preceding analysis and discourse, several dimensions—social, political, and economic—related to the adaptation experiences of African new residents in Taiwan emerge. They are presented as follows. In terms of social adaptation, as with Gatwiri et al. (2021), most of the interviewees find it challenging to adapt to Taiwan's social norms, particularly the language barrier, cultural differences, and the difficulty of making friends with locals. Some of them also mention experiencing discrimination and prejudice due to their skin color and nationality. Almost all interviewees indicate that the biggest challenge they face is the language barrier. Most people do not speak Chinese when they come to Taiwan, which causes great difficulties for their daily lives and work. Even though they make efforts to learn Chinese through various adaptation courses and language exchange programs, they still need to spend more time and energy to consolidate and improve their Chinese proficiency. While some respondents report that they have adapted well in Taiwan, family issues have become a barrier to their adaptation. Some are single-parent families who need to take care of their children and maintain their family income, while others are experiencing problems in their family relationships, which make them worried.

In terms of political adaptation, the majority of interviewees express satisfaction with Taiwan's political system, particularly its democracy and human rights protection. Nevertheless, there are apprehensions about the underrepresentation of new residents in the political arena and a limited awareness of their rights and needs

within the Taiwanese population, aligning with the findings of Just and Anderson (2014). Interviewees also indicate that they encounter difficulties and obstacles in obtaining their legal rights and assistance in Taiwan. Some people are not clear about how to fight for their rights and welfare, while others do not know how to apply for documents and insurance.

In our study examining economic integration, feedback from interviewees elucidates the multifaceted challenges present within Taiwan's employment sector. Many highlighted not only structural barriers in recruitment, professional advancement, and wage structures, but also broader impediments related to language proficiency, cultural nuances, and instances of perceived discrimination. This observation resonates with the insights presented by Grigoryev et al. (2020).

A notable concern among interviewees was the limited access to coherent and reliable sources of information regarding job vacancies and associated resources in Taiwan. For the African new residents, the inherent demand for Chinese language proficiency in many professional sectors acts as a substantial impediment. Further compounding these challenges is the occasional undervaluation or non-recognition of foreign-acquired qualifications and skills within the Taiwanese employment framework. Notwithstanding these challenges, it is encouraging to note instances of resilience: a segment of our interviewees have ventured into entrepreneurship, charting their own course in the economic landscape of Taiwan.

Regarding cultural adaptation, as with Gatwiri et al. (2021), the interviewees express interest in learning more about Taiwanese culture and making connections with the local community. Some mention that they have participated in cultural events and festivals and have learned about Taiwanese customs and traditions. There are significant cultural differences between Africa and Taiwan, from clothing and dietary habits to values and social behavior. Many people feel lonely and helpless as a result. Furthermore, some interviewees have encountered situations of racial discrimination and disrespect, which make it difficult for them to adapt and adjust to unequal treatment. Regarding the nuances of everyday life adaptation, a substantial segment of our interview respondents appreciates Taiwan's safety and the ease accompanying daily routines. Yet, a segment voice challenges—primarily rooted in linguistic impediments and cultural disparities—when seeking access to certain services, with the healthcare and education realms emerging as particularly salient sectors of concern.

Policy recommendations

Drawing upon the insights derived from our research findings, we put forth the following recommendations for the public agencies and associated entities in Taiwan.

1) Language and Cultural Training: Implement mandatory Mandarin language courses for new residents alongside cultural orientation sessions, while simultaneously training service providers in healthcare, education, and employment sectors to understand and respect African cultures.
2) Public Awareness Campaigns: Launch widespread media campaigns that educate the Taiwanese population about the rights, contributions, and needs of foreign residents, addressing myths and misconceptions.
3) Centralized Job Portal: Develop a centralized online platform where new residents can access information on job opportunities, work rights, and employment services, available in multiple languages.
4) Community Integration Events: Organize regular community events, such as cultural fairs, workshops, or sports events, that actively involve both local and foreign residents, fostering mutual understanding and camaraderie.
5) Political Inclusion Initiatives: Engage new residents through consultation forums or advisory councils where they can voice their concerns and provide feedback on policies affecting them, ensuring their representation in the decision-making process.

In short, African new residents in Taiwan face a number of difficulties and challenges in adapting to Taiwan. They need to spend more time and energy to learn the language, adapt to local culture, find suitable jobs, and obtain assistance.

However, there are also opportunities for them to succeed and contribute to Taiwanese society. It is crucial for policy makers and relevant organizations to understand and address the needs and challenges faced by African residents and to work towards creating a more inclusive and supportive environment for them. In the face of these difficulties and challenges, Taiwanese authorities should actively implement immigration policies, provide more educational opportunities, improve legal protection and welfare measures, and strengthen racial difference education to build a more inclusive and livable environment.

Conclusions

Based on the responses of the 15 African new residents interviewed, they have encountered various difficulties in adapting to life in Taiwan, including language barriers, cultural differences, employment opportunities, family issues, and difficulty in accessing help. These challenges are mainly due to the language barriers and cultural differences resulting from their cultural backgrounds and habits, which make the adaptation process slower and can lead to feelings of loneliness and helplessness, making it the biggest obstacle they face in adapting.

Additionally, because the education and skills of African new residents are not widely recognized in Taiwan's job market, many people also face economic problems when

looking for work. This requires us to develop more friendly policies, provide more assistance and resources to help them improve their language skills, find suitable jobs, and adapt to local culture and way of life.

Furthermore, there is a need to strengthen racial equality and diversity education, fundamentally easing racial divisions and barriers in understanding, and jointly shaping a more just and inclusive society.

Despite encountering numerous challenges, the interviewees in this study persevere, continuously acquiring linguistic and cultural knowledge, proactively seeking assistance, and dedicating themselves to their work. Their tenacity and efforts command our respect.

Regarding the local residents of Taiwan, it is essential for us to actively comprehend the adaptation challenges and needs they face in their daily lives and professional pursuits. Concurrently, we must strive to foster a more inclusive and equitable societal atmosphere to aid African newcomers in Taiwan in realizing enhanced development and quality of life. This endeavor can bolster understanding and dialogue among us, laying the foundation for reciprocal global civilization learning.

The exploration into the adaptation status of African new residents in Taiwan represents just an initial foray into this significant area of study. While this research undeniably sheds light on the issue and contributes to filling the current literature gap, it comes with inherent limitations. Specifically, the study's generalizability may be limited given the small number of participants, making it potentially non-representative of the broader African new resident community in Taiwan. This confined sample might also introduce potential biases by not capturing the full diversity of experiences and perspectives. While the insights from these participants are indeed profound, the breadth of experiences that a more extensive study might offer is missing. Moreover, the findings provide a temporal snapshot and might not necessarily capture long-term adaptation processes. Variabilities in adaptation experiences based on factors like age, gender, or length of stay could also remain underexplored. There's also the risk of the study being heavily influenced by particularly vocal participants, leading to an over-reliance on anecdotal evidence. While the research does point towards previously uncharted territories and could inspire subsequent studies, it's crucial for future researchers and policymakers to interpret the results within the context of these limitations. Nevertheless, this research illuminates previously unexplored facets of the issue, bridging a gap in the current literature. It is hoped that this preliminary study can act as a catalyst, encouraging further investigations into this significant topic.

CONFLICT OF INTERESTS

The authors have not declared any conflict of interests.

REFERENCES

Ager A, Strang A (2008). Understanding integration: A conceptual framework. Journal of Refugee Studies 21(2):166-191.

Akyeampong E (2000). Africans in the diaspora: the diaspora and Africa. African Affairs 99(395):183-215.

Anshan L (2015). African diaspora in China: Reality, research and reflection. Journal of Pan African Studies 7(10):10-43.

Berry JW (1997). Immigration, acculturation, and adaptation. Applied Psychology 46(1):5-34.

Castles S, de Haas H, Miller MJ (2014). The age of migration: International population movements in the modern world. Palgrave Macmillan.

Bureau of Consular Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Taiwan (2023). Visa exempt entry. https://www.boca.gov.tw/cp-149-4486-7785a-2.html.

Chiswick BR, Miller PW (2001). A model of destination-language acquisition: Application to male residents in Canada. Demography 38:391-409.

Czaika M, de Haas H (2014). The globalization of migration: Has the world become more migratory? International Migration Review 48(2):283-323.

Dollmann J (2022). The political integration of immigrants: How pre-and postmigration contexts matter. Journal of International Migration and Integration 23(3):1091-1125.

Everington K (2022). Taiwan ranked No. 2 in world for quality of life, Taiwan News. https://www.taiwannews.com.tw/en/news/4599155.

Gatwiri K, Mwanri L, McPherson L (2021). Afro-diasporic experiences of highly skilled Black African immigrants in Australia. Australian Social Work 74(4):480-491.

Grigoryev D, Batkhina A, Van De Vijver F, Berry JW (2020). Towards an integration of models of discrimination of immigrants: From ultimate (functional) to proximate (sociofunctional) explanations. Journal of International Migration and Integration 21:667-691.

Just A, Anderson CJ (2014). Opinion climates and immigrant political action: A cross-national study of 25 European democracies. Comparative Political Studies 47(7):935-965.

Kogan I (2006). Labor markets and economic incorporation among recent residents in Europe. Social Forces 85(2):697-721.

Lan PC (2006). Global Cinderellas: Migrant Domestics and Newly Rich Employers in Taiwan. Duke University Press.

Lan SW (2018). Exploring the academic English socialization of international graduate students in Taiwan. Journal of International Students 8(4):1748-1763.

Massey DS, Arango J, Hugo G, Kouaouci A, Pellegrino A, Taylor J. (1999). Worlds in motion: Understanding international migration at the end of the millennium. Clarendon Press.

Ministry of Education (2019). Education Statistics 2019, the Republic of China.

Momesso L (2016). Marriage migration and state interests: Reflections from the experiences of marriage migrants from the People's Republic of China in Taiwan. Asiatische Studien-Études Asiatiques 70(3):903-920.

National Immigration Agency, Ministry of Interior (2023). Immigration Statistics, the Republic of China.

Rich TS (2009), Status for Sale: Taiwan and the Competition for Diplomatic Recognition. Issues and Studies 45(4):59-188.

Sam DL, Berry JW (2010). Acculturation: When individuals and groups of different cultural backgrounds meet. Perspectives on psychological Science 5(4):472-481.

Vertovec S (2007). Super-diversity and its implications. Ethnic and Racial Studies 30(6):1024-1054.

Wang HZ, Chang SM (2002). The commodification of international marriages: Cross-border marriage business in Taiwan and Vietnam. International Migration 40(6):93-116.

Ward CA, Bochner S, Furnham A (2001). The psychology of culture shock, Routledge.

Related Journals:

African Journal of
Marketing Management

Journal of
Accounting and Taxation

Journal of
Economics and International Finance

International Journal of
Peace and Development Studies

International Journal of
Sociology and Anthropology

African Journal of
Business Management

Journal of
Geography and Regional Planning

Journal of
Hospitality Management and Tourism

Journal of
Public Administration and Policy Research

www.academicjournals.org