A CRITICAL ASSESSMENT OF THE EXPERIENCES OF NIGERIAN MIGRANTS RESIDENT IN DURBAN, SOUTH AFRICA

BY

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Abstract

International migration is on the rise. Propelled by political conflict, economic crises, environmental challenges and infrastructure collapse in many countries, people are resorting to migration as a survival strategy and to seek peace and stability. The dwindling numbers of Nigerians in the South and less developed regions is related to harsh economic realities and social upheaval. Post-apartheid South Africa has continued to witness an influx of migrants from Southern African Development Community (SADC) and non-SADC countries, including Nigerians. Using a sample of 20 Nigerian migrants living in South Africa in the city of Durban, this study sought to critically assess their experiences before, during and after their migration. It focussed on the factors that influenced their migration, travel routes, and the socio-economic costs of migration as well as their lived experiences. A qualitative approach was employed and purposive and snowball sampling was used to select the sample, while data were collected by means of in-depth interviews. The findings revealed that economic and educational factors were the major reason for migration to South Africa. South Africa was the chosen destination because of the lower cost of migration and less difficulty in securing residence permits or tourist visas compared with Western countries. Durban was a favoured destination city due to the availability of economic opportunities and post-graduate scholarships at universities. The majority of the study participants arrived in the country via O.R. Tambo International Airport in Johannesburg, while a few others entered from neighbouring countries where they were previously located. Those with scarce skills were able to secure employment with public and private institutions while others established themselves in the informal sector where they engage in different economic activities. The latter identified a lack of capital and exorbitant rent as major challenges. The study participants had integrated into local communities to some extent and had assimilated some aspects of local culture but expressed resentment towards South Africans. While they did not set a definite time when they would leave the country, they plan to migrate to countries in the West or to return to Nigeria once they have saved enough money. Even though they professed to be living a better life than in Nigeria they were not willing to recommend South Africa to compatriots seeking to leave their home country. Based on these findings, the study recommends that the South African government and non-governmental organisations raise awareness of the need for peaceful coexistence with migrants. It also recommends that credit should be extended to migrants that have proven themselves as entrepreneurs as this will create job opportunities and assist in mitigating the social ills confronting South Africa. Finally, the Nigerian Consulate should launch initiatives to highlight...
the positive impacts of Nigerians resident in South Africa and improve public perceptions of Nigeria.
Dedication

I dedicate this study to God Almighty, the restorer of hope. This research is also dedicated to all international migrants whose hopes and aspirations were dashed by the reality of their destination countries.
Declaration

I, Ayandeji Sunday Ayantokun, declare that this thesis is my original work. All sources from which information was obtained have been duly acknowledged in the references. This research work is submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the Master’s degree in Development Studies, University of KwaZulu-Natal. I further declare that no part of this work has been previously submitted to any university for examination.

_________________________________________  ___________________________________________
Signature                             Date

Student

_________________________________________  ___________________________________________
Signature                             Date

Supervisor
Acknowledgements

I would like to thank God Almighty for making this research study a success.

I acknowledge, with much appreciation, the unwavering support and guidance from my supervisor, Professor Oliver Mtapuri.

To my father in the lord Dr James Akanbi I say thank you, for your fatherly intervention and encouragement. I also say a big thank you to Pastor Samuel Umoh who always encouraged me and made sure I returned to school. My appreciation also goes to Peace Solo-Anaeto, Femi Oni, Pastor Amos Oni, Pastor Babatunde Adejumobi, Victor Francis and my other friends whom I met when my life was at its lowest ebb in Durban. I also thank my mother Mrs Comfort Ayantokun and my siblings Yinka, Peju, Tayo and Tola for their support and understanding during the darkest moment of my life.

Last, but not least, I acknowledge the research participants for their contribution.
## Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
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<tr>
<td>DHA</td>
<td>Department of Home Affairs</td>
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<tr>
<td>IMF</td>
<td>International Monetary Fund</td>
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<tr>
<td>OECD</td>
<td>Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development</td>
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<tr>
<td>SADC</td>
<td>Southern African Development Community</td>
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<tr>
<td>SAMP</td>
<td>South African Migration Project</td>
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<tr>
<td>StatsSA</td>
<td>Statistics South Africa</td>
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<tr>
<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
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<td>UNHCR</td>
<td>United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees</td>
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<tr>
<td>USA</td>
<td>United States of America</td>
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<tr>
<td>VFS</td>
<td>Visa Facilitation Service</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
List of Figures and Tables

Figure 1: Map of Durban

Table 2.1: African immigrants in South Africa (documented) by source country

Table 4.1: Demographic profile of participants

List of Appendices

Appendix 1: Interview guide

Appendix 2: Informed consent form
# Table of Contents

Abstract ........................................................................................................................................... i
Dedication ........................................................................................................................................ iii
Declaration ......................................................................................................................................... iv
Acknowledgements .......................................................................................................................... v
Abbreviations .................................................................................................................................. vi
List of Figures and Tables ................................................................................................................ vii

**List of Appendices** ........................................................................................................................ vii

**CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND** ................................................................. 1

1.1. Background of the study ........................................................................................................... 1
1.2. Problem statement ..................................................................................................................... 3
1.3. Rationale for the study ............................................................................................................. 3
1.4. Objectives of the study ............................................................................................................ 4
  1.4.1 Aim of the study ................................................................................................................ 4
  1.4.2 Objectives .......................................................................................................................... 4
1.5. Research questions .................................................................................................................. 5
1.6. Definition of terms ................................................................................................................... 5
1.7. Structure of the thesis .............................................................................................................. 6
1.8. Conclusion ................................................................................................................................ 7

**CHAPTER TWO: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW** ......................... 8

2.1. Introduction .............................................................................................................................. 8
2.2. Theoretical framework of the study ....................................................................................... 8
  2.2.1 Push-Pull Migration Theory ............................................................................................. 8
  2.2.2 Migration Systems Theory ............................................................................................. 8
2.3. Literature review .................................................................................................................... 10
  2.3.1 International migration in South Africa ........................................................................ 10
  2.3.2 Impacts of international migration ............................................................................. 11
  2.3.3 Migration trends in South Africa ................................................................................. 12
  2.3.4 Determinants of migration ............................................................................................ 15
2.4. Migrants and migration policies in South Africa ................................................................. 18
  2.4.1 Evolution of migration policy in South Africa .............................................................. 20
  2.4.2 Colonial and pre-1948 international migration policy ................................................. 21
2.4.3. Apartheid international migration policy ................................................................. 21
2.4.4. Post-1994 international migration policy ................................................................. 22
2.5. Experiences of migrants in South Africa ...................................................................... 23
  2.5.1. Migrants and employability .................................................................................. 23
  2.5.2. Manifestations of xenophobia .............................................................................. 24
2.6. Conclusion .................................................................................................................. 26

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY ................................................................. 27
3.1. Introduction ................................................................................................................ 27
3.2. Research design ......................................................................................................... 27
    Phenomenological case study design ........................................................................ 27
3.3. Study area .................................................................................................................. 28
3.4. Sampling ..................................................................................................................... 29
3.5. Data collection ........................................................................................................... 29
3.6. Data analysis ............................................................................................................. 30
3.7. Ethical considerations ............................................................................................... 30
    3.7.1 Credibility ........................................................................................................... 31
    3.7.2 Confirmability .................................................................................................... 31
    3.7.3 Transferability ................................................................................................... 31
    3.7.4 Dependability .................................................................................................... 31
    3.7.5 Authenticity ....................................................................................................... 31
3.8 Conclusion .................................................................................................................. 32

CHAPTER 4: DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS .................................................. 33
4.1 Introduction ................................................................................................................ 33
4.2 Profile of Migrants ..................................................................................................... 33
4.3. Reasons for migration and decision making .............................................................. 35
4.4. Travel routes and mode of entry to South Africa ....................................................... 38
4.5. Nigerian migrants’ activities in the South African economy ....................................... 38
4.6. Social networks ........................................................................................................ 40
4.7. Migrants’ experiences .............................................................................................. 41
    4.7.1. Migrants’ experiences in the host community ...................................................... 41
    4.7.2. Migrants’ experiences of the Department of Home Affairs ................................. 44
    4.7.3 Interaction with law enforcement agencies ............................................................ 45
    4.7.4. Encounters with crime ....................................................................................... 47
4.8. Migration’s influence on the migrants’ culture .......................................................... 48
    4.8.1. Availability of Nigerian Food ............................................................................. 48
4.8.2. Changes to Dress code............................................................................................49
4.8.3. Impact on Religion ...............................................................................................50
4.9. Standard of living and future plans ........................................................................50
4.10. Conclusion...............................................................................................................53

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS .............54
5.1. Introduction .............................................................................................................54
5.2. Summary ................................................................................................................54
5.3. Research findings and discussion..........................................................................55
5.4. Achievement of the Study’s Objectives ...............................................................58
5.5. Conclusion ..............................................................................................................60
5.6. Recommendations ................................................................................................60

References......................................................................................................................62
Appendices....................................................................................................................69
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

1.1. Background of the study
Migration is a prominent feature of the 21st century that has impacted socially and economically on all countries and regions in both adverse and positive ways. According to McKinley (2006) the question should therefore no longer be whether migration should be acknowledged. Rather, there is need to investigate and probe it so as to maximise its benefits and mitigate its challenges.

Kalitanyi and Visser (2010) note that depending on the context, the term migration relates to both humans and animals and can have different meanings at different times. Since time immemorial, humans have migrating across borders and regions in search of food, safety, shelter and favourable weather. These factors are still responsible for movement today, as well as new ones, such as relocating for work and high population density. Grabianowski (2008) observed that animal migration is usually propelled by factors that are critical to their survival and these mainly revolve around seasonal changes in the weather and feeding conditions as well as changes in mating and breeding patterns.

Goetz (1999) and Helton (2003) concur that there is no unanimously accepted definition of migration. Goetz defined it in relation to migration across state boundaries in the United States of America (USA), but excluded changes in place of habitation within a single country. For Goetz (1999), migration in the USA refers to the movement of people from one state to another with the intention of finding new places of abode. The current study adopts this definition with a nuance, to mean “the movement of people across country (and state) lines within the African continent for the purpose of establishing a new place or seeking peace and stability” (Kalitanyi and Visser, 2010). As noted by Serrie (1998) and Helton (2003) the number of immigrants in any destination country is to a large extent dependent on the country’s migration policy as well as the extent to which it is implemented. The tags governments attach to migration reveal more about their policy on international migration than the profiles and factors that influence migrants to migrate. These different tags relate to policies imposed on populations who move across borders with very diverse individual motivations. Globally, Australia, Canada, Israel, New Zealand and the USA are the only countries that encourage immigrants to obtain
permanent residence and citizenship by naturalisation. Furthermore, immigration policies vary. For example, New Zealand requires evidence of household income to prevent immigrants from becoming a burden on its social welfare services, while the USA does not impose this requirement.

Oucho’s (2006) investigation of intra-Africa migration using Southern African countries as a case study observes that, in the past, such migration was mainly undertaken by unskilled labourers seeking job opportunities in the mining industry. Zambia, Zimbabwe and South Africa were the major destinations. Since the end of apartheid, commercial migration has come to dominate. Many migrants from within the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC) migrate to South Africa to take up economic activities in the informal sector. According to Mcdonald et al. (1999) the number of migrants from different regions of Africa to SADC countries has continued to increase.

Rogerson (1999) and Posel and Casale (2003) maintain that South Africa has witnessed a consistent inflow of international migrants and asylum seekers since 1990. These migrants cannot be classified as labour migrants but rather as people who have migrated with the intention of seeking a new place of abode where they work. The majority originate from countries in the SADC region and other parts of Africa, while others hail from beyond the African continent. South Africa’s new migration policy has been the subject of debate since it was formulated. The debate centres on the potential effects of migration on the national labour market and the need to develop a new immigration policy. Friedrich and Visser (2005) note that South Africa is blessed with rich mineral and natural resources and that South Africans’ technical capacity to harness such resources needs to be developed rather than leaving this to immigrants, some of whom have become rich and successful within the country.

The presence of so many international migrants from all over the world and the implications for the labour market, as well as South Africa’s scarce resources, has triggered controversy. One unproven belief held by many South Africans, is that immigrants from the country’s northern borders are exploiting job opportunities that are meant for locals. Timberg (2005) challenges this assumption and maintains that, on the contrary, immigrants create businesses that employ them and at times South Africans as well.
Given the negative reactions to international migrants, one is tempted to ask whether they have any positive impact in their host countries in light of their education, experience and entrepreneurial skills. According to Ngwema (1998:2) and Timberg (2005), several studies have established that migrants’ education and skills are on par with those of citizens of their host countries.

1.2. Problem statement
Post-apartheid South Africa has witnessed a tremendous increase in the rate of cross border migration from other African countries (McDonald et al., 1999). Modern communication technology and networking among migrants and their families and colleagues back home has also resulted in an increase in migrants from non-SADC countries. Recent empirical studies estimate the number of immigrants in South Africa at between 500 000 and two million. This has resulted in officials and other individuals claiming that there are too many immigrants and that they are “enemies who are undermining and exploiting local opportunities” and resources (Maharaj and Moodley, 2000).

According to Van Der Berg (2002), South Africa continues to suffer significant economic imbalances and the expectations of citizens in the lower echelons of society remain unfulfilled while their capabilities go unrecognised. This has led to “subjective feelings of discontent,” with citizens sometimes taking out their frustration and bitterness on foreigners (Sihindondola, 2008).

It is against this background that this study explores the social and economic experiences of Nigerian immigrants in the Durban metropolitan area. It investigates the migration history of Nigerian immigrants, their travel routes, modes of entry and settlement in Durban. The relationship between Nigerian immigrants and local communities, as well as with various government agencies is also explored.

1.3. Rationale for the study
There no adequate evidence to suggest that there is much interaction between migrants and South Africans. Crush (2001) argued that as South Africans experience more social interaction with non-South African citizens, their perceptions and understanding begin to change positively. Government and other agencies are thus called upon to address negative attitudes
and educate South Africans on the importance of a more open and inclusive migration policy (McDonald, 1998; Crush, 2001).

Similar to other migrations, Nigerian migration in the era of globalization is driven by political turmoil, economic crises, and declining opportunities in some parts of the world, while other areas offer increased mobility (Miles, 2004). The United Nations (UN) (1998b) notes that the weak Nigerian economy has informed many Nigerians’ decision to migrate. Since independence, the country has experience economic crises as well as political instability. In the 1980s, the Ibrahim Babangida-led military government’s appeal to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank for funding resulted in the government’s adoption of a Structural Adjustment Program (SAP). During the 1980s, Nigeria recorded poor economic growth and the government was unable to create sufficient jobs. By 1986, many skilled workers gave up their jobs in order to migrate to developed countries (United Nations, 1998).

The declining numbers of Nigerians in the countries of the global South and less developed regions is related to the poor state of the economy and political instability that bedevil many of these countries. Nigerians that migrate to African and Asian countries are mainly temporary migrants and are usually involved in economic activities such as trading, professional vocations and construction. In recent years, China and other Asian countries that used to have few Nigerian migrants, have witnessed a larger influx; however their numbers remain comparatively low. According to a 2014 report on migration in Nigeria by the International Organization for Migration (IOM), as at 2013, the proportion of Nigerian migrants living in African countries was 35.6% while Europe and North America had 34.2% and 26.4%, respectively with the remainder on other continents.

1.4. Objectives of the study
1.4.1 Aim of the study
The aim of this study was to critically assess the experiences of Nigerian migrants resident in Durban, South Africa.

1.4.2 Objectives
- To investigate the experiences of Nigerian migrants during their stay in South Africa;

4
To explore the living standards of Nigerian migrants before and after settling in South Africa;

To examine the social and economic costs and benefits for Nigerian migrants in Durban;

To understand the pull factors influencing the migration of Nigerians to South Africa;

To inquire into the push factors in the home country that influence the migration of Nigerians to South Africa.

1.5. Research questions
Based on these objectives, the research questions are as follows:

• What are the experiences of Nigerians staying in Durban?
• In what ways have the lives of the migrants improved socially and economically since migrating to South Africa?
• What socio-economic costs and benefits are experienced by Nigerian immigrants in Durban, South Africa?
• What are the pull factors that influenced the migration of Nigerians to South Africa?
• What are the push factors that influenced the migration of Nigerians to South Africa?

1.6. Definition of terms

International migration
International migration can be defined as movement from the geographical boundary of one country to that of another. International migration is subdivided into two, namely, immigration and emigration. Emigration is the process of leaving one’s country of origin for another country with the intention of settling there permanently while immigration is the process of entering a new country with the intention of staying permanently. According to Weeks (1999) a migrant is different from a tourist in the sense that, in order for an individual to be regarded as a migrant they must have lived in their destination area for at least a year.

Internal migration
Mostert (1998)) defines “internal migration as movement between various provinces, regions and cities as well as from rural to urban areas and vice versa. Internal migration refers to the process of crossing boundaries but within a country. A person who leaves an administrative area to live in another administrative area within the same country is regarded as an out-migrant in the administrative area of origin and an in-migrant in the administrative area of destination”.

**Economic migrant**

Economic migrants refer to individuals who move to a country other than their country of origin with the intention of seeking employment or to pursue other economic activities (Isaac, 2013).

**Xenophobia**

Xenophobia has no unanimously agreed definition. However, it can be described as negative behaviour, prejudice or bad attitudes on the part of citizens of a particular community towards someone based on perceptions that they are foreign to that community (DHA, 2016).

1.7. **Structure of the thesis**

This study is presented in five chapters. The first chapter introduced the research topic. It discussed the concept of human migration and set out the rationale for investigating the experiences of Nigerian migrants resident in Durban. The chapter also highlighted the research objectives and research questions.

Chapter two discusses the theoretical framework that underpinned this research. It also presents a review of the literature on migration, and its trends and determinants globally and in South Africa. Finally, it examines the experiences of international migrants in South Africa.

Chapter three outlines the methodology used in conducting this research. It describes the study area, the research design, sampling technique, and data collection and analysis. The chapter also discusses the ethical considerations take into account by the researcher as well as the study’s limitations.

The fourth chapter presents and analyses the findings from the in-depth interviews. It examines the study participants’ profiles, the factors that influenced their decision to migrate, their travel routes and modes of entry into South Africa, their economic activities and their various lived experiences.
Chapter five discusses the research findings and presents an overall summary. It also offers recommendations based on the research findings that will assist the relevant authorities and institutions in policy formulation.

1.8. Conclusion
This chapter introduced the concept of human migration and the rationale for investigating the experiences of Nigerian migrants who are resident in Durban, South Africa. It examined international migration and migration to post-apartheid South Africa. The study’s objectives and research questions were presented, as well as definitions of key relevant terms.
CHAPTER TWO: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Introduction
This chapter presents the theoretical framework that underpinned this study as well as a review of the relevant literature.

2.2. Theoretical framework of the study
Human migration is an important survival strategy. Several theories have been developed to understand this complex phenomenon, including its causes, size, duration and the direction of migration flow. These theories aim to assist policy makers to confront this global challenge and create opportunities for the good of all. While no specific theory has been unanimously agreed upon by social scientists, two or more migration theories are usually combined in investigating this phenomenon.

This study employed Lee’s (1966) Push-Pull theory and Migration systems theory to understand the factors that influenced the decision making of Nigerian migrants in Durban as well as their lived experiences.

2.1.1 Push-Pull Migration Theory
The Push-Pull migration theory propounded by Lee (1966) takes into account socio-economic inequalities in the areas of origin and destination. It posits that migration flows towards destination countries are usually propelled by factors which could be economic or non-economic that are believed to be more favourable in the destination country through the interplay of the push and pull factors at places of origin and destination (Kebede and Lindquist, 1998). According to Lee (1966), the four major factors that influence people to migrate are perceptions of places of origin, those of places of destination, intervening obstacles and personal factors.

Push factors are unfavourable factors that cause individuals to decide to migrate to other places. Among others, these include unemployment, conflict, instability, drought, famine, social inequality, lack of economic opportunities, and an increase in population. On the other hand, pull factors are potential solutions to push factors. They include job opportunities, a higher standard of living and political and social freedom. Intervening opportunities also influence the pattern and stream of migration (Berhane, 2000).
This theory describes South Africa, a country with a history of dependence on labour sourced through labour migration from other countries across the region during the apartheid era. Demand for skilled labour also serves as pull factor that attracts skilled migrants from other places.

2.1.2 Migration Systems Theory
Migration systems theory was put forward by Fawcett (1989). It regards migration as a function of macro and micro structures. Fawcett suggested that at the macro level, interstate relationships, economic conditions and politics are vital, while at the micro level, religion, individual social networks and the migrant’s practices are determinants of migration. He noted that social networks include support from family and friends, and community ties that help reduce migration costs and enable migrants to settle down.

Family, friends and the community provide the necessary assistance to obtain accommodation and jobs and help migrants to familiarize themselves with the new environment. Massey et al. (1999) note that several studies have shown the importance of networks in finding work, and providing shelter, finance and social support for new migrants.

The world system theory is pertinent to the situation in South Africa, as there are language and cultural communalities between it and countries like Lesotho, Botswana, Swaziland, Namibia and Zimbabwe. The cumulative causation theory of migration submits that once a migration flow starts, it will continue to rise (Fussell and Massey, 2004). South Africa experienced increased international migration after the demise of apartheid, which constrained the free movement of people. The establishment of regional blocs such as the SADC and economic integration among other countries of the region through trade and investment with the establishment of Common Market for East and Southern Africa (COMESA) has increased migration flows from Eastern and Southern Africa to South Africa.

Russell (2012) defined the systems approach as one which “enables the conceptualisation of migration to move beyond a linear, unidirectional, push-pull movement to an emphasis on migration as circular, multi-causal and interdependent, with the effects of change in one part of the system being traceable through the rest of the system” (Faist, 1997). It examines the environmental situation, in terms of prevailing economic circumstances, government policy,
societal values, and access to communication, transportation and other public goods. It also takes into cognisance the regulatory subsystems that determine who is to be retained or not retained (Mabogunje, 1970). In South Africa, human migration across national borders is usually regulated by the government through issuing various categories of visas. However, South Africa’s borders with its neighbouring countries are porous and permit undocumented migrants to move into the country.

2.3. Literature review

2.3.1 International migration in South Africa

South Africa is a major contributor to international migration among African countries and plays host to a large proportion of global international migrants. According to the United Nations (UN, 2013), the country experienced annual net immigration of 247 000 between the years 2000 and 2010, while other countries that witnessed a high influx of immigrants during the same period included the United Kingdom, Canada and Australia, with 181 000, 228 000 and 181 000, respectively. Adepoju (2003) concurred that South Africa has continued to be a destination of choice for migration amongst the youth from other African countries. Adepoju (2006) described South Africa as a country that has the features of a country of origin considering the emigration of some of its citizens as well as those of a destination country considering the inflow of migrants from within the African continent and beyond. South Africa is also a favoured destination amongst those migrating for economic reasons and for its developed social infrastructure, political stability and viable economy (UNHCR, 2014; Landau and Segatti, 2009). In recent times, there has been geometric progression in the number of immigrants from within the African continent who are compelled to leave their home country due to factors like political instability, poor economic conditions and environmental degradation. Thus, similar to Western countries, the number of both documented and undocumented migrants has continued to increase in South Africa (UNHCR, 2014). Poor living conditions in African countries prompted much migration to South Africa. The IOM (2013b) also notes that the number of immigrants from the eastern region of Africa, specially Ethiopia and Somalia, has increased consistently. A 2014 report by Statistics South Africa (StatsSA) on legally resident migrants in South Africa revealed the distribution of temporary resident permits among migrants based on their countries of origin. It showed that Zimbabwean migrants accounted for 18.5%, while Nigerians, Indians and Chinese stood at 10.1%, 7.7% and
6.7%, respectively (StatsSA, 2013). It is interesting to note that 85.3% of South Africa’s temporary residence permit holders are in the economically active age group (15 to 64 years). The UNHCR (2013) also affirmed that South Africa is a major host country with large numbers of asylum seekers. In 2013, it was reported that the Department of Home Affairs received 70 000 applications, about 12 000 less than the number recorded in the preceding year (UNHCR, 2013). It was also reported that as at August, 2014 South Africa was home to a total of 65 520 asylum seekers (UNHCR, 2014). A technical report on Migration Dynamics in South Africa released by StatsSA in 2011 also revealed that about 230 000 asylum seekers’ applications were either being processed or waiting to be appealed. These asylum seekers are mainly from Somalia, Ethiopia, DRC and Angola.

2.3.2. Impacts of international migration

International migration has effects on both the migrants’ sending and receiving nations. According to Ratha et al. (2011), remittances sent home by migrants to assist family members left behind have been found to reduce poverty and improve their health and general wellbeing. In addition, international migration has been found to modify people’s approach to and interpretation of gender responsibilities, especially in male-led households. Upon migration of men, the responsibility rests on women to make important decisions for the family. The implication of migration for the sending countries in terms of skills is usually ‘brain drain’ while receiving countries enjoy an increased number of skilled labourers. International migration also upsets the demographic distribution of people in migrants’ destination countries. Given the fact that international migrants are usually in their economically active years, it is reasonable to conclude that their immigration will increase the number of people in this population segment. International migration also affects the fertility rate of the population in a receiving country especially when female migrants are in their reproductive years. When migrants migrate to a destination country with a low fertility rate, this changes the demographic distribution of the population, especially those between the ages of 0 and 14.

Migrants encounter various challenges in their destination countries which could range from social, to climatic, health, psychological or economic issues. They find it difficult to understand and communicate in the local language, and could experience difficulty in getting jobs or exploitation by employers. International migration has continued to increase due to
globalization and a heightened flow of information, as many young people, especially skilled ones from less developed countries have become aware of better economic opportunities and the enabling environment available in more developed countries. The OECD (2010) observed that developed countries, especially those in the west and the east had attracted many skilled workers, particularly health professionals to meet their labour needs, causing sending countries to suffer brain drain. At the institutional level, destination countries bear the economic cost of providing health and social services to migrants.

On the other hand, numerous studies have concluded that migration has huge potential benefits. Yang (2008) notes that in 2002 remittances from the USA to developing countries were estimated at US$79 billion, exceeding total official development aid for that year which was valued at US$51 billion. On returning to their countries of origin, migrants are considered as assets as they can use the skills and experiences they acquired to contribute to the development of their nation. Whether the outcome of migration is beneficial or detrimental is often a function of the individual concerned and environmental influences. In addition the demographic profile, skills, legal status, education and time of movement of the migrant and the purpose of migration also determine the success or failure of a migration venture.

2.3.3 Migration trends in South Africa
The migration pattern in South Africa was historically influenced by the apartheid system of government. The collapse of apartheid and the advent of democratic rule in 1994 led to the removal of movement barriers. Coupled with harsh economic conditions and political instability in most of its neighbouring countries, this has led to increased number of immigrants migrating into South Africa either temporarily or permanently.

While it would appear that more studies have investigated migration in South Africa than other African countries, controversy persists with regard to the number of immigrants and their impact. Official statistics place the number of immigrants at 1.1 million, but these only refer to Botswana, Mozambique, Malawi, Swaziland, Lesotho, and Zimbabwe which according to Solomon (1996) were said to have originated through the movement of ethnic groups in the 19th century. Crush and Williams (2003) estimate that the population of undocumented migrants resident in South Africa ranges between 500 000 and eight million. This suggests that the methods used to project the number of undocumented migrants through extrapolation from
repatriations and visa overstays are not completely reliable. The Immigration Service has not been able to prevent the entrance of illegal migrants due to a paucity of funds. For instance, Minnaar (2001) notes that immigration officers had to resort to the use of horse or foot patrols due to insufficient petrol. Some studies have also indicated that some irregular migrants have no intention of staying permanently. A study conducted in Swaziland by Simelane and Crush (2004) showed that more than half of the respondents expressed the aspiration of going to South Africa for only six months to two years, while a few indicated their intention to migrate permanently. Shaw (2001) claims, that, West Africans, mainly Nigerians are responsible for much of organised crime in South Africa through their criminal networks.

Crush and Williams (2003) posited that the downward trend in legal immigration since the early 1990s is a reflection of government policies that impede easy migration; this is also evident in the difficulties employers confront in securing residence visas for their employees. Crush and Mcdonald (2001) claim that apart from the amnesty that was granted to foreign nationals who had resided in the country for a reasonable period of time, the post-apartheid government has not displayed any serious affinity for international migration. Klaaren and Ramji (2001) also observe that the country’s policing of immigration, has not changed much since the end of apartheid system. Landau (2005) asserts that the police are using nativism against migrants by creating ‘zones of exception’ in order to exploit migrants. Danso and Mcdonald (2001) observed that the South Africa media has always projected immigrants in a bad light in their coverage of migration related issues. This consequence is South Africans’ negative perceptions of migrants due to fear of competition. A study conducted by Peberdy and Rogerson (2000) revealed that international migrants of African descent in South Africa have better finance and entrepreneurial skills than their black South African counterparts. Furthermore, some studies claim that employers prefer to employ immigrants rather than native South Africans. This could be due to the fact that foreign migrants are more desperate for jobs or are willing to take up jobs that South Africans deem unsuitable (Zuberi and Sibanda, 2004). Human Rights Watch (2006) is of the view that, although South Africa’s immigration laws seem to have been relaxed in 2003, the government still prefers deportation as a tool to expel undocumented migrants from the country rather than compelling employers to comply with labour law.
The extent and impact of the migration of highly-skilled South Africans to developed countries is an issue for debate. Bhorat et al. (2002) are of the view that emmigration figures are not accurate as they only reflect the numbers of citizens who reported their decision not to return when they were leaving. Investigations in some migrant receiving countries revealed that the volume of skilled migrants is higher than official figures. The negative balance of skilled residents in a country implies that skilled migrants are not entering the country while existing skilled ones are emigrating. Wöcke and Klein (2002) cite a report by the International Labour Organisation (ILO) that noted that emigration of skilled labour had suppressed economic growth in various sectors. A 1998 survey revealed that the majority of skilled black South Africans agreed that their living standards had improved since the coming to power of the democratic government while the majority of their white counterparts felt that their living standards had deteriorated. In another survey conducted in 2002 among 47 725 skilled workers, the majority of the respondents stated that they were considering emigration while only about 7% had already concluded plans to migrate in less than six months (OECD, 2003). The shortage of health professionals is having a severe impact on public hospitals. The Department of Health estimates shortages of 4 000 and 33 000 medical doctors and nurses, respectively, with the number of posts needing to be filled representing about one-fourth of the total posts for these two groups in the public sector (OECD, 2003). In contrast, the private sector seems to have an excess of nurses. Bach-Y-Rita and Kercel (2003) affirm that over the years, nurses’ emigration has been encouraged by international nursing associations that provide support and assistance to migrating nurses. However, it would seem that emigration is not the root cause of the shortage of health professionals in public hospitals as the register of the South African Nursing Council shows that 35 000 registered nurses are staying at home or jobless which is well above the 33 000 posts that need to be filled. Health professionals cite a number of reasons for migrating, including the high crime rate, falling education standards, the unstable economy and the activities of foreign recruitment agencies.

The United Nations (2013) report showed that African migrants accounted for the majority of the youngest immigrants in the world, most of whose are aged around 30. South Africa is a favourite destination to these youthful migrants who migrate for a number of reasons that are not limited to economic, social or educational factors. As discussed earlier, the South African
government issued 101 910 temporary residence permits and 6 801 permanent residence permits in 2013 (StatsSA, 2013). The bulk of legal immigrants were from SADC countries, amounting to about 54.6% and 46.6% of temporary and permanent residence permits issued, respectively (StatsSA, 2013). Although data are not available to accurately estimate the number of illegal migrants, resident within the country, it can be deduced from the above scenario that more will come from neighbouring countries than elsewhere. The IOM (2014) reported that the number of undocumented migrants from East African countries to the Southern African region is increasing and most end up in South Africa. The International Migration Report (IMR) estimates the volume of net immigration to South Africa at 96 000 per annum between 1990 and 2000 while it increased to 247 000 per year between 2000 and 2010 (UN, 2013). South Africa moved from being the 8th highest migrant receiving country in 1990-2000 to 6th position in 2000–2010, ahead of more developed Western countries like Canada and Australia. It is important to bear in mind that South Africa has the dual characteristics of both a migrant sending and receiving country (StatsSA, 2015).

2.3.4. Determinants of migration
Jerome’s (1926) study was one of the first to examine the phenomenon of migration. He investigated immigration from Europe to the USA over the period of a century before the enforcement of immigration quotas in the 1920s and concluded that such migration was due to economic reasons. Kelley (1965) also affirmed that economic factors were responsible for the migration of British citizens to Australia between 1865 and 1935. All the migration theories he used for his studies confirmed his findings. Similar studies have been conducted in Africa. In Nwajiuba’s (2005) study on Nigerians’ migration to other countries, economic factors were cited by 80% of his respondents as their motivation while 18% cited educational reasons. Wouterse and Van Den Berg (2004) also concluded that employment prospects and the possibility of earning more lured poor households in Burkina Faso to migrate to other African nations. In contrast, richer households were disposed to travel overseas because of perceived better economic prospects.

Wentzel and Bosman (2001) studied cross-border migration to South Africa by citizens of neighbouring countries, Mozambique and Zimbabwe and observed that they were motivated purely by macroeconomic variables. The authors concluded that citizens of these countries
were forced to migrate due to better wages, job opportunities, and a more stable economy in South Africa. The findings also revealed that the non-economic reasons cited were not sufficient to instigate cross-border migration. Crush and Mcdonald (2002) conducted several studies to identify the factors that make South Africa and Botswana appealing to international migrants. They found that these countries’ relatively stronger economies were the main ‘pull’ factor. Similarly, the 2001-02 HRSC international migration survey conducted by Brown University revealed that the majority of skilled immigrants in South Africa were attracted by the possibility of finding decent jobs and also to increase their earnings (Wentzel et al., 2006).

Despite the dominance of economic factors in the international migration literature, some studies have established that non-economic reasons are responsible for many migration processes. Litchfield and Waddington (2003) and Tsegai and Plotnikova (2004) found that educated and skilled Ghanaians were more likely to migrate than their less educated and skilled counterparts. They thus concluded that there is a correlation between migration and level of education. Bach-Y-Rita and Kercel (2003) found that professional associations of nurses and social networks were responsible for South African nurses’ migration to the United Kingdom. The mixed findings of previous studies call for a pragmatic research approach to fully understand whether or not economic reasons are the major motivation for migration to South Africa.

2.3.5. African migrants in South Africa

The post-apartheid era has witnessed a massive inflow of African and Asian migrants that intend to stay temporarily or permanently (Landau and Segatti, 2009). These include a significant number of asylum seekers as well as skilled workers seeking better economic opportunities. As Table 2.1 below shows, Nigerians and Zimbabweans made up the bulk of African migrants in South Africa over the past two decades (StatsSA, 2011). Matlou (2007) noted that, as far back as the mid-1980s, the oil crisis in Nigeria led to skilled workers moving to the erstwhile “homelands” in South Africa. He added that “…Over the past decade, a significant population of skilled professionals from Nigeria, Ghana, Zimbabwe have been received to replace emigrating South African professionals who moved to Europe, America, and Australia” (Matlou, 2007).
Migration to South Africa has fluctuated over the past three decades in line with changes in migration policy. There was a sharp decline from 1983-1985, followed by a steady increase in the number of immigrants. Table 2.1 below shows that, another decline was recorded from the early 1990s and this trend did not change until 2000 (StatsSA, 2011). Crush (2008) ascribed this to the restrictive migration policies embraced by the first post-apartheid government. Fresh out of apartheid, foreign citizens were viewed as outcasts and as a threat to the country’s economic prospects. According to Posel and Casale (2003), the end of apartheid had little impact on the laws governing migration except for the fact that South Africa subsequently relaxed entry requirements for neighbouring countries such as Zimbabwe in the early part of 1990 and beyond (Matlou, 2007). Crush et al. (2012) confirm the increased flow of Zimbabweans to South Africa in the 2000s: “Earlier, a 2001 survey of Zimbabwean professionals showed that 86% had considered emigration and by 2000, 51% of all Zimbabwean-trained medical doctors had left their country, with South Africa as the most popular destination. Legal entries into South Africa from Zimbabwe rose rapidly from around 500,000 in 2000 to more than 1.2 million in 2008. The numbers with work permits increased from 3,500 in 2001 to 21,000 in 2008” (Crush et al., 2012). The 2002 Immigration Act aided easy legal entry and employment of Zimbabweans in South Africa. Crush (2008) noted that between 2000 and 2008, it was reported that about half the total number of immigrants in South Africa had originated from countries on the African continent. Accurate statistics to establish the actual number of immigrants resident in South Africa are not available.

South Africa has benefited from the immigration of migrants with scare skills to meet the requirements of its developmental agenda (Landau and Segatti, 2009). Lucas (2006) cited Rule and Zimmerman (1994) who argued that “The volume of immigration to South Africa more than compensates for the loss of emigrants”. Citizens with scare skills emigrated in order to reap better monetary returns on their skills in areas they perceived to offer better economic opportunities. The South African government has continued to grant more temporary residence permits to migrants including Africans and efforts have been made to attract more migrants with scarce and critical skills via various residence permits such as general, scare-skill work permits, general work permits, and intra-company permits (Loren and Segatti, 2009).

Table 2.1. African immigrants in South Africa (documented) by source country
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Lesotho</th>
<th>Malawi</th>
<th>Mozambique</th>
<th>Nigeria</th>
<th>Zimbabwe</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>227</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>556</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>405</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>394</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>575</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>198</td>
<td>326</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>631</td>
<td>464</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>237</td>
<td>174</td>
<td>187</td>
<td>1698</td>
<td>959</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>2706</td>
<td>2047</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>12210</td>
<td>15628</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td>3886</td>
<td>2803</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>14089</td>
<td>24370</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2013</td>
<td>2766</td>
<td>1720</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>10265</td>
<td>18889</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


2.4. Migrants and migration policies in South Africa
In recent times, Zimbabweans were responsible for the majority of migration movements in Southern Africa, with a total of about two million heading to countries like South Africa, Botswana, and other states within the region and beyond the continent. However, migration in Southern Africa has been altered by certain factors that will persist after the Zimbabwean crisis has been resolved. The most significant is movement from comparatively poor societies to comparatively rich ones. In addition, a large number of people continue to move across geographical boundaries that are designed to separate communities that remain closely connected. Given growing economic cooperation amongst countries and governments’ interest in simplifying cross-border migration, it is safe to conclude that the international migration rate will increase in the next few decades. South Africa has not been able to manage this issue effectively due to the lack of funds to manage its borders and the challenge of controlling movement in a region where many people move around without valid travel documents. The South African government’s policy on migration has also been unreliable and unsuitable, and is likely to be exploited by unethical government officials. The country has not received skilled immigrants from the region to the degree that it should have, and its policies with regard to Zimbabwean migrants could be described as unpredictable, unsuitable and impracticable. Furthermore, people with a genuine intention to migrate legally are often confronted by restrictions. In light of this, there is an urgent need to reappraise and develop new migration
policy that positions South Africa’s national interests first; stimulates economic growth in the SADC region; mitigates the negative consequences of the high level of immigration and ensures that migrants’ sending countries also enjoy the benefits of the migration process (CDE, 2011). The government has adopted some measures such as setting rules and accepting the refugee rights documents issued by the UN to safeguard immigrants in the country. The then President delivered a speech discouraging xenophobia in the aftermath of the World Conference on Racism and Xenophobia in Durban where he emphasised that mistreatment of people who come to South Africa as friends is “wrong and unacceptable” (McDonald, 2000). This was important in that other high ranking government officials had been guilty of promoting exclusionary attitudes after the end of apartheid. In 1994, the Minister of Home Affairs stated that, "if South Africans are going to compete for scarce resources with millions of 'aliens' that are pouring into South Africa, then we can bid goodbye to our Reconstruction and Development Program" (Palmary, 2002). Three years later, in 1997, former Home Affairs minister, Mangosuthu Buthelezi stated in a speech at a meeting on migration in the region that, "South Africa is faced with another threat and that is the SADC ideology of free movement of people, free trade and freedom to choose where you live and work. Free movement for persons spells disaster for our country" (Landau, 2005). In his ‘state of the city’ speech, the executive mayor of Johannesburg said that although migration is good in some ways, it puts severe strain on employment, housing and public services (ibid). As Landau argues, it is not possible to compute the level of strain exerted by international migration due to the lack of sufficient data.

Other government service providers have climbed on the bandwagon. The South African Police Service (SAPS) is a typical example and represents one of immigrants’ worst nightmares not because they commit crime but due to arbitrary arrests (Masuku, 2006). The police have legal powers to "apprehend individuals who are suspected to be undocumented non-citizens" (Shindondola, 2003). Such arbitrary arrests are often based on flimsy evidence. For example one of the methods the SAPS Internal Tracing Unit uses to identify undocumented immigrants is language (Harris, 2002). If an international migrant cannot properly speak a word in three local languages, he/she is likely to be arrested. Complexion, dress and hair style are other factors that are taken into account. Harris (2002) recounts the case of a Rwandan refugee abducted by gunmen, and stabbed and mugged. The abductors threatened to kill him unless he
paid them R300 each month. The refugee tried to report the incident but instead of taking his statement, the police tore up his section 21 refugee paper and put him in jail because he did not have the 'proper document’. After spending the weekend in jail he had to bribe the police to be released and continued to pay R300 a month to the kidnappers for three years (Harris, 2002). It is important to point out that the police are under pressure to meet monthly arrest targets (Masuku, 2006). In order to be promoted, an officer must have a number of arrests to his/her name. They thus "round up the usual suspects" (such as refugees, asylum seekers and other immigrants) that are vulnerable because of their tenuous legal status. Some officers also regard immigrants as "mobile ATMs" because they often carry cash due to the fact that they cannot access financial services (ibid).

The media also plays a significant role in portraying a negative image of immigrants (Danso and Grant, 2000). A study by the South African Migration Project (SAMP) found that more than half of the publications in the print media contained at least one negative reference to immigration and 36% made two or more negative references in a single report (Danso and Grant, 2000). The information presented in the media should be evaluated for its authenticity and accuracy. For example, reporting that the number of undocumented foreign nationals in South Africa lies between 2.5 and 4.1 million lacks critical assessment; is biased and inculcates fear and discomfort among readers. A more balanced and in-depth approach should be adopted when reporting on migration.

2.4.1. Evolution of migration policy in South Africa

In order to comprehend the challenges currently threatening the management of international migration in South Africa, it is necessary to trace its history as well as evaluate the current policy environment. The historical and geographical background is vital in understanding migration patterns in any nation. South Africa is no stranger to migration as its economy was built on the mining of minerals by the European colonisers using local and foreign migrant labour. This resulted in post-colonial states with massive structural inequalities and under-developed public infrastructure. Scholars argue that discounting this history carries the danger of undermining the impact of South Africa’s migration policy and practice, and its established political and economic links within the region (StatsSA, 2015).
2.4.2. Colonial and pre-1948 international migration policy

In the colonial era, the Southern African countries which later formed the SADC regional bloc were connected by labour migration. Migration connected these neighbouring countries in a single regional labour market during the 20th century. Given South Africa’s natural endowments and economic potential, it became the main target of labour migrants during the 19th century. The local labour supply was not sufficient to meet the mines’ demand and the Chamber of Mines sourced additional labour from neighbouring countries. Even prior to the apartheid era, migration policy in South Africa was centred on racial discrimination, with a focus on maintaining white supremacy by encouraging more white immigrants while excluding those from other racial groups. The colonial and apartheid governments favoured white migrants when it came to naturalizing foreign nationals as South African citizens. The main objective of the pre-1948 and apartheid governments was to ensure an adequate supply of labour and sustain white rule. The first national immigration law, the Immigrants Regulation Act of 1913, aimed to exclude Indian immigrants who had followed Indians that arrived as indentured labourers to work on the sugarcane farms from 1860. The increasing Indian population was perceived as a threat to white supremacy. After the First World War, South Africa began to receive an inflow of European migrants, mainly from Eastern Europe. The majority were Jews or of the Catholic faith, who were seen to be at a disadvantage racially, economically and politically. The Immigration Quota Act of 1930 was enacted to exclude unwanted migrants and launch a system of categorising migrants as either wanted or unwanted. The Aliens Act of 1937 made immigration easy for migrants who qualify as desirable. Until recently, all immigration laws in South Africa were based on the guidelines of this Act, including the use of the word “alien” to refer to people who are not South African or British nationals (StatsSA, 2015).

2.4.3. Apartheid international migration policy

During the apartheid era, restricted border control measures were the main instrument to control the immigration of politically undesired people especially African neighbours who might want to gain access to the country or use it as a path to travel abroad. Until 1992 when the Immigration Service was established, the police, directed by an intelligence unit were responsible for securing the country’s borders. Various government departments were responsible for general control through the ‘pass laws’ and for providing the best services to
white citizens. In order to ensure a ready supply of cheap labour, the apartheid government did not regulate the immigration of African migrants, but imposed restrictions to prevent them from applying for citizenship. The Aliens Control Act was enacted in 1991 and was premised on the 1913 Act that excluded blacks and was amended in 1930 and 1937 to exclude Jews. The racist undertone of South African immigration policy was exposed when the government openly encouraged white people in neighbouring African countries who were threatened by the domination of black people in their country to migrate to South Africa.

Between 1960 and 1980, skilled and semi-skilled white migrants who were formerly resident in countries like Kenya, Zambia and Zimbabwe were granted citizenship to increase the white population. From 1913 to 1986, black people were not issued with temporary or permanent residence permits and could only gain entry into South Africa by entering illegally or on a contract basis to work on the mines. Traditionally, labour migrants in South Africa were employed in the mining industry. The proportion of labour migrants from different African countries varied at different times but Zimbabwe, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Botswana and Swaziland were the major countries of origin. All the labour migrants were sourced through the Employment Bureau of Africa office in their home country. This was the only agency licenced by the colonial government to recruit labour from other African nations for South Africa’s mining industry. On termination of each contract, migrants are compelled to return to their country to renew it (StatsSA, 2015).

2.4.4. Post-1994 international migration policy
The first post-apartheid government aimed to abolish racially-based and discriminatory laws, and facilitate meaningful cooperation between the country and others within the SADC region, Africa and the rest of the world. The advent of the democratic system of governance positioned South Africa to play an active role in the community of nations. Indeed, mobilisation of international support played a crucial role in ending apartheid. Humanism and internationalisation are enshrined in the Freedom Charter and the country’s Constitution. While the Constitution leaves specific immigration policy decisions to democratic processes, it lays down certain relevant principles. South Africa’s independence and sovereignty as a nation are fundamental, including the right to control its economy and ensure the protection of its territorial integrity. The other factors that affect migration policy are the country’s reverence
for human rights, security, economic opportunities and its history of honouring international agreements.

Since 1994, South Africa has undergone a prolonged process to formulate migration policy and legislation. This includes a Green Paper drafted in 1997 which focussed on international migration, a White Paper coupled with a drafted Bill on migration and the enactment of an Immigration Act in 2002 that was later amended. An Act on Refugees was also promulgated and its modification is still in process. Since 1994, many South Africans have emigrated and used their new passport to travel either for tourism, study, business or work in other countries. Tourists and skilled migrants have contributed immensely to the economic advancement and growth of their destination countries. However, while international migration policy has been deracialised, the 1999 White Paper retained some elements of colonial legislation. For example it suggested that the apartheid era policy could be adopted by the post-apartheid government and modified to comply with current government practices. This would in principle ensure that immigrants are not unlawfully victimized on the basis of their nationality, religion or ethnicity. However, the current policy is premised on rules that are unfriendly to Africans but friendly to Europeans and those from other Western nations (StatsSA, 2015).

2.5. Experiences of migrants in South Africa

2.5.1. Migrants and employability

Employment generation is a major challenge for the South African government. According to Trading Economics (2008) the South Africa unemployment rate stands at 23.2%. The government and the private sector have sought to address this situation, but have not able to create a sufficient number of jobs. The majority of South Africans are employed by small business owners while many immigrants are self-employed. The presence of large numbers of international migrants from different countries and the effect on the country’s limited resources have led to much debate. An unsubstantiated notion held by many South Africans is that immigrants from neighbouring countries, especially Zimbabweans are exploiting job opportunities that belong to locals. Timberg (2005) maintains that, in contrast, many migrants are actually self-employed and sometimes employ South Africans (Kalitanyi and Visser, 2010).

In view of this undesirable reaction to immigrants, it is important to determine whether immigrants contribute to the advancement and development of host nations, given their
education, skills and entrepreneurial talents. Idemudia et al. (2013) and Timberg (2005) noted that many studies have established that immigrants and the citizens of their host country are on par in terms of their level of education and skills.

Notwithstanding their level of education and capabilities, immigrants find it hard to obtain employment and are often grossly exploited. Discouraged by their failure to integrate with the host society, they resort to entrepreneurship, sometimes in a niche regarded by locals as their own (Salaff, 2002). This forces many immigrants to set up small businesses, generating job opportunities for themselves and at times for South Africans. Timberg (2005) comments: "I don't think that refugees are taking jobs that would otherwise go to South Africans; they are starting little businesses and employing South Africans more often".

However, migrant entrepreneurs encounter many challenges and prejudice from their host community that are targeted at them and their interests. Notwithstanding the difficult circumstances under which they work, most are optimistic and hope to expand their businesses across South Africa (Rogerson, 1999). The fact that they endure these conditions affirms that immigrants have the entrepreneurial quality of perseverance.

Migrant entrepreneurs in South Africa have no access to finance and credit. Fisher (2005) notes, that, real entrepreneurs need to be innovative and to start small and grow from there. This is called 'bootstrapping'. A large number of African migrants source their business capital in this way as they have difficulty in acquiring residence permits and accessing bank loans. They also face challenges and harassment from the police and customs, immigration and municipal officials, as well as criminals.

2.5.2. Manifestations of xenophobia

Xenophobia basically refers to a fear of foreigners or outsiders. It is a perception that is developed based on an individual’s nationality. A person coming from outside the host community, the society or the nation is considered to be a foreigner or an outsider. Xenophobia is an attitude and prejudice developed by the host community that often results in 'newcomers' being rejected and excluded (IOM, ILO, OHCHR, 2001). It has been described as a "bitter outcome of the exertion of collective identity" that springs from economic, political and
cultural demands (Shindondola, 2003). Although it is harmless to identity oneself with a group, not recognizing the presence of others leads to xenophobia. The literature notes that fear is the underlying cause of xenophobia (Raijman et al., 2003). South Africans are scared of economic rivalry, increased crime and the cultural assimilation of migrants into their communities. They feel intimidated by the presence of other nationals. The level of fear varies depending on a person’s educational, social and economic standing (Landau, 2005) and the existence of groups of people with immoderate views contributes to such fear. For such groups, introduction of the word ‘alien’ might have a detrimental effect (Raijman et al., 2003). South Africans who are on the lower rung of the economy feel uncomfortable and fear that migrants are out to take their jobs (Raijman et al., 2003). Foreign nationals are labelled as people who destroy the economy and are a threat to citizens. A public servant was quoted as saying "There is no land for these immigrants ... they are taking each and every piece of land they can and occupying it" (Palmary et al., 2003). This opinion is shared by others who are of the view that "immigrants weaken society and threaten the nation's health" (Mattes et al., 1999). Acculturation is another factor that can cause xenophobia or contribute to its rise (Poinkowski et al., 2002). Immigrants bring their cultural heritage and values to the host country and are introduced to its cultures. This can cause cultural friction. Berry (in Poinkowski et al., 2002) observes that, the attitude of locals and immigrants is a major factor that leads to xenophobia or its rise. In 1997, xenophobia was described as a major concern for South African democracy (Crush, 2001). Many South Africans are still uneasy with the presence of immigrants (ANC Today in Masuku, 2006). Twenty five per cent of the respondents in a study by the South African Migration Project (SAMP) totally opposed immigration in any form and 45% favoured strict immigration policy. Only 6% supported an open door policy and about a fifth of the respondents were in favour of one that takes into account the availability of jobs (Mattes et al., 1999). A study conducted by the Community Agency for Social Enquiry (CASE) in 1998 found that only 55% of the respondents were aware of the Bill of Rights in the Constitution. More than 50% believed that the rights set out in the Constitution only apply to South Africans (SAMP, 2001). About 40% of the respondents said that immigrants should not have equal access to basic health and education and more than half were opposed to equal access to housing for immigrants. Another interesting finding was that the respondents almost exclusively preferred European and North American immigrants over African immigrants. From within Africa, there is a marginal
preference for immigrants from SADC countries. An overwhelming 85% of the respondents agreed that undocumented migrants should not be given freedom of speech and movement (ibid).

South Africans’ lack of knowledge of the rights of refugees might have contributed to mistreatment of immigrants, but law enforcement agencies are also accused of violating refugee rights. A report by the South African Human Rights Commission noted that: "Arrested persons were deliberately prevented from providing accurate documents, valid identity documents were destroyed, and bribes were taken for avoiding arrest or for release without documentation" (SAMP, 2001). Even though this statement refers to Lindela, a deportation centre; similar cases have been reported in various areas. At times, even South Africans have become victims of negative sentiments (Masuku, 2006). An off-duty South African police official was arrested in a bar because the officers on duty thought he was an illegal immigrant. Even though he tried to explain that he is a police official, he was locked up for the night until a policeman he knew showed up to rescue him (ibid). In another instance a young woman was standing at the door of her house in Forest Hill, south of Johannesburg, when the police asked her where she was from. Despite telling them that she is South African, they took her to their car and started driving her to a deportation centre. When she spoke to them in Afrikaans, they immediately they stopped the car and dropped her in Krugersdorp (Sihindola, 2008). Many more people have become victims based on their appearance.

2.6. Conclusion
This chapter discussed the theoretical framework employed in this study to understand the complex nature of Nigerian migrants’ experiences. It also reviewed the literature on international and South African migration trends and the determinants of migration. The chapter presented an overview of South African migration policy as well as the impact of migration on the social and economic life of residents of South Africa. The literature on the experiences of international migrants in South Africa was also reviewed.
CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1. Introduction
This chapter presents the research methodology and methods employed to conduct the study. It discusses the study area, the research design, recruitment of research participants, and data collection and analysis. The chapter also highlights the study’s limitations and the ethical considerations taken into account by the researcher.

3.2. Research design
This study adopted a case study design. A qualitative research method was employed to explore and understand the experiences of Nigerian migrants who are resident in Durban. Astalin (2013: 118) defined qualitative research as a “systematic scientific inquiry which seeks to build a holistic, largely narrative, description to inform the researcher’s understanding of a social or cultural phenomenon”. According to Sutton and Austin (2015), qualitative research enables an investigation of the opinions and feelings of research participants as well as the subjective meanings people give to their experiences. Pierce (2008) asserts that qualitative research enables a researcher to investigate research participants in their natural setting and make sense of, or interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them. Kielmann et al. (2012) describe qualitative research as humanistic, holistic, interpretive, naturalistic and flexible. Interviews, observations and document review are some of the tools employed in a qualitative research design, making it possible to study variables in their natural setting (Astalin, 2013).

Phenomenological case study design
A combination of two research designs, namely phenomenological and case study were employed to investigate the phenomenon of the lived experiences of Nigerians who have migrated to South Africa. The study took a microscopic view by studying a group of Nigerian migrants that are resident in Durban.

Phenomenology research is usually employed when the researcher aims to understand lived experiences of a phenomenon. In the case of this research the phenomenon is migration. According to Greenfield and Jensen (2016), phenomenology helps one to understand participants’ everyday experiences from their individual subjective viewpoints.
Phenomenological-based research utilises various methods for data collection such as interviews, conversations, participant observation, action research, focus group discussions and analysis of personal texts (Lester, 1999).

The case study method is used to acquire greater insight and obtain sufficient evidence. Kumar (2005) defines a case study as an approach to studying a social phenomenon through analysis of an individual case, which permits extensive analysis of many specific details that are often overlooked by other methods. Sparta (2003) asserts that a case study involves thorough investigation of an individual, family or institution. In respect of this research the case examined is that of Nigerian migrants who are resident in Durban, South Africa. A phenomenological case study approach with an interpretivist perspective was thus adopted. The interpretive paradigm was employed as it promotes dialogue between the researcher and the study participants in order to collaboratively construct a meaningful reality.

3.3. Study area
Fig 1 below is a map of Durban, the study location, showing some points of interest.

Fig 1: Map of Durban

Source: Google maps (2017)
The study location is Durban, South Africa. The city of Durban covers an area of 225.91 km² and has annual rainfall of 1,009 millimetres (39.7 in). The average temperature in summer is around 24 °C while in winter it is around 17 °C. Durban is the largest and most economically developed city in the province of KwaZulu-Natal and is the third most populous urban centre after Johannesburg and Cape Town. It is 568 km from Johannesburg along the N3 highway and 1634.9 km from Cape Town using the N1 highway. This coastal city is South Africa’s busiest seaport, a major manufacturing hub and a favourite destination for tourists. Economic activities revolve around the manufacturing, tourism, transportation, finance and government sectors, though many inhabitants are also involved in the informal sector.

3.4. Sampling
Purposive and snowball sampling was used to select a sample of 20 respondents from among Nigerian migrants resident in Durban. In order to obtain a holistic view of their experiences, the migrants were selected from the following categories: artisan, informal traders, students and professionals. According to Etikan et al. (2016), purposive sampling enables a researcher to identify participants with specific attributes that can assist the research process. Participants that met the researcher’s criteria were purposefully sought from among Nigerian migrants who are resident in Durban. In snowball sampling, participants are asked to recruit additional participants from their contacts. In this case migrants were used to recruit others that met the set criteria.

The research participants were approached at their work places where they can be found most days. Interviews were either conducted immediately or appointments were made.

3.5. Data collection
Primary and secondary data were used for this study. An extensive literature review was conducted in order to understand the theories that explain migration. Primary data were collected by means of in-depth interviews with the 20 selected Nigerian migrants. An in-depth interview is a qualitative data collection method that solicits respondents’ understanding of the topic under discussion (Ritchie et al., 2013). An interview guide was drawn up that included questions on the participants’ personal profiles, access to social services, quality of life, and interaction with South African citizens and government institutions. Personal observation and informal discussions provided additional information to support the findings.
3.6. Data analysis
Thematic analysis was employed. According to Braun and Clark (2006), it involves pinpointing and examining recurring patterns (or "themes") within data. Vaismoradi et al. (2013) state, that, thematic analysis is a qualitative descriptive method that equips a researcher with skills to conduct other forms of qualitative analysis. “Thematic analysis involves the identification of themes through thorough reading and re-reading of the data” (Rice and Ezzy, 1999). The interviews were recorded and transcribed along with the field observation notes. The transcripts were continuously read in order for the researcher to be fully immersed in the data. Coding was then done to identify features pertinent to the research questions. Codes that were similar or covered the same aspect within the data were then combined to form themes which served as analytical units. The analysis was done manually.

After the themes had been identified, verbatim quotes were identified to display the data. According to Gibbs (2002) and Patton (1990), presenting quotations from the data provides evidence, and supports and validates its interpretation. While some of the quotations have been edited to enhance readability, care has been taken not to change their original meaning.

3.7. Ethical considerations
The researcher complied with all the ethical protocols set out in the University’s rules for conducting research. These included confidentiality, anonymity, voluntary participation, informed consent, and the participants’ right to withdraw from the study. According to David and Resnick (2015), conformance to ethical norms helps to uphold the research objectives, facilitates cooperation and encourages responsibility to the public.

The researcher explained the aim of the research and secured the participants’ consent prior to the interview by requesting that they read and sign the informed consent form. They were informed that participation was voluntary and that they were free to withdraw at any stage of the interview if they felt uncomfortable. As discussed with them, the recorded data and transcripts obtained from the participants were coded to ensure anonymity and conceal their identity. Confidentiality was also ensured by only the researcher and the supervisor having access to the data.
The researcher also ensured credibility (the stability of the data collected), confirmability (the same data collected can be collected by a different researcher), transferability (the data collected can be useful in another context) and dependability (the methods used are beyond reproach).

3.7.1 Credibility
Credibility denotes the veracity of the data or the participants’ views and their interpretation as well as presentation by the researcher (Polit and Beck, 2012). Triangulation can be employed in qualitative research to confirm the truth and credibility of the data by using multiple data collection methods such as interviews, observation and field notes to draw conclusions (Appleton, 1995; Carter et al., 2014). In the course of the interviews, observations as well as field notes were recorded.

3.7.2 Confirmability
Confirmability denotes the researcher’s capacity to prove that the data represents the participants’ views and opinions and not his/her personal biases and opinions (Polit and Beck, 2012; Tobin and Begley, 2004). This is achieved by quoting the participants’ views on each theme.

3.7.3 Transferability
Transferability is the degree to which the outcomes of a research study can be generalised or applied to other settings or groups (Polit and Beck, 2012). To ensure transferability of this research, the researcher has provided sufficient information on the informants and the research context to enable the reader to assess the findings and make them transferable.

3.7.4 Dependability
Dependability denotes the consistency of the findings under similar situations (Tobin and Begley, 2004). The procedural steps taken to conduct this research as well as the study’s findings are clearly stated so that another researcher could replicate the study and similar results will be derived.

3.7.5 Authenticity
Authenticity denotes the capacity and extent to which the researcher truly expresses the moods and reactions in relation to the participants’ experiences (Polit and Beck, 2012). The authenticity of this research is ensured by quoting the respondents’ responses verbatim so that
their original meaning is not lost. The quotes enable readers to have a good grasp of the essence of their experiences.

3.8 Conclusion
The chapter presented the research methodology employed to conduct this study. It described the study area, Durban, and its features. The sampling methods used to select the 20 research participants were outlined. In order to obtain a holistic view of migrants’ experiences, the participants were drawn from among artisans, informal traders, students and professionals. Data were collected by means of in-depth interviews and thematic analysis was used to analyse the data. Verbatim quotes are used to display the data. The ethical issues taken into account in conducting this study were discussed, including credibility, confirmability, transferability, dependability and authenticity. The following chapter presents and analyses the data.
CHAPTER 4: DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

4.1 Introduction

The previous chapter discussed the methodology employed to conduct this research. This chapter presents and analyses the data using thematic analysis. This study aimed to critically assess the experiences of Nigerian migrants resident in Durban, South Africa. It focused on factors that motivated their relocation from Nigeria as well as those that motivated them to choose South Africa as their destination country. The study also aimed to understand the socio-economic benefits of their migration, compare their standard of living before and after settling in Durban and understand their lived experiences in this city.

4.2 Profile of Migrants

In-depth interviews were conducted with 20 participants of Nigerian origin that are resident in Durban. They were drawn from among artisans, informal traders, students and professionals. Sixteen of the respondents were male while four were female. While efforts were made to achieve a gender balance, this was not possible because most of the potential participants the researcher came across and those recommended to him were male. The majority of the women the researcher came across had migrated to join their husbands. While this is not supported by research, the researcher gained the impression that there could be more male than female Nigerian migrants in Durban. The demographic profile of the participants is presented in Table 4.1 below.

Table 4.1: Demographic profile of participants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAME (codes)</th>
<th>GENDER</th>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>HIGHEST EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATION</th>
<th>YEARS SPENT IN SOUTH AFRICA</th>
<th>OCCUPATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NG1</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>National Diploma</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Missionary/Trading</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
NG2  M  52  City & Guilds  14  Automobile Technician
NG3  F  32  B.Sc.  3  Beautician
NG4  F  35  National Diploma  4  Beautician
NG5  M  37  National Diploma  8  Self-employed (Laundromat)
NG6  M  38  B.Sc.  13  Self-employed (Computer centre)
NG7  M  40  National Diploma  9  DSTV/SECURITY Systems Technician
NG8  M  45  Senior Secondary Certificate Examination (SSCE)  11  Hire & removal truck driver
NG9  M  37  National Diploma  17  African Restaurant
NG10 M  46  Primary School Leaving Certificate  15  Trading (beauty products)
NG11 M  54  B.Sc.  23  Property and general business merchant
NG12 M  49  National Diploma  23  Trading (retail clothing)
NG13 M  52  Postgraduate Certificate in Education (PGCE)  15  Trading (cosmetics)
NG14 M  53  B.Sc.  14  Missionary
NG15 M  32  M.Sc.  1yr 6mnth  PhD Student
NG16 M  38  M.Sc.  5  PhD Student
NG17 F  33  PhD  5  Unemployed
NG18 F  48  M.Sc.  21  University Lecturer
NG19 M  48  PhD  3mnth  Researcher
NG20 M  49  PhD  4  University Lecturer

The age of the respondents ranged from 32 to 54 years. Eleven had university degrees with seven of these having additional postgraduate qualifications. Six of the respondents held a
National Diploma and three had stopped at City and Guilds, SSCE and Primary 6 level, respectively. The respondents are all legally resident in South Africa, with 13 having temporary resident permits ranging from study, to business, spousal/marriage, voluntary work and general work permits. Six of the respondents are permanent residents of South Africa and one is an asylum seeker.

Eighteen of the respondents had spent a minimum of three years in South Africa, and the longest period of stay was 23 years. The other two had been in the country for a year-and-a-half and four months, respectively.

4.3. Reasons for migration and decision making

The responses revealed that the respondents left their home country for different reasons, including economic factors and better prospects:

*I left Nigeria for a better life and better opportunities.* (NG3, female aged 32)

*I left Nigeria because I got an offer of employment for my post-doctoral research fellowship. Someone recommended me and I was contacted to apply for the position. I applied and was selected.* (NG19, male aged 48)

*I was doing business in Nigeria, and some of my friends travelled out. The first and second batch left and by the time they returned after four year they came with a lot of money and were all driving cars and building houses. So I decided to follow suit and travel out of the country to make more money.* (NG10, male aged 46)

Some claimed to have left Nigeria to develop their careers. This was corroborated by those that are professionals and artisans. They noted that they were attracted to South Africa by an enabling environment to practice their professions. This is consistent with the theory of pull factors. Here are some of the excerpts:

*I left Nigeria to develop my career and research.* (NG 20, male aged 49)

*I came to South Africa to explore, just to gather more experience about life. While I was at home (Nigeria) doing my automobile engineering work. I used to come across cars that were said to be made in South
Africa. So I felt South Africa can also be a good place for me to practice my profession due to their advanced technology. (NG2, male aged 52)

Respondents that were students at the time of the study said that they left Nigeria due to higher educational standards in South Africa:

*I left Nigeria because the educational standard in Nigeria was poor, so I thought of travelling out of Nigeria for my postgraduate studies.* (NG16, female, aged 33)

*I thought there are better facilities for learning and research funding to support my PhD program.* (NG16, male, aged 38)

Some respondents stated that their migration was influenced by religious beliefs:

*I left Nigeria because I had a prophecy at my church that I should leave Nigeria and that I should come specifically to South Africa.* (NG5, male, aged 37)

Others did so due to family ties:

*I came to South Africa to join my husband who had earlier migrated to South Africa.* (NG18, female, aged 48)

One of respondents who came to South Africa at the beginning of the post-apartheid era attributed his decision to the political instability in Nigeria at the time:

*I left Nigeria due to the political uncertainty. I was a student activist in my school and the military government was after us. So I had to leave the country for fear of my life.* (NG12, male, aged 49)

These responses show that Nigerian migrants migrate for different reasons, ranging from economic and educational factors, to family and faith issues. This supports Black et al.’s (2011) assertion that migration occurs as a result of a number of factors. In general, it is a means to fulfil aspirations of one kind or another.

The respondents were further probed to ascertain why they chose South Africa as their destination country. The common factors cited were cost, accessibility, economic prospects, more relaxed government policies and political stability. Many confessed that they would have
preferred to travel to the USA, Canada, Australia or Europe but after weighing up their prospects and constraints they adopted South Africa:

*I chose South Africa because it was easy to secure admission and fee remission at UKZN and it was also cheap for me to come here. I would have preferred Europe or the US but due to the little funds I had, I could not attempt that.* (NG16, male, aged 38)

*I visited some other European countries earlier and I found that the kind of opportunities that are present there are also available here in South Africa. ... I had been visiting South Africa since 2011 to collaborate with some researchers at the University of Pretoria, so when there was an opportunity my friends informed me and I applied for it.* (NG20, male, aged 49)

*I chose South Africa because it is an African country and it is better than Nigeria. I believed it would be easy for me to integrate myself.* (NG9, male, aged 37)

The influence of social networks cannot be downplayed; some respondents were encouraged to migrate because of the contacts they already had in South Africa:

*I had a friend in Durban who encouraged me to come to South Africa that it will be much easier for me to establish myself and do ... business. So I decided to give it a try.* (NG3, female, aged 32)

Some were desperate to leave their home country and felt that South Africa was the best available option:

*Initially I did not plan to come to South Africa. At first I applied for a Turkish visa but the application was refused. I waited ... two 2yrs [and] attempted Poland. Again, I was scammed. On both occasions I spent close to #200,000 which was all I had so I always had to start my business afresh. After four years someone called me from South Africa and advised that I come to South Africa instead of wasting my money trying to go to Europe. I explained my fear of being duped again and he gave me an assurance that he would get the visa for me. ... I sent him the money and he processed it, bought me a ticket and that was how I came to South Africa.* (NG10, male, aged 46)

The followed section examines the routes used by the respondents to reach South Africa and their modes of entry.
4.4. Travel routes and mode of entry to South Africa

Most of the respondents stated that they secured permits or a visa from the South African consulate in Nigeria. Thereafter, they arrived in South Africa by air through O.R Tambo International Airport in Johannesburg. However, three of the respondents said that they travelled over land from neighbouring countries.

*I left Nigeria in 1998. Initially, my destination was Swaziland but due to my inability to secure a job there, I had to move into South Africa by coming through the land border.* (NG13, male aged 52)

*I flew into Swaziland in 1995 because then Nigerians [did not need a visa for] Swaziland but South Africa was my actual destination. I and two friends … decided to come through Swaziland and we came via the land border into South Africa where we declared ourselves as asylum seekers and were then giving refugee status.* (NG12, male aged 49)

*Prior to my coming to South Africa I had been to five different African countries: Ghana, Zimbabwe, DR Congo, Republic of Congo, and Cameroon. I started the journey … by taking a flight from Nigeria to Republic of Congo and stayed there for a year. Due to the … language barrier and lack of good economic opportunities there, I decided to move. I had no money to fly so I chose to travel by road to South Africa.* (NG8, male aged 45)

The majority of the respondents thus entered South Africa legally by securing their entry documents through the South African consulate in Nigeria. The few that entered through Swaziland took advantage of the fact that Nigerians did not require visas for that country. This finding supports the Migration systems theory developed by Fawcett (1989) that posits that migration is a function of macro and micro structures. He added that at the macro level, interstate relationships, and the economic and political situation are vital.

4.5. Nigerian migrants’ activities in the South African economy

Many Nigerians migrants that are professionals, especially those with critical skills have been able to secure jobs as medical doctors, teachers, university lecturers, architects and in other fields with government or private institutions. The majority that lack such skills and are unable to secure white collar jobs become part of South Africa’s informal sector. Their small businesses include auto repair, tailoring, computer services, African restaurants and other services while others are sell goods.
I had been an IT specialist since I was in Nigeria and when I came here I found ... it wasn’t easy for me to get a job, so I decided to start my computer business and also be able to employ people. (NG6, male, aged 38)

However, the respondents shared that it was not easy to start a business. Lack of capital was the most common as these migrants did not meet bank requirements to access credit. As the following excerpts show, they had to start small and grow the business, or switch to another business later:

*It wasn’t easy as I had to start from the street before I raised a little money through my girlfriend and selling of my phone to start a clothing business at the flea market in 2004. Later I made more money then I ... rent a shop to start selling hairpieces.* (NG10, male, aged 46)

*It wasn’t easy for me to start up my business as I didn’t have money to rent a shop, so I had to display my goods illegally at the road side. Whenever the metro police [came] ... we [had to] ... rush to pack the items so that they would not be seized. [Eventually]... I was able to raise some money to acquire a space at the flea market.* (NG12, male, aged 49)

*When I wanted to buy my truck I had to travel to Nigeria to raise funds by selling some personal property [and add] my savings to it.* (NG8, male, aged 45)

Rentals on shops were another major challenge, with the respondents noting that the cost of renting a shop in the Durban CBD ranges from R15 000 to R25 000:

*Most properties in Durban are owned by the Indians who charge so much rent as they know that we foreigners are ignorant of the South African laws. It costs so much to get both residential and business space.* (NG11, male, aged 54)

*The greatest challenge I had was the issue of getting a venue for the church as most of the properties in Durban are owned by Muslims. Whenever you approach them for a space on their property they either turn you down or they inflate the price.* (NG14, male, aged 53)

The above responses show that, when the respondents were unable to secure white collar jobs, they set up businesses to make ends meet, while also creating job opportunities for others, including South Africans. This is in line with Ngota et al. (2017); Kalitanyi and Visser (2010);
Tengeh et al. (2012); and Fatoki (2014) who concluded that migrants identify and create jobs, promoting economic growth and helping to address social ills.

4.6. Social networks

Social networks are crucial in informing migration decisions. Some of the respondents stated that the contacts they already had in Durban influenced their decision to migrate to the city. These included friends, a spouse, relatives or acquaintances. A middle-aged woman said:

*I came to Durban because my husband was already in Durban.* (NG4, female, aged 35)

Others stated:

*I came directly to Durban because my cousin was living here. He instructed me to come here and since movement is all about instructions, I had to obey him.* (NG9, male, aged 37)

*I spent four months in Johannesburg and when things were not working well for me … there I called a relative of mine who is based here in Durban and he advised me to come … to join him.* (NG10, male, aged 46)

Some were invited to come to Durban by friends:

*When I arrived in Johannesburg, I called my friend who was supposed to be my host [to tell him] that I have arrived in South Africa. He then told me that he is far away, that I have to take a bus to come to Durban. That was my first time …to hear of Durban. I only knew about Johannesburg and Pretoria.* (NG2, male aged 52)

Social networks also play a major role in helping migrants settle in their new environment by assisting them to find accommodation and jobs and showing them around:

*After completing my studies in Nigeria, a friend of mine recommended me for a job here, and the employers contacted me so I got the job.* (NG19, male, aged 48)

*Before I arrived for my studies from home my supervisor had already secured my accommodation for me.* (NG15, male, aged 32)
These responses reveal the importance of social networks in the international migration process. Such networks sometimes encourage migrants to migrate and also offer them support until they are settled in their new environment. This corroborates Amisi’s (2006) assertion that social networks provide migrants with vast array of support including financial support, information and other forms of assistance that assist them in addressing migration challenges.

4.7. Migrants’ experiences

4.7.1. Migrants’ experiences in the host community

Nigerian migrants in Durban live amongst other nationalities and South Africans, with the highest concentration around Point Road and the Albert Park area. They interact and socialize with South Africans and some are married to local women:

The South African women are good and I get along with them. I don’t have any male South Africans as friends, though we do business together. I am married to a South African lady and most of us that are married to them are enjoying their marriages. (NG10, male aged 46)

However, the majority of the respondents alluded to poor relations between Nigerian migrants and South Africans and felt that they were unnecessarily stigmatized:

South Africans do not show a good attitude towards foreigners ... especially we Nigerians. This was because after the apartheid era the government failed to educate its citizens on the role played by other African nations in the liberation struggle of the black people of South Africa. Nigeria [was] ... one of the major financiers of that struggle. I ... remember those days when I was in primary school that our parents used to be taxed ... to support the struggle. [It was only] recently that I could understand why they were being taxed then. (NG6, male aged 38)

They see us as people who have come to dupe them, who have no home, who have been driven away by war. They have a bitter perception towards Nigeria. I initially thought that it was something unanimously agreed [on]. But ... I have observed more and interacted with more people I found ... that it was pure jealousy as they wonder how we get our money. They are envious because we are hardworking people, who are resilient and go for what they want. So they now generalize ... that we all do drugs, and it is only a few of us that do such. Most Nigerians are hardworking people who do legitimate things. (NG14, male aged 53)
Not all the respondents shared this view and some felt that only a few South Africans have such attitudes towards foreigners. Some also justified these attitudes by pointing to migrants that break South African laws:

*There are good and bad people everywhere just like South Africa. I believe you get what you deserve. If you deserve good, you get good and if you deserve bad, you get bad treatment. [Your] attitude ... will determine the type of treatment you should get. A South African cannot differentiate the nationality of a foreigner just by looking at them, but the attitude Nigerians show make people ... treat them like that.*

(NG9, male aged 37)

*South Africans have some wrong perceptions about we Nigerians which is justifiable to an extent because of those Nigerians especially those of the Igbo ethnic group doing illicit businesses like drugs and human trafficking who ... cast ... bad aspersion[s] on our integrity as a nation. This is the genesis of the xenophobic resentment that we face today as South Africans react to us in a violent way.*

(NG11, male aged 54)

Asked if they participate in social events like weddings, funerals, birthday parties and so on, a number of the respondents said that they attend events organised by South Africans and their fellow migrants:

*It’s been quite excellent as a pastor that I have participated and officiated at some weddings, funeral ceremonies and even ordained some pastors. I am usually invited by South Africans and I believe it is because they appreciate the grace of God upon my life. I get well along with them.*

(NG14, male aged 53)

*As a community leader and a lover of culture, I am the president of my ethnic group in South Africa. So I am invited to functions by Nigerians, South Africans and even other African communities.*

(NG6, male aged 38)

Others stated that they occasionally attended social functions while some said that they prefer not to do so:

*I am not a social type so rarely attend social events but do occasionally when I am invited by South Africans. I don’t socialise with many Nigerians as I [was] betrayed several [times] by my brothers.*

(NG11, male, aged 54)
I don’t attend social events and in the last five years I … only attended … one Nigerian wedding ceremony. (NG17, female, aged 33)

Asked who they spend their free time with, especially on weekends and holidays, the majority of the respondents who were married stated that they prefer to spend their free time with their family while those that were not married said they spend time with fellow migrants or girlfriends:

I spend my free time with my family. (NG6, male, aged 38)

I usually spend my leisure time with my family and my girlfriends. (NG2, male, aged 52)

However, some said they had very little free time as they worked every day.

I hardly have free time as my shop is … open seven days a week. (NG11, male, aged 54)

The researcher observed that most Nigerian migrants are unable to speak isiZulu, with a few having a basic understanding. Most of the respondents stated that they were not willing to learn isiZulu because of Zulu people’s attitudes towards them. Those that had lived in other provinces prior to coming to Durban compared their experiences in different parts of the country:

To my best of knowledge the Xhosa people are … hospitable people. When I lived with them they [would] always greet and like to be friendly, unlike the people of KwaZulu-Natal who have a kind of hatred against us in them and are sometimes hostile. (NG6, male aged 38)

I have stayed in Johannesburg, Venda and Durban. I find the Vendas very friendly and the people in Johannesburg easy to get along with but the people in Durban are not so friendly and would want you to speak Zulu at all costs. (NG3, female, aged 32)

In general, the respondents agreed that the hospitality extended to foreigners in their home country is superior to that meted out to them by South Africans:

We cannot compare the hospitality in Nigeria with that of South Africa. Nigerians cherish foreigners a lot. A Nigerian can even fight his brother in order to protect a foreigner. Unlike all the stories that we hear here that foreigners are out to take their space and women. (NG6, male, aged 38)
This set of responses shows that most of the respondents living in Durban socialize with South Africans and other nationals. Some are married to South Africans and attend social events. It is very important for migrants to establish and maintain relationships with their host. This correlates with Nauck’s (2001) assertion that social and cultural capital is important in enhancing immigrants’ integration. However, perceived hostility on the part of South Africans towards immigrants negates the positive effects that such relationships ought to have.

4.7.2. Migrants’ experiences of the Department of Home Affairs

Failure to comply with the regulations of the Department of Home Affairs can result in an immigrant being termed illegal. Maintaining contact with the Department is thus very important. In 2014, the Department of Home Affairs contracted submission of visa applications to the Visa Facilitation Service (VFS). However, the Department still adjudicates such applications. The respondents’ experiences of the Department of Home Affairs varied, with some feeling that services had improved while others were of the view that they had deteriorated.

According to one of the respondents:

*The service at Home Affairs is fair enough. I think the people who complained of their application being rejected are those who do not have genuine or the required documents.* (NG10, male, aged 40)

Other respondents held different views:

*The service at Home Affairs has not been too good. There was this issue that if the application is rejected, one is to appeal within 10 days. If it’s not possible to get all the documents within that period … this becomes a problem. Also some applications are unnecessarily delayed and [many] are rejected due to flimsy excuses.* (NG14, male aged 53)

*The service has been very bad since they contracted visa applications to the VFS. When Home Affairs were fully in charge, things were better … but since the coming of VFS the process has become exploitative. They reject people’s applications, so that people can keep re-applying for them to make more money.* (NG11, male, aged 54)
Since the Department of Home Affairs outsourced visa application to VFS, our applications are mostly being rejected or placed on hold for a long time. I know of people who have been waiting for their outcome for close to four years. (NG10, male, aged 46)

Migrants that are unable to obtain the documents necessary for their application often approach agents that provide fake documents. However, they charge very high fees for such services:

Most of us do use agents to submit applications who get our documents for us and assist with submissions. The outcome depends on your luck. (NG9, male aged 37)

Some of the respondents said when their applications are delayed by the Department of Home Affairs they look for an agent who has links with a Home Affairs official to help approve their application:

When our permit is delayed we usually find contacts in Home Affairs to push our application. We give them money and they approve our paper. (NG2, male, aged 52)

This points to high levels of corruption among migrants and Home Affairs officials who take bribes to perform their constitutional responsibilities. The researcher found that migrants could pay as much as R15 000 depending on the nature of the permit. This affirms Hoag’s (2010) claim that the Department of Home Affairs is known for corruption, inefficiency and instability.

4.7.3 Interaction with law enforcement agencies

Asked if they were aware of their rights and obligations as immigrants in South Africa all the respondents answered in the affirmative. This could be due to their level of education and exposure. However, the majority responded that even though they are aware of their rights they know they are limited and not comparable to those of South African citizens:

We have rights though they cannot be compared to those of South Africans. … We [are] living as immigrants in South Africa and are living within our rights. (NG6, male, aged 38)

Another respondent commented:
With my level of education I am fully aware but I try not to be too conscious of my rights as one might be asking for his right but the other party might be thinking he/she is rendering a favor. (NG19, male, aged 48)

One of the respondents, who is a Christian cleric, shared his experience of fighting for his rights:

I once had a case with a policeman, I took him to court and I was fairly treated. (NG1, male, aged 41)

However, others argued that:

The rights are quite limited and even when you do have a right, do you have the resources to fight for it by going to court? So most times when you have such challenge you just prefer to let it go. (NG16, male, aged 38)

Even though they are aware of their rights, the migrants try to avoid confrontations with anyone or the police as they do not wish to experience the stress involved in enforcing their rights. One of the respondents shared how met with a brick wall when he tried to enforce his rights:

Some time ago during the Xenophobia crisis of 2015, I rented an apartment around Malvern area. The landlord chased me out without allowing me to take my property, even though I had paid for the place. I reported it to the police. They called the landlord but he never showed up to the point that a policeman advised me to forget it. (NG16, male, aged 38)

Asked if they had ever been stopped by the South African police, most of the respondents stated that they had and recalled positive and negative experiences:

There was day I was travelling from town to my school at Howard College. The taxi driver took me to the wrong location and I found myself at a township called Chesterville late at night. It was a policeman that came [and] ... helped me and returned me to my campus. (NG16, male, aged 38)

When you comply with them they don’t ill-treat you. There was a day that I was stopped while I was driving. They called my name and I stopped, surprised they knew my name. They said they wanted to go to my flat with me. I sell cigarettes and they wanted to verify if I had illegal ones in my home. I took them
home and when they didn’t find any illegal ones ... they apologised to me and ... left. (NG11, male, aged 54)

I have been stopped about four times and most were good experiences. But there was a particular occasion where I was stopped while driving. I was stopped without committing any offence. They started asking me different questions looking for a way to seize my car from me or I should bribe them. (NG17, female, aged 33)

There was a time they stopped me and requested ... my residence permit and I showed them the receipt of my application, explaining to them that I am still awaiting the outcome. They refused to honor that receipt and threatened to arrest and deport me until I gave them some money. We normally give them money like that when they are proving stubborn so that they don’t complicate matters for us. (NG10, male, aged 46)

As much as Nigerian migrants need to live within the confines of their rights set out in the South African Constitution, they need to challenge unfair treatment using the law. Inducement of the police or other law enforcement agents with money is not in the best interests of all.

4.7.4. Encounters with crime

South African suffers from high levels of crimes such as robbery, rape, assault and other social ills. Crime is a major concern for all residents of Durban. Most of the respondents stated that they had not been targets of crime. They attributed this to the fact that the nature of their business does not expose them to crime. However, one of the respondents shared her experience of being a victim:

I had been a victim of home burglary where I was dispossessed of everything that was in my house including my baby’s clothes. (NG17, female, aged 33)

Nonetheless, the respondents were aware of high crime rates and they stated that they take precautions to avoid becoming victims:

I ... consider myself as a target of crime. I don’t always feel safe ... [and] I dare not stay out late [at] ... night. (NG19, male, aged 48)
Usually no one will know my nationality apart from when I speak or when I am dressed in my traditional attire. (NG16, male, 38)

When I am parking at the car park I always watch if no one is coming behind. (NG 18, female, aged 48)

My interaction with the respondents revealed that although they were not comfortable with the crime situation, they have no other choice but to be always alert and be careful in the way they conduct their daily activities.

4.8. Migration’s influence on the migrants’ culture

Culture can be defined as the ideas, customs, and social behaviour of a particular people or society. A people’s culture informs their religion, food and dress. The respondents were asked how they have adjusted their lifestyle to the South African environment.

4.8.1. Availability of Nigerian Food

The respondents stated that Nigerian food is readily available and that they buy food items in local stores and cooked dishes from Nigerian restaurants. A respondent said:

We still eat our local foods too, though they are expensive. Some of us have a license to import it. (NG8, male, aged 45)

Due to the high cost of these food items, some of the respondents stated that could not afford to buy them all the time. One of the student respondents said that, while he likes to eat Nigerian food, he hardly has time to cook and his school is far from town where the restaurants are located. He therefore eats whatever he finds:

My food has changed a little as I don’t really have time to prepare Nigerian dishes and the restaurants are far away from where I live. (NG15, male, aged 32)

Another migrant said:
In terms of food, I can say what has changed about my lifestyle has been due to personal development. There are some Nigerian foods like Amala, Eba that I recently realized are too heavy for me to digest therefore I try to incorporate the South African foods I find fascinating into my diet. (NG18, female, aged 48)

The interviews thus revealed that, although the respondents preferred their native food, they were flexible in trying to adapt to foods that are affordable and convenient.

4.8.2. Changes to Dress code

Many of the respondents testified that their dress had changed since they arrived in South Africa, mainly due to the changes in environmental conditions.

I have tried to adjust my dressing due to the weather here as it is colder than our weather in Nigeria. (NG18, female, aged 48)

We dress here like the locals in the normal European wear. We only wear our traditional clothes occasionally. (NG13, male, aged 52)

Another respondent said that she incorporates whatever she likes in South African attire to change her style:

I have improved on them by incorporating whatever I like in the lifestyles of South Africans into my own lifestyle. (NG17, female, aged 33)

Some of the respondents also attributed their change in dress to their type of business:

My style of dressing changed ... when I began to sell clothing. I used to dress formally in Nigeria but when I began to sell jeans at the flea market I prefer to wear it so as to advertise them to my customers. (NG10, male, aged 46)

These responses demonstrate that migration shapes and influences migrants’ dress sense.
4.8.3. Impact on Religion

The respondents’ religion was not exempt from the effects of migration. Most of the respondents stated that they adopted a new church in South Africa when they could not find the one they used to attend at home.

When I was in Nigeria I used to attend a particular Pentecostal church but since I could not find my church here I have been attending a white Congregational church. (NG10, male, aged 46)

Others said that they no longer attended church as their businesses were open seven days a week. There are also perceptions that business is good on Sundays, so they decided to stop attending church:

I do not attend church here. I just pray in my room because the Nigerian churches here only want your money and business [is] … better on Sundays. (NG11, male, aged 54)

These responses show that migration influenced the migrants’ religion and faith life. They view things differently and this can be attributed to the fact that they are operating in a different environment from the one in which they were raised.

4.9. Standard of living and future plans

The respondents were asked whether their standard of living in South Africa was better than that in Nigeria. While there were mixed reactions to this question, the majority felt that their standard of living had greatly improved:

The South African government is responsive and responsible to their citizens; they provide good infrastructures such as water, roads, electricity for everyone living here, unlike Nigeria where we have a failed leadership. (NG6, male, aged 38)

While I was in Nigeria I was only a student and I also did part-time jobs. … Here I am fully employed so I can say my standard of living has improved because of the income. Though the cost of living is higher here compared to Nigeria … I am better off. (NG19, male, aged 49)

While I was at home I was only a student. It was only when I arrived here that I started working. (NG18, female, aged 48)
Life here is better ... than in Nigeria as one always finds something to do be it tutor jobs, demonstrations etc. even as a student and students in Nigeria lack such opportunities. (NG17, female, aged 33)

My life has improved. I am well established now. I have gained a lot of experience here and have grown. (NG9, male, aged 37)

However, a few felt that they had enjoyed a better life in Nigeria:

I prefer my life back in Nigeria as it was less stressful. I earned more money and I had a lot of respect as a pastor. (NG14, male, aged 53)

I enjoyed doing business better in Nigeria than here because in Nigeria rents are paid annually. So when you get goods on credit you are not under pressure to pay back. But here because everyone pays bills at the end of the month you are under pressure to pay your creditors once you collect goods from them. Though I make money here ... my expenses are too much. (NG10, male, aged 46)

The respondents also stated that the strength of the South African rand against the naira favours them whenever they send remittances home:

When I send money home I am happy due to the strength that rand has over the naira. (NG3, female, aged 32)

In terms of future plans, the respondents expressed different opinions. While some still faced economic hardship, they were not thinking of leaving South Africa in the short term or without adequate planning. The majority said that they hoped to save money or complete their studies and then decide what to do. Some respondents said that they would like to return to Nigeria to establish themselves and develop their country:

After a while I would like to go to Nigeria and implement the knowledge and experience I have gathered here to ... develop Nigeria. (NG6, male, aged 38)

My future plan is to raise enough capital ... here to set up a business ... when I return to Nigeria. (NG4, female, aged 35)

Others hoped to save enough money to migrate to Western countries, especially Canada, the USA and Australia:
I still want to ... migrate to another country before I finally return to settle in Nigeria. (NG8, male, aged 45)

Yet others said that they had no intention of leaving South Africa as long as they continued to feel welcome:

I want to be an independent researcher, have my own laboratory and impact knowledge to South Africans so I can give back to South Africa. I have no plan to leave. (NG17, female, aged 33)

I do not have any plan as I am here to stay. I have spent my entire adult life here. I can only leave South Africa when I stop feeling being welcome. (NG18, female, aged 48)

It is interesting that all the respondents said that they would not recommend South Africa to anyone intending to leave Nigeria for economic reasons because they felt that opportunities are fast diminishing. Most singled out higher standards of education in South Africa as the only reason they would recommend the country as a destination to anyone interested in travelling for educational purposes.

I won’t recommend South Africa except to the person has a clear plan of what he/she is coming to do. If you had secured employment ... or admission because the standard of education is higher than that of Nigeria. I cannot encourage anyone coming for “hustling” as I do not see South Africa as a rosy place. (NG19, male, aged 48)

No, I can’t recommend South Africa; the system is not happy that foreigners are coming in. Professional immigrants are in South Africa today because the system needs their skills, and those opportunities are fast depleting ... even for postgraduate researchers. The poverty level among ... citizens is ... high and the government is trying extra hard to develop the skills of the people so that its citizens can take over from them. (NG20, male, aged 49)

I can only encourage people who intend to come to further their education or those who have enough capital to come and invest. Otherwise I won’t advise anyone to come. (NG1, male, aged 41)

South Africa is not an easy place to survive. I can only support whoever wants to come ... if they had heard from God, and he has asked them to come. Here, I have seen a lot of people who were better off financially in Nigeria, but coming to South Africa they become stranded and [their financial situation worsens]. (NG14, male, aged 53)
The respondents that were students also said that they would only recommend South Africa in the absence of better alternatives:

*I don’t think I can recommend it to anyone; neither will most of my colleagues ... as a lot of us are having experiences that are not so good in the school as regards funding. ... It is very evident in my department ... that Nigerian postgraduate students are no [longer] ... registering.* (NG16, male, aged 38)

*If I find a Nigerian who is interested in coming, I will only advise them to think twice. The person needs to understand the conditions he/she wants to get themselves into before they come. They should weigh both the challenges they are likely to encounter in South Africa and the benefits they are [likely] to get.* (NG17, female, aged 33)

**4.10. Conclusion**

The chapter presented and analysed the data collected by means of in-depth individual interviews. The analysis revealed that Nigerians migrate for a number of reasons including economic and educational factors, and family and faith issues. It showed that most of the respondents entered South Africa through conventional borders by securing temporary resident permits or tourist visas from the South African Consulate in Nigeria. They were involved in a wide array of formal and informal economic activities.

The data also revealed mixed experiences of their host community, law enforcement agents and the Department of Home Affairs. Many of respondents’ cultures were shaped by their new environment and many stated that their standard of living had improved. The following chapter discuss the study’s findings as well as their policy implications. It also offers recommendations arising from the findings.
CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1. Introduction

The main aim of this study was to investigate the lived experiences of Nigerian migrants who are resident in Durban, South Africa. It focused on the factors that motivated them to leave their home country and those that attracted them to South Africa, the socio-economic costs of migration, their living standards before and after migration and their daily experiences after migration. This chapter begins by presenting an overall summary. The research findings are discussed and recommendations arising from these findings are presented. The study’s limitations are highlighted and suggestions are made for future research. The chapter ends with an overall conclusion.

5.2. Summary

This thesis was presented in five chapters. Chapter one introduced the concept of human migration and set out the rationale for a detailed study of the experiences of Nigerian migrants resident in Durban, South Africa. The chapter also presented the study’s objectives and the research questions as well as a brief outline of the research methodology.

The second chapter discussed the theoretical framework that underpinned this study and reviewed the literature on international and migration trends and the determinants of migration. It provided an overview of South African migration policies and the impact of migration on the social and economic lives of residents of South Africa as well as international migrants’ experiences in the country.

Chapter three presented the research methodology employed to conduct this study. It gave a detailed account of the research design, the study area, sampling and data collection and analysis. The ethical considerations taken into account by the researcher were also discussed.

Chapter 4 presented and analysed the data collected using the methodology discussed in chapter three. Thematic analysis was employed to analyse the data.
Finally, this concluding chapter discusses the research findings, presents recommendations arising from these findings and highlights the study’s limitations. Suggestions are also made for further research.

5.3. Research findings and discussion
This research study investigated the experiences of Nigerian migrants resident in Durban. It established that Nigerians leave their home country for different reasons, mainly economic and educational considerations, while minor factors include family ties and faith issues. Increasing unemployment in Nigeria due to deteriorating economic conditions and infrastructural deficits caused Nigerians to leave their country in search of better prospects. Poor educational standards and incessant disruption of academic calendars in tertiary institutions in Nigeria led others to leave in search of a better education.

These findings concur with those of a number of scholars who argue that migration is the result of the economic and educational aspirations of citizens of sending countries (Carling and Talleraas, 2016; Bein et al., 2014; Adepoju, 2008; De Haas, 2006). They also confirm Lee’s (1966) push-pull theory that suggested that the push factors responsible for migration include poor economic conditions, infrastructure and education, and socio-political instability while the factors that pull migrants to receiving countries are a sound economy, adequate infrastructure, high educational standards and political stability.

Once the decision to migrate was made, the prospective migrants weighed their options by considering factors such as the cost of migration, accessibility, economic prospects and the socio-political stability of destination countries. Based on these factors, many of the respondents would have preferred to go to the USA, Canada, Australia or Europe. However, they opted for South Africa due to the lower cost of migration and less difficulty in securing visas. This finding agrees with the socio-economic theory of migration’s assumption that people calculate the socio-economic costs before deciding to migrate.

The decision to migrate is often based on the information available to prospective migrants. Social networks between Nigerians in South Africa and back home serve as sources of information. This finding is consistent with studies conducted on Congolese and Ethiopian migrants in Durban (Gebre et al., 2011; Amisi, 2005) that found that social networks provide
support before and after migration. It also affirms Fawcett’s (1989) Migration systems theory that views migration as a function of macro and micro structures. He posited that, at the macro level, interstate relationships, and the economic and political situation are vital while at the micro level, religion, individual social networks and migrants’ practices are determinants of migration.

Many of the respondents entered South Africa through OR Tambo International Airport, while others came through the borders of neighbouring countries having first migrated to other African countries, but relocated to South Africa due to superior economic opportunities.

Many educated Nigerian migrants, especially those with critical skills have been able to secure white collar jobs in public and private institutions. This finding concurs with those of other researchers (Gropas and Bartolini, 2016; Lavatino, 2015; Beaverstock and Hall, 2012) who argued that skilled migrants often enjoy an advantage in their destination countries because they are seen to have the potential to contribute to the growth and development of the economy.

The findings also revealed that unskilled migrants and those with skills that were unable to find employment found ways of integrating themselves into the informal sector, creating opportunities for themselves while also creating jobs for South Africans. This finding is in tandem with Kalitanyi and Visser’s (2010) observation that, contrary to claims that African migrants are job takers they are often job creators that contribute to South Africa’s economic development.

Lack of access to finance was the main challenge identified by the respondents that were involved in the informal economy. This is due to their status as well as their inability to meet other conditions set by the banks to secure credit. Abor and Quartey (2010) and Fatoki and Asah (2011) also established that a lack of credit facilities and debt financing is the main challenge confronting African SMEs. They thus tend to start small and grow their businesses, or switch to other businesses. Gebre et al. (2011) found that this strategy was employed by Ethiopian migrants. The other challenge was high rentals that threatened the survival of many businesses.
While many of the respondents were not willing to disclose their monthly earnings, they agreed that they had benefitted economically from being in South Africa as they were either able to find employment or create jobs for themselves and were able to send remittances home. This finding correlates with those of Batista and Umblijis (2014) and Orozco and Burgess (2011) who reasoned that, migrants send remittances home to support relatives and as a form of insurance against future exigencies.

Most Nigerian migrants resident in Durban live within the central business district amongst South Africans and other nationals. Many Nigerian men are married to South African women and they socialise and attend social events with locals, unlike their Ethiopian counterparts who, according to Gebre et al. (2011) live and socialise amongst themselves. The respondents also revealed that they adopted a flexible attitude to culture and were learning to eat South African food and adopt the European dress style favoured by South Africans. This finding is in line with that of Abramitzky et al. (2016) who stated that cultural assimilation is important for migrants’ integration and economic prospects in their destination countries. However, the current study found that many of the respondents were unable to speak isiZulu. This would limit their interaction with locals who are unable to communicate in English.

The majority of the respondents stated that they experienced hostility on the part of South Africans especially young men. They attributed this to a lack of education on the role played by other African nations during the struggle against apartheid as well as jealousy of their success in business. This observation was also made by Gebre et al. 2011 with regard to Ethiopian migrants and is consistent with Wimmer’s (1997) observation that conflict arises among migrants and their hosts as a result of perceived competition for collective goods. Many South Africans feel that migrants compete with them for jobs and women.

While the respondents affirmed that they were aware of their rights as immigrants due to their level of education, they noted that it is sometimes difficult to enforce such rights as they are often stigmatised because of perceptions that Nigerians are involved in illegal activities. This is more likely among uneducated South Africans as the respondents that were students and professionals agreed that they were treated with respect by their colleagues. Such stigmatization is at times perpetuated by the police who harass or exploit Nigerians. Similar
findings were made by studies on Congolese and Ethiopian migrants (Amisi, 2005; Gebre et al., 2011).

The research participants reported mixed experiences of the services provided by the Department of Home Affairs. Some described them as pleasant while the majority felt that they were unpleasant due to the way applications are treated, and corrupt officials. This concurs with Hoag’s (2010) observation that the Department of Home Affairs is synonymous with corruption, inefficiency and instability.

Finally, the majority of the respondents expressed satisfaction with their standard of living as they prefer South Africa to Nigeria due to the former’s superior infrastructural development. None provided a definite time frame within which they would leave South Africa, but most disclosed that they were willing to relocate to Western countries or return to Nigeria once they had saved enough money to start their own business at home. However, they were not willing to recommend South Africa to prospective migrants from their home country as they felt that opportunities in South Africa are fast diminishing.

5.4. Achievement of the Study’s Objectives

Objective 1: To investigate the experiences of Nigerian migrants during their stay in Durban.

This objective was achieved as the study unveiled the lived experiences of the migrants in Durban. The findings revealed their economic, social and cultural experiences. They showed that the migrants who are involved in informal economic activities face the challenge of inadequate capital and high rentals. It was also revealed that even though these migrants had integrated into the community to a certain extent through marriage and social interaction, they have feelings of resentment towards South Africans who are hostile to them. The findings also revealed that migration had some impact on the migrants’ food choices and eating habits, dress code and the practice of their religion.

Objective 2: To explore the living standards of Nigerian migrants before and after settling in South Africa.
The research findings revealed that the respondents had a better standard of living in South Africa than when they were in Nigeria. This was attributed to superior public infrastructure and services such as health care and education as well as access to modern technology to practice their professions and conduct academic research.

**Objective 3: To examine the social and economic costs and benefits for Nigerian migrants in Durban.**

This objective was achieved as the study showed that migration affected the Nigerian migrants economically and socially. The benefits included improved financial status as they obtained jobs or establish businesses and improved living conditions as they could access better services such as health care and education. Another economic benefit of migration was remittances back home. Migration also had an effect on their social life as it influenced their culture in terms of food, clothing and religious practices.

**Objective 4: To understand the pull factors influencing the migration of Nigerians to South Africa.**

This objective was achieved as the research showed that Nigerian migrants chose South Africa due to its infrastructural capacity, good education and political stability. While the findings revealed that the respondents would have preferred Canada, USA, Europe or other Western countries, they chose South Africa due to lower costs of migration and less difficulty in securing residence or visitors’ visas compared with other countries.

**Objective 5: To inquire into the push factors in the home country that influence the migration of Nigerians to South Africa.**

This objective was achieved as the findings revealed that Nigerians leave their home country for different reasons, mainly economic and educational factors, but also due to family ties and faith issues. The growing unemployment rate in Nigeria due to poor economic conditions and infrastructural deficits has caused many Nigerians to leave in search of better economic prospects. The findings also showed that Nigerians are leaving their home country to pursue their education due to poor educational standards and incessant disruption of academic calendars in tertiary institutions.
5.5. Conclusion
This research study investigated the lived experiences of Nigerian migrants in Durban. It examined the factors that influenced their decision to migrate, their travel routes, the socio-economic costs of migration, their standard of living before and after migration and their experiences since settling in Durban. The literature on international and South African migration trends was extensively reviewed in order to understand migrants’ experiences.

The findings revealed that the respondents mainly came to South Africa for economic and educational reasons. This country was selected because of the lower costs of migration and less difficulty in securing residence permits or tourist visas compared with Western countries. The majority entered the country legally through OR Tambo International Airport while a few crossed land borders with neighbouring countries having previously migrated to other African countries.

The respondents were employed, studying or self-employed. Those that were self-employed cited a lack of adequate capital and high rentals as their primary challenges. The respondents revealed that their standard of living had improved and they sent remittances home. They were able to integrate into society to some extent through marriage and social interaction, but many complained of hostility on the part of some locals and at times the police.

The respondents did not set a specific time when they would leave the country but hoped to migrate to Western countries or return to Nigeria when they had saved enough money to establish a business at home. While they stated that they were living a better life compared to Nigeria they were not willing to recommend South Africa to any Nigerian intending to leave their home country as they felt that economic opportunities in South Africa are fast diminishing.

5.6. Recommendations
Migration is an important population issue that affects both migrants and locals. If properly managed, it offers immense benefits to both. Based on the study’s findings, the following recommendations are offered to assist policy makers in policy formulation:

There is an urgent need for the South African government to raise public awareness of the need to live peacefully with migrants. The government should also ensure that law enforcement
agents arrest, prosecute and deport migrants involved in illicit businesses. Finally, the government should offer programs that encourage migrants to learn local languages as this will promote cultural assimilation and peace in communities.

The Nigerian Consulate in South Africa needs to improve its working relationship with the South African government to track down Nigerians involved in illicit businesses in South Africa. It should also provide legal assistance and support to Nigerian migrants when their rights are violated. The Consulate should educate South Africans on Nigerians’ positive contribution to South Africa. This could be achieved by developing documentaries and airing them on South African television stations.

The Department of Home Affairs should be reorganised in order to increase its efficiency in processing applications. Migrants with critical skills should be given priority and encouraged by granting them permanent resident status. This would motivate them to remain in South Africa rather than moving to Western countries.

Finally, government agencies and non-governmental organizations should come up with programs to assist migrant entrepreneurs that have viable business plans with finance as this will help them to create jobs for themselves and South Africans. This would go a long way in addressing unemployment, poverty and hunger and reduce the crime rate in local communities.
References


Fatoki, O.O. and Asah, F. 2011. The impact of firm and entrepreneurial characteristics on access to debt finance by SMEs in King Williams Town, South Africa. *International Journal of Business and Management*, 6(8), 170.


Appendices

Appendix 1: INTERVIEW GUIDE

Gender:
Age:
Highest Educational Qualification achieved?
How long have you been in South Africa?

1. Why did you decide to leave Nigeria?
2. Why did you select South Africa as your destination? What other options did you consider?
3. How did you enter South Africa? How did you end up in Durban?
4. What was the material cost of your migration to South Africa?
5. How do South Africans perceive none South Africans? Do you think they have a different attitude towards Nigerians?
6. How is your participation in social events like weddings, funerals et cetera?
7. With whom do you spend your free time most especially during weekends and holidays? Why?
8. What effects does your relationship with South Africans have on your social and economic life, health and security?
9. How do you define hospitality? How would you define the hospitality of South Africans?
10. How do you compare the hospitality extended to foreigners in Nigeria and South Africa?
11. What kind of residence permit do you hold?
12. What are your rights and obligations as an immigrant in South Africa?
13. Have you ever been stopped and questioned by SA police? If yes how were you treated? Do you think there would be a difference in the treatment if you were a South African or from another country?
14. Do you see yourself as a target of crime? Why? Does your Nationality contribute to that?
15. Which South African government offices do you have official relationship with?
16. How describe the service at home affairs? Is there any different treatment for Nigerians and immigrants from other countries?

17. Do you get any support from NGOs, CBOs and other international agencies? If Yes, what kind?

18. Do you have access to social services like health care, education, and housing?
How will you describe it?

19. How easy is it to find accommodation in Durban?

20. What do you expect from the government concerning social services like Health care, education e.t.c

21. Are you working? Looking for job? What do you do for living in Durban?

22. How much do you earn per month?

23. How was it to get a job/set up a business in South Africa? Was there any Challenge you faced?

24. Are there South Africans involved in a similar business as yours? How is your Relationship with them?

25. Did anyone (government, CBO, friends) assisted you in finding a job/setting up your business? If any, how far did the assistance go?

26. Do you have access to financial services? If no, how does it affect you?

27. How do you compare the life in South Africa and Nigeria?

28. What is your future plan concerning your stay in South Africa?

29. How long do you intend to stay in South Africa?

30. Has anything change in your lifestyle with respect to food, clothing and religion.

31. Will you recommend South Africa as a destination for Nigerians planning to? Leave their country? Why
Appendix 2: INFORMED CONSENT FORM

UKZN HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (HSSREC)

APPLICATION FOR ETHICS APPROVAL
For research with human participants

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Date:
Dear Sir/Ma,

My name is Ayandeji Sunday Ayantokun, a Master of Development Studies student at the School of Built Environment and Development Studies, College of Humanities, University of KwaZulu-Natal.

You are being requested to participate as a respondent in a research titled “A Critical Assessment of the Experiences of Nigerian Migrants resident in Durban, South Africa” in which you are a distinguished member. The aim of this study is to critically assess the experiences of Nigerian migrants. The study is expected to enroll 20 migrants who are resident within the Durban metropolitan area. It will involve an interview session where you will assist in answering questions based on your personal experience as a Nigerian migrant. The interview session will be conducted within 1hr if you accept to participate.

It is our belief that this study will help assess the experiences of Nigerian Migrants and help to generate information to advise the Nigerian Embassy on the plight of Nigerians for their intervention where necessary.

We want to assure you that participation is optional, your Identity will be kept confidential and will not be included in the report and you are free to withdraw your participation at any stage of the interview process if you so desire. Your participation is at no cost and interview materials will be properly stored to avoid your personal details being disclosed to third parties.

This research protocol and procedure has been ethically approved by the HSRC committee of the University of KwaZulu-Natal.

In the event of any problems or concerns/questions you may contact the researcher on +278456648566/+27612518910/dejitokun@gmail.com or the UKZN Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee, contact details as follows:
Additional consent, where applicable

I hereby provide consent to:

Audio-record my interview / focus group discussion YES / NO

<table>
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<th>Signature of Participant</th>
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| Signature of Witness     | Date |
| (Where applicable)       |      |

| Signature of Translator  | Date |
| (Where applicable)       |      |