

Relevance of Migration Theories in the identification of influencing factors for Nigerian and Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa

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Abstract

Nigerians and Zimbabweans form the largest group of African migrants in South Africa and the numbers keep growing despite being impacted by violence due to xenophobic behaviour. Factors such as the expectation of higher incomes have been identified by various economic theories as influential on migrants' choice of host country. However, there have not been existing studies to identify specific factors influencing these groups in South Africa. The study identifies specific factors that contribute to the migrants' decisions to leave their home country for South Africa. More so, to understand international migration theories that can best explain the migration pattern for this migrant group in South Africa. The focus group method was adopted for data collection for the study. This is due to the difficulty of access to migrant population data as the persistence of international migration data paucity remains a reality in Africa. To attain quality results, members of the focus groups were selected based on their experience, gender, marital status, vocation and years of stay in South Africa. Thematic analysis was used to analyse the transcripts of the discussions held with the focus groups. The results reveal that non-economic factors are as important as economic factors in explaining a migrant's decision-making process.

The network theory of migration is found to be the most appropriate for describing the factors that influence migration to South Africa. The presence of existing migrant social networks influenced the migration decision of many of the immigrants. The networks established by these migrants in the host countries continue to serve as a coping mechanism, even in view of the hardships and discrimination they face. It is also a strong pull factor that draws new migrants into the country, although, the underlying reasons for migration may either be a political or economic push from home countries.

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1 Introduction & Background

The phenomenon of massive movement or flow of human capital from source countries to a particular destination (or destinations) has been termed as *emigration*. This has been a historically relevant issue that has received great attention over the past decades in view of the fact that all over the world, the volume of migration is steadily on the increase. Notable studies by Massey *et al* (1993) have shown the relevance of international migration issues in their study on the theories of international migration. Other studies by Greenwood and McDowell (1992) on the macroeconomic determinants of international migration, and Glazier and Kondo (2005) have linked migration by certain groups to a search for good

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governance, expectation of higher incomes and living conditions, which are lacking in the countries of origin or permanent residence.

According to Anderson and Blinders (2011), migrants are often defined by citizenship, birth or length of stay in a country which could be for some time or for long term. These three dimensions of the definition of who a migrant is can be further elaborated upon as follows:

- **Nationality:** If defined by nationality, foreign born people who are citizens of a country (such as South Africa) would not be seen as migrants.
- **Country of birth:** If described by country of birth, foreign born people who may have become citizens of a country after a long period of time would still be termed migrants, if the term is defined by country of birth.
- **Length of stay:** Reference is made to the United Nation's (UN) definition of "long term international migrant". A person who moves to a country other than his or her usual residence for a period of at least a year (or more) so that the destination country becomes his or her new country of usual residence (is still considered a migrant).

Migration itself is frequently transitory in nature; it's difficult to get reliable data on the actual number of people coming into and going out of a country and the vanishing nature of boundaries globally. In Africa, in particular, it is difficult to define who a migrant is - often such people prefer to remain "invisible" as they come in illegally and also legal migrants have a tendency to move around the world so that it's hard to pin point and follow up with such movements. Unlike other population concepts/dynamics like fertility and mortality that happen once in a lifetime and are easier to record, migration could occur numerous times over the lifetime of an individual.

Many factors affect an intending migrant's resolve to migrate; one of which may be the riskiness of the new environment taking into account other associated factors (these are covered in the focus groups' discussions). According to Massey *et al's* (1993) network theory, interpersonal ties (family and friends) provide a stronger basis for connecting migrants and therefore increase the likelihood of such decisions to migrate. Based on this theory and on the responses that will be obtained from the focus-group participants, the question remains that: Is there an expectation of an increase in migration in the coming years from these two countries to South Africa?

This research gives an overview of existing literature on international migration theories and empirical evidence from studies that have been undertaken in South Africa and other countries. Reviews of the associated factors that contribute to such movements from Nigeria and Zimbabwe, with a particular focus on South Africa's attractiveness as a destination country for these immigrants will be discussed. This study aims to identify the factors influencing Nigerians and Zimbabweans decision to migrate to South Africa based on their first-hand account through focus group discussions. These discussions were held in August 2012 and we sort to establish which theory of international migration is most relevant to South Africa in order to inform the choice of the relevant direction future immigration research in South Africa should take.

2 Literature Review

2.1 African immigrants in South Africa

The post-apartheid era has witnessed the massive influx of both permanent and temporary African and Asian migrants (Loren and Segatti, 2009). These migrants include significant numbers of refugees and asylum seekers as well as skilled workers looking for better economic opportunities. Among these are Nigerians and Zimbabweans that make up the highest number of African migrants in South Africa for the past two decades, see **Table 1** below (Stats SA, 2011).

Nigerians and Zimbabweans form a large part of migrants in South Africa and their influx into the country has grown enormously since the late nineties. Matlou (2007) commented on the movement of Nigerians to South Africa as far back as the mid-1980s when the oil crisis in Nigeria led to skilled Nigerians moving to Homelands in South Africa. He further stated that “...(o)ver 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).

Table 1. African immigrants in South Africa (documented) by source country

Year	Lesotho	Malawi	Mozambique	Nigeria	Zimbabwe
1994	227	6	45	25	556
1995	222	85	41	45	405
1996	233	98	53	66	394
1997	124	45	39	77	273
1998	141	37	50	63	300
1999	111	130	575	72	181
2000	92	23	14	87	133
2001	118	33	40	198	326
2002	123	66	87	631	464
2003	237	174	187	1,698	959
<i>Source: Statistics South Africa, documented migration 2009</i>					
2011	2, 706	2, 047	N/A	12, 210	15, 628
2012	3, 886	2, 803	N/A	14, 089	24, 370
2013	2, 766	1, 720	N/A	10, 265	18, 889
<i>Source: Statistics South Africa, documented migration, 2011, 2012, 2013.</i>					
N/A: Not Available					

Migration to South Africa has been fluctuating over the past three decades, there have been increases followed by decreases due to changes in migration policy in the country. There was a severe decline in the number of immigrants from 1983-1985, after which a steady increase in the number of immigrants occurred. As can be observed from **Table 1**, from the early 1990s, another decline in the number of immigrants occurred and this trend did not change until 2000 (Stats SA, 2011). Crush (2008) attributes the decline experienced to the highly restrictive immigration policy adopted by the South African government in the immediate post-apartheid era. Still fresh out of apartheid, foreign citizens were viewed as outsiders and a threat to economic prospects of the country.

According to Posel (2003), historically with the ending of apartheid in South Africa, legislation governing migration changed very little. Aside from the fact that subsequently, South Africa relaxed entry laws for some of its neighbouring countries such as Zimbabwe in the early part of 1990 and beyond (Matlou, 2007). Further evidence quoted by Crush (2012), confirms 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 3500 in 2001 to 21,000 in 2008” (Crush, 2012). The 2002 Immigration Act passed contributed to the ease of legal entry and employment of Zimbabweans in South Africa.

An increase in the number of African immigrants was observed from 2000-2004, when nearly half of all immigrants in South Africa were Africans (Crush, 2008). Currently, the exact number of migrants in South Africa is still unknown but several approximations of the number of documented and illegal immigrants exist.

Migration has shown to be of benefit to South Africa; the significant immigration of skilled and semi-skilled labour has helped the country to meet its short- and long-term development targets (Loren and Segatti, 2009). In the study on migration and economic development in Africa by Lucas (2006), Lucas noted that Rule (1994) argued that ‘The volume of immigration to South Africa more than compensates for the loss of emigrants.’ (Rule, 1994, cited in Lucas 2006). Highly skilled workers migrate in order to reap higher returns on their skills in areas perceived to offer more economic opportunities. Temporary residence permits are also being increasingly granted to Africans in South Africa. There has also been an effort to increase the number of ‘critically skilled’ migrants attracted to South Africa through the general work permit, a (skills) quota work permit, an intra-company transfer work permit, treaty permits, as well as corporate permits (Loren and Segatti, 2009).

2.2 The Migration Theories

The degree of freedom that a potential individual migrant has in deciding on whether to move or stay depends largely on several factors such as wealth, network links, perception of more and/or better economic opportunities and prestige. There are theories that clarify the impact that these factors have on migration decisions. Some factors are explained by the theories as pull-factors; they are in form of incentives from the host countries that draw migrants into the country. Others are described as push-factors because they are negative circumstances in the immigrant’s home countries that push them to other countries.

Migration theories provide explanation for the degree of variation in the causes of migration in various countries. For instance, they explain the reason why a strong causal factor in one country is not strong enough in another. Transaction costs, tedious visa processes and travel expenses required to migrate to a high-income country such as the United States of America and European countries cause some migrants to opt for cheaper and closer alternatives like South Africa. As put by Haugen (2012:66) “One response to the rising barriers to entry to Europe and North America is migration towards more accessible, but less attractive countries in the developing world.” Migration destinations in the south are often middle-income countries that attract migrants from nearby low- income economies (Hugo and Piper, 2007, cited in Haugen, 2012). The subsequent sections briefly discuss four chosen theories of international migration and relays their perspective on the push-pull factors influencing migrants’ decisions.

2.2.1 The neoclassical theory of migration

The neoclassical theory of migration firstly discussed is probably the most influential theory of migration. It is focused on differentials in wages and employment conditions between countries as well

as on migration costs as factors causing migration. According to the theory potential migrants estimate the benefits and costs of migrating before making such decisions; hence migration occurs if their expected return (ER) is positive (Arango, 2000). “This theory of migration is based on familiar tenets like rational choice, utility maximisation, expected net returns, factor mobility, wage differentials and the fact that migration results from the uneven geographical distribution of labour and capital.” (Arango, 2002). According to this theory, workers tend to move from countries with abundance of labour and low wages to others that are labour-scarce with higher wages - hence the principal motivation for migration is the increased welfare that individuals receive from higher labour income or wages.

However, the neoclassical theory of migration is argued to suppress the role of non-economic factors which to a large extent play a deterministic role in an individual migrant’s decision to leave his home country (Arango, 2002). The theory has failed to explain why few people move in view of existing and very large income gaps across countries. One would expect that massive numbers of labour would be migrating across countries (that have scarce labour) with new information or the perception of higher returns on labour but the reality is that existing barriers such as obtaining travel permits, visas and other documents which intending migrants must have, limits the degree of such exchange of labour across countries (labour immobility).

2.2.2 Dual labour market theory

The dual labour market theory as applicable to migration generally ignores micro-level decision processes and instead links immigration to the structural requirements of modern industrial societies (Massey *et al*, 1993). The theory states that international migration is largely demand based and is initiated by recruitment on the part of employers in developed societies or by government acting on their behalf; migration is driven by an increasing demand for “cheap” labour. The dual labour market theory pays more attention to the receiving end of migration in the destination countries or regions (Arango, 2000). Motivated to ‘make it’ in a foreign land, an immigrant accepts relatively low pay and is willing to endure just a little more hardship than natives, to the advantage of profit-motivated employers who gain from this cheaper labour. The theory presumes that more developed economies require foreign workers to take up jobs which local workers have refused (Arango, 2004, cited in Lucas, 2006).

The theory, according to Arango (2002) does not principally provide general explanations of the factors affecting migration but explains that international migration occurs as a structural demand for foreign workers present in the economic structure of more developed economies. The theory explains only a part of reality since it suggests that international migration is driven by demand and does not take into account the push factors from sending countries, so it is a one-sided theory. Migration in present times does not result primarily from recruitment practices, now migrants largely come based on their own planning and decision making, not always to occupy existing jobs or openings in the labour market of the destination country.

2.2.3 The new economics of migration

The new economics of migration considers conditions that exist in a variety of markets, not just labour markets. The new economics of migration evolved to dispute many of the theoretical assumptions and inferences of the neoclassical theory of international migration (Stark and Bloom 1985; Massey *et al*, 1993). The proposition of this new approach is that the decision to migrate is not made solely by individual actors, but by a larger unit of interrelated people - usually families or households where people act communally not only to increase expected income, but also to reduce the risks connected with a variety of market failures, besides those that exist in the labor market (Stark and Bloom, 1985; Stark, 1984; Stark, 1991; Massey *et al*, 1993). Hence, households may have a strong incentive to

diversify their risks even in the absence of wage differences that exist in various countries (Massey *et al*, 1993). This enlarges the scope for other integrating factors aside from an individual's need to maximise utility, in affecting the decision to migrate (Haas, 2010).

The new economics of migration offers some enhancements over the neoclassical theory; it tones down the central importance of differentials in wages as a motivating factor and emphasizes the role of households' common good as an influencing factor, paying more attention to the complexities involved in the interdependence that exist between migrants and the different circumstances under which they operate (Arango, 2000). The theory is said to have limited applicability since its focus is more on the reasons for migration from the sending country with no cognisance to the fact that the receiving country also has some role to play in providing incentives that may have been the source of attraction to the migrant in deciding to migrate (Arango, 2002).

2.2.4 Network theory

The network theory as discussed in the study by Massey *et al* (1993) reflects the fact that aside from economic reasons for migrating, migrants also weigh the social effects of migrating to foreign lands. The associated costs and risks are seen to be reduced when some form of networks already exist in foreign lands. With the migration network already formed, the costs for future migrants are lowered (Mckenzie and Rapport, 2007), since arriving and trying to survive in a new country is unlikely to come relatively effortlessly.

Migration studies have posited new explanations for increasing international migration which has been linked to migration networks. Migration networks are seen to facilitate chain migration, and may most times be the predictor of future migration flows (Arango, 2004, cited in Lucas *et al*, 2006). Bauer *et al* (2002) states that there is the likelihood of an exponential increase in immigration in USA as a result of network externalities having a significant effect on the migrant's decision of where to migrate. This gives credence to the fact that the more the migrants now, the larger will be the influx of future migrants.

It could be argued from research studies on migrant networks that networks rank amongst the most important explanatory factors of migration since these networks transmit information, provide financial assistance, facilitate some form of employment and accommodation and generally support migrants in various ways. "Migration networks can be seen as a form of social capital so far as they are social relations that permit access to other goods of economic significance such as employment or higher wages" (Arango, 2002). Many migrants usually move because other migrants with whom they are associated moved before them, hence there is an ensuing multiplier effect, and this serves as a predictor of the increasing role that social networks play in migration and that such networks play in future as a means of reducing the associated costs, risks and uncertainty of migrating, resulting in the development of enclaves in destination countries.

In summary, the neoclassical theory emphasized the role of economic factors as a major cause of migration. The dual labour market theory states that the pull factors in receiving countries such as the chronic need for foreign workers that more advanced destination countries have are more significant in explaining the causes of international migration. It accords less significance to the push factors in source countries. The new economics of migration theory emphasises the push factors from the sending countries as a major motivation for international migration decisions. It emphasises family and households sustenance and risk calculation as the main motivator of migrants' decisions. This theory is seen to be more applicable to developing and less developed nations of Africa. Lastly, the network theory focuses more on network effects and inter-relationships that exist amongst migrants and intending migrants and how such networks encourage more migration.

3 Methodology

To understand the very nature of a population under study, a sample can be drawn. The sampling process used in finding Nigerians and Zimbabweans was based primarily on referrals and links which the researcher has with nationals from these two countries and subsequently the links these nationals also have with others. This is referred to as snowballing, a sampling technique where a participant identifies other participants to be included in a study until the sample size is substantial enough for the study (Welman *et al*, 2005:69 cited in Ngomane, 2010:6).

Four focus group discussions were held in August 2012, two for each country's nationals (Nigerians and Zimbabweans). Each group consists of 6 nationals of each country living in South Africa. The groups are divided according to gender: thus 6 females in one group and 6 males in the second group (for each country) that fall within the 21-40 years age bracket. Those in the sample have at least a one year length of stay in South Africa. The four groups comprised of one or two students, workers (those who are economically active in the South African labour market) and an unemployed person that is a job seeker; all in a bid to capture a range of experiences.

Only one discussion session per group was done. Each session lasted for approximately 40 minutes and a list of pointers in form of questions to guide the discussion were used. Data was collected using an audio-recording device during the discussion sessions, as well as notes that the researcher jotted down during the discussion sessions which included observations on non-verbal affirmations expressed by participants during the course of the discussions. The focus-group discussions were held in English as all participants understood and communicated effectively in English. After an initial evaluation and analysis of the data by the researcher using thematic analysis method: "This is a form of analysis that helps in identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data" (Braun and Clarke, 2006: 82), respondent valuation was conducted - this required the researcher to meet some of the participants to discuss and validate the responses. Such a process allows participants affirm or question the information captured by the researcher during the focus-group discussions. During this process clarifications and corrections are made by the researcher.

The questions asked in the interview sought to understand the motivating factors that either pushed the migrants away from their home countries or pulled them to South Africa. The questions not only helped to uncover the individual reason for migrating, but according to Casale & Posel (2006), also gives the chance for the voices of the migrants to be heard as against the views of the host nation's perspectives which is often heard the most (Swing, 2011). Questions entailed the need to know the specific reason why migrants left their home country and the specific motivator for choosing to migrate to South Africa. It also required migrants to describe the differences in living conditions observed between their home country and South Africa. The economic history of migrants in their home countries and their current economic status in South Africa was also requested. Migrants were also asked to describe the economic and non-economic circumstances that will facilitate their return to their home country.

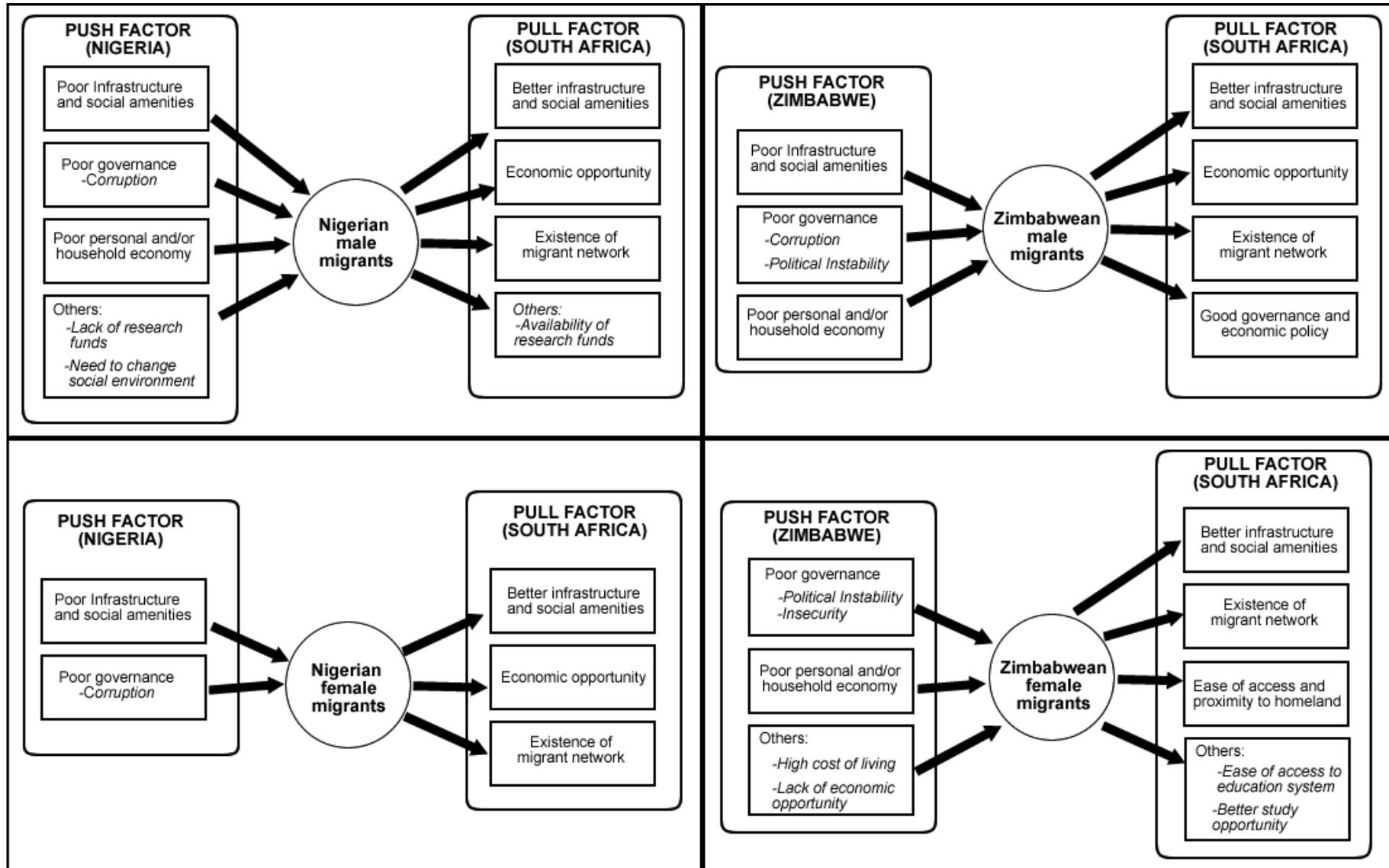
4 Results and Discussion

In summarising the focus-group discussions, the sections that follow will firstly identify what forces motivated the move to South Africa by the immigrants, then go on to examine the demotivating forces at hand, and finally the factors in the home country that would encourage the immigrants to return are also discussed.

4.1 Motivating Factors for South African Immigrants

Based on the discussion groups, the motivating factors behind the Nigerian and Zimbabwean participants' decision to immigrate to South Africa are summarised in **Figure 1**, thereafter, the factors identified are discussed in detail.

Figure 1. Motivating factors for Nigerian and Zimbabwean immigrants in South Africa



4.1.1 Economic Factors

Nigerian and Zimbabwean migrants, especially males, chose to come to South Africa for economic advancement in South Africa. They identified the possibility of earning high incomes in South Africa with their current skills and levels of education, as factors that draw them to South Africa. The respondents stated that they came for economic opportunities in terms of employment or the opportunity to earn more money than they would have in their home countries. Although, some of the migrants moved to South Africa for study purposes, they all agreed that the availability of funding in form of scholarships and the eventual possibility of finding high paying jobs is one of the reasons for migrating to South Africa.

While the Zimbabweans saw the lack of job opportunities in Zimbabwe as a push factor, they saw the possibilities of securing employment in South Africa as a pull factor to the country. One respondent stated that the biggest employer in Zimbabwe is the government, and at the time he was leaving the country, government positions were frozen, hence, there was no possibility for him to secure employment in Zimbabwe. Another respondent added that he came to study in South Africa and hopes to get a job afterwards because there are more opportunities outside Zimbabwe and he has little or no hope of finding employment in Zimbabwe.

Similarly, the Nigerians in general see the possibility of better economic advancement in South Africa with their level of academic qualification or the skills which they possess. A Nigerian respondent, a footballer, said *“I came for more money, they pay trained soccer players here double the amount received in Nigeria, and there are better coaches and managers in South Africa.”*

These factors are in line with the neoclassical theory that emphasises economic factors as a predominant cause of migration; difference in wages and employment conditions. Also, economic incentives are both a push and a pull factor for the Nigerian and Zimbabwean immigrants in South Africa.

4.1.2 Social Network Factor

In all the focus groups, network ties were mentioned as a motivating factor and were considered to be highly important in taking the decision to migrate. Migrants emphasized the importance of existing networks in South Africa that attracted them to the country, networks in terms of friends, family and in the case of some Nigerian female respondents, spousal relations were mentioned.

From the participants' responses, it can be deduced that social networks and family ties of migrants play a role in the migration of Nigerians and Zimbabweans. As Tiebout (1956, cited in Glazier and Kondo, 2007:4) stated that “people will move to communities consisting of people similar to them”. Most participants in this study are living within family and friends' circles and maintain a strong link with their relatives both in South Africa and in their home countries. They admitted that they might not have migrated to South Africa if they did not have some friend or family member living in the country or someone that told them about South Africa. Network information about South Africa diffused to various communities in migrants' home countries proved to be useful. Some respondents stated that they received motivation to migrate to South Africa from their friends. One of the respondents stated that he got more information about South Africa as regards study opportunities available from a local church network he belonged to in his home country. A member of his local church supplied information to him about South Africa thus making his migration process easier.

A number of these migrants stated that they live with fellow nationals in South Africa, while others live alone with people from other nationalities including South Africans. Most of them admitted to have also shared information about South Africa with fellow nationals from their country or recommended

South Africa to people from home. Some of the Zimbabwean male respondents regarded the existing family ties that they have in South Africa as motivation to remain in the country. They highlighted that they currently live with their siblings and enjoyed the home community away from home.

Spousal ties are a motivating factor for Nigerian women as their decision to migrate largely depended on the decision of their spouses. About 75% of the Nigerian women in the focus group stated that they came to South Africa based on the decision of their spouse to migrate, while the remainder simply came for study purposes. Some of the women who came to be with their husbands took the opportunity to further their education as one of the women added “*I came to South Africa to join my husband as would be the case for most females and in the process get more education*”. To which some of the women nodded.

4.1.3 Infrastructure and Amenities

Another important motivating factor is the availability of good infrastructure and amenities in South Africa. Migrants view this as a push factor because they believe their home countries’ facilities are in poor condition. However, it can also be a pull factor, because most respondents agree that they had received prior information about infrastructure in South Africa. Based on information received from networks of migrants who have been to South Africa, migrants stated that they had some prior knowledge about what to expect in South Africa. While they detest the poor state of infrastructure in their home countries, reports on good infrastructure available in South Africa facilitated their decision to migrate to South Africa.

All the respondents believed that transportation, healthcare, electricity and education facilities are better in South Africa than in their home countries. Zimbabwean respondents lauded the level of⁴infrastructural development and provision of basic social amenities for the people in South Africa especially stable electricity in contrast to the regular power cuts that they experience in Zimbabwe. Nigerian respondents also agreed to this.

Tertiary educational institutions are regarded by respondents to be better in South Africa compared to what obtains in Nigeria and South Africa. Nationals from the two countries who were studying in South Africa acknowledged that educational facilities in South Africa are better than what one obtains in their home countries. A Zimbabwean respondent stated that he left the country to get an academic qualification that is more globally reputable than a qualification from Zimbabwe. A Nigerian respondent confirmed that the learning facilities and science/laboratory equipment available in South African universities are far more advanced than those available in Nigeria.

4.1.4 Cost of Living

High cost of living in the home country is a push factor that is mentioned by the Zimbabwean respondents, although this was not the opinion of the Nigerian respondents. The Zimbabwean respondents, most especially females were of the opinion that the cost of living in Zimbabwe is higher than in South Africa. They agreed that things are expensive in Zimbabwe, considering that people earn less than what they need to satisfy their basic needs. Although, they added that it is expensive to live in South Africa as a foreigner, since you can't really negotiate your salary, even if you get a job. With regards to accommodation, Nigerian respondents stated that South Africa is expensive to live in. One

⁴ It should be noted that at the time of the focus group discussions, load shedding of electricity was not an important issue in South Africa. It could potentially reduce the attractiveness of SA and be classified as a demotivating factor for migration.

of the Nigerian respondents stated that: *“Cost of living in South Africa is very high, if you have nothing tangible doing in South Africa it'll be very difficult to survive”*.

4.1.5 Governance

Instability in the home country's economy and politics is a major push factor identified by majority of the respondents. Glazier and Kondo (2007) have linked migration to a search for good governance and further state that people would migrate to regions that have policies they prefer. Although, migrants provide individual reasons for moving to South Africa, they all identified instability in their country's economy as an important factor that keeps them away from their home countries. They maintained that governance in South Africa is better than what is experienced in their home countries.

All Zimbabwean migrants pointed to the existing political and economic situation in Zimbabwe as a push factor, motivating their decision to move to South Africa. One of the respondents stated that he left Zimbabwe in 2007 in view of the economic and political situation in Zimbabwe in order to pursue a career and to have a better chance in life. One of the female respondents identified the political instability of 2001 that led to feelings of insecurity for females in Zimbabwe as a motivating factor for her decision to leave the country for South Africa. She stated that: *“Physical attacks were taking place in Zimbabwe at the time, especially against girls in my area during the elections rally in 2001; my mother wanted me to leave the country for my own safety as a female”*.

Another motivator linked to poor governance is the high level of corruption that exists in migrants' home countries. Zimbabwean respondents stated that the levels of corruption in Zimbabwe are alarming, *“...you literally have to pay your way through even to get basic things, while in South Africa you can still enjoy basic services for free.”* Nigerians also agreed that the level of corruption in their home country is very high, they linked it to the political challenges and economic instability and lack of infrastructures in the country. Some of the respondents added that they may stay away from their home countries until the governance system improves.

4.1.6 Accessibility and Proximity to the Home Country

One of the respondents said she knew she always wanted to study abroad but that South Africa being in Africa and close to home provided an attraction. As put by Haugen (2012) in explaining some motivating factors for migration to some middle-income African countries, he stated that *“...one response to the rising barriers to entry to Europe and North America is migration towards more accessible, but less attractive countries in the developing world.”* Migration destinations in the south of Africa are often middle-income countries that attract migrants from nearby low-income economies (Hugo and Piper, 2007, cited in Haugen, 2012). For example, a Zimbabwean Female respondent said: *“I had many places in mind like Australia but chose South Africa cause it's closer to home (Zimbabwe) and for financial reasons - those places were more expensive, everywhere else was too expensive, I was previously resident in the United States of America (USA), but financial requirements were too difficult to meet up with, England was a second choice but it's also expensive to live in. South African universities are easier to get into”*.

4.2 Demotivating Factors for South African Immigrants

4.2.1 Discrimination

Acceptance and friendliness of the local community is viewed as a pull factor that could attract migrants to South Africa. All the respondents stated that such treatment towards them is lacking in South Africa, rather they faced discrimination and that this is a negative factor that is pushing them away from the

country. Some of the migrants strongly believed that they faced discrimination at some point in South Africa. They also noted that discrimination of foreigners is very obvious and predominant.

One of the Nigerian respondents, a female, stated that friendliness in South Africa is below 40% even amongst people of the same colour. Foreigners are viewed as people who have come to take what the indigenes of South Africa have. She also pointed out that unlike Nigeria, neighbours in South Africa are not interested in knowing each other.

Migrants are prime targets for discrimination especially because they cannot speak the local language or in the case of skilled migrants and because their qualifications are not acknowledged (Matlou, 2007). All respondents agreed that xenophobia is a great challenge and the language barrier is a major problem for them, to quote from one of the Nigerian participants: “...*Once you can't speak the language here you are written off and ignored.*”

Zimbabweans also believed that the reception of foreigners is very bad in South Africa even though Zimbabwe is part of the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC) region. They agreed that South Africa is still lagging behind in terms of the treatment of foreigners and this to them reduced its attractiveness.

On the language barrier, one respondent stated that “*Zimbabweans are friendly, in South Africa if you are a foreigner you are immediately under-preferred; you find it hard to even ask for directions for fear of being misdirected and ignored because you cannot speak the language. It's not easy to penetrate this society if you are a foreigner until you really get to know people then they start introducing you to their friends*”. Another respondent added that: “*Socially, the perception of foreigners by the indigenes is a bit negative as relates to foreigners wanting to take jobs and take opportunities available to South Africans. Economically for me, finance and monies still come from home (Zimbabwe) because am still a student*”

4.2.2 Security Issues

Insecurity in the host country is seen as a negative factor that makes South Africa less attractive to immigrants. All respondents, especially female respondents, felt the crime rate in South Africa is high compared to their home country. They strongly agree that there is a high level of insecurity in South Africa compared to their home countries. Nigerian female respondents noted that Nigeria is more peaceful, and that common people are safer in the streets compared to South Africa where petty crime, murder and rape are rampant. They identify the low level of morality in South Africa as a negative push factor. A Zimbabwean female respondent expressed that there are huge security concerns in South Africa, she said: “...*security is really bad here, I have been robbed in South Africa before*”, to which other respondents nodded.

4.2.3 The Cost of Living

Cost of living is perceived by migrants as a motivating factor for leaving their home country. A few respondents believe that the cost of living in South Africa is very high and could potentially be a demotivating factor to migrate to South Africa. All Nigerian respondents agreed to this especially with regards to accommodation costs. They strongly believe that things are expensive in South Africa and that it is difficult to secure a job that will provide enough finances to cover all their expenses including those of relations dependent on them in their home country.

4.2.4 Lack of Employment Opportunities

Contrary to the perception of many immigrants, securing employment in South Africa has been very difficult. Prior to their entry to South Africa, respondents believed that it would be easy to become

gainfully employed in South Africa. However, migrants lament the difficulty of securing employment in South Africa even with academic qualifications obtained within South Africa.

The difference in the economic status of the Zimbabwean and Nigerian migrants prior to their entry to South Africa needs to be highlighted. While most of the Nigerian migrants were formerly employed in their home country, the Zimbabweans had no employment before migrating to South Africa. However, few of the Zimbabwean migrants have currently been able to secure employment in South Africa. Their Nigerian counterparts however, most especially the Nigerian females, have found it difficult to secure any form of employment. Above 50% of the Zimbabweans interviewed were employed in South Africa. Whereas, less than 30% of Nigerian respondents admitted that they were employed.

Reasons given by the respondents for the difficulty in securing employment in South Africa are that: the job search process was difficult and stressful, especially if you don't have the South African identity document for citizens and permanent residents. One of the female respondents added that: *"...The long and confusing process of obtaining work permits and South African ID documents and the contradicting requirements from employers in South Africa and the Home Affairs Department were a problem..."*

The process of securing work permits seemed to be a great challenge for the migrants in advancing their economic status in South Africa.

4.3 Factors Related to the Decision to Return to Home Country

All respondents made it clear that they had every intention of going back to their home country and had no plans to stay permanently. But most of them did not have a set date of departure. Motivation to return to their home countries was hinged on the condition of governance reformation in their home country and because of the still existing family ties in home country. Migrants strongly believe that they stand a better chance economically in their home country with the additional academic qualifications and work experience obtained in South Africa. Additionally, Nigerian female respondents indicated that going back to their home country would depend largely on their spouses' decision.

Economic and political stability in the home country is a vital factor that most respondents consider will motivate their decision to return. Nigerian respondents stated their willingness to return to Nigeria depends on whether improvements in the country's economic system have occurred. They explained that corruption had eaten deep into the fabric of the Nigerian people and improved economic situation, provision of social amenities, better leadership and political processes, better infrastructure, job creation and employment opportunities would serve as motivating factors to return to Nigeria.

Zimbabwean respondents expressed that economic stability and comfort would be a major attraction to go back to Zimbabwe. One respondent stated that she desired to return to Zimbabwe but social amenities like water and electricity which were available in South Africa provided major security and comfort for her. Going back to Zimbabwe will mean leaving these comforts for the rural lifestyle she lived before migrating to South Africa.

The feelings of severe deprivation experienced by individuals in their home countries provide incentives to back up their decisions to migrate. This was expressed by the Nigerian male respondents where they state that social amenities which they felt were not readily available in their home country provided the incentives for them to migrate. With a positive change in development, especially greater trust in government and noticeable growth in the economy, migrants would most likely be among the first to take advantage of new opportunities in their countries of origin (Haas, 2010).

Lastly, a few migrants see themselves as part of the change process for their home countries as they could potentially contribute to and improve their home countries' economy. Others stated that the establishment of good policies could motivate them to return to their countries of origin. One of the respondents said: *"If there are signs of good and significant economic policy formulation and implementation, that would give one signs of opportunities to survive and avenues of growth, these would attract me to go back to Zimbabwe"*. Another one added that: *"a new Zimbabwean constitution that is democratic and not outdated, that ensures the rule of law and freedom of expression of the people and the press would attract me to go back to Zimbabwe"*

4.4 The Applicability of Migration Theories for South African Immigrants

With different countries, alternative theories may provide stronger explanatory power of the causes of migration. Of the four theories discussed, each theory overlaps and various similarities exist within these theories especially in terms of economic factors as drivers of migration; the *neoclassical theory* provides differentials in wages and employment conditions (existing economic factors) in both the source and destination countries as motivating factors to prompt migration, the *dual labour market theory* emphasizes the role of pull factors, rather than push factors, in the destination countries (a chronic and unavoidable need for foreign workers in the host country as the motivating factor for migration).

The *new economics of migration theory* states that the major factor that motivates migration is the need for risk sharing and brings to light the role of the households/families which the individual migrant associates with as “helpers” in the quest to migrate in terms of providing monetary and financial assistance. The decision to migrate is taken at a household level or community level meaning that migration is an economic decision, but not an individual decision and once in the country of destination, the migrant relies on a network of fellow nationals, who are likely to be family, in the host country for support in various ways. It further states that migrants would be willing to return to source countries upon the receipt of favourable information on the improvement of living conditions in their home countries. The *network theory* states that social ties which migrants have is the primary motivating factor in their choice of which country to migrate to since the associated costs and risks are seen to be reduced when there exists already formed networks in foreign lands. The migration network lowers the costs for future migrants (Mckenzie and Rapport, 2007).

From the responses of the participants, one can conclude that the *neoclassical theory* explains to a large extent the motivating factors for most of the migrants in their decision to migrate: economic stability, employment, better pay which migrants hoped to obtain after studying in destination countries - such reasons for migration to South Africa reoccurred in the responses of the participants of the focus groups.

Furthermore, some of the Zimbabwean Male respondents revealed that they would advise skilled workers or professionals to come to South Africa and the respondents themselves were studying to become better skilled and, thus, more likely to find employment in the South African labour market. One of the Nigerian Male respondents stated that doctors had better chances in South Africa, hence he'll tell his doctor friends in Nigeria to come. The majority of the other respondents did not feel that ‘hustlers’ or unskilled workers should come to South Africa in view of the tough living and working conditions they would face. In the study of illegal Zimbabwean migrants by Ngomane, 2010, some responses given in the interviews conducted revealed that respondents felt they were not treated fairly and that they had to do some of the hard labour that was refused by South Africans, subsequently earning less than the citizens received. These responses by the migrants reveal that the pull factors that the destination country provides in terms of employment opportunities and need for foreign workers are pertinent. Thus, the *dual labour market theory of migration* is also relevant in explaining the motivating factors for movement to South Africa from Nigeria and Zimbabwe.

The *new economics of migration theory* is closely linked with the *network theory of migration* as both theories emphasize the role of households and families in initiating and “helping” the migration process commence. A few of the views expressed correspond with the new economics of migration theory, which presumes that push factors that could cause migratory movements are not only hinged on individual economic opportunities but on other non-economic factors (Arango, 2002). The participants of the focus groups emphasized family and social ties (grandmother, siblings, husbands, friends and so

on) showing that their decision to migrate was at a family/household level and not just individual. One of the Zimbabwean participants commented that her decision to leave Zimbabwe was a decision her family participated in and was motivated by the violent physical attacks her family faced as well as the economic losses her parents had endured in Zimbabwe.

From the responses of the participants, one can observe that networks in the destination country and study opportunities were the key motivators in migrants' decision to come to South Africa. Unemployment in source country and a need by migrants to change their social environment were also motivating factors that migrants gave for leaving their source countries. Other factors such as political instability, closeness of destination country to source country and inadequate training facilities in the source country were also mentioned.

Furthermore, feelings of discontent in terms of discrimination that migrants faced in South Africa were expressed; the feeling of not being accepted. However, it is noteworthy that migrants still stay in the country in hope that things will become better for them. Some of the migrants made it clear that they had intentions to go back to their source countries under the right set of circumstances as is posited by the *new economics of migration theory*. While other participants have no intention of returning to their source countries, and thus South Africa is seen as a stepping stone or means of "onward passage" for migration to other countries.

Given the above discussion, it can be argued that all the theories of migration examined have some relevance in describing the migration process of the Nigerian and Zimbabwean focus-group participants interviewed. However, the network theory of migration is the most prominent in explaining their choice of South Africa as a destination country. This is further shown in the factor ranking process undergone in section 4.4.

4.4 Ranking of Motivating Factors

For all respondents, similar factors have been identified as push and pull factors that instigated migratory movements. Factors such as economic instability, corruption, and political instability, inadequate infrastructure have re-occurred as push factors for migrants from their source countries. On the other hand, the pull factors that highlight South Africa's relative attractiveness have also been identified and these include, existing migrant networks, better infrastructure, economic opportunities, social amenities, and the education system. For Zimbabweans, closeness to source country is an additional factor that motivated their movement to South Africa.

Table 2 provides a ranking of the frequency of these push and pull factors identified. Ranking was done based on the frequency of factors per focus group category (refer to **Figure 1**). Based on responses from participants, existing migrant networks ranks highest as the pull factor that attracted nationals from the two countries to South Africa. This factor appeared to be relevant for all four focus groups. There was a hundred percent agreement across all respondents on this. The second pull factor identified is better infrastructure. Ninety percent of the respondents strongly believe that South Africa has better infrastructure than their home country but that relatives, friends and family (migrant networks) facilitated the migration process providing motivation to embark on the migration journey. These networks facilitated information sharing in the migrant's home country, thus encouraging more people to consider the option of migrating to South Africa.

Migration is usually seen to be solely in search of economic opportunities but the factor ranking process revealed that this factor only ranked 3rd as a pull factor to South Africa and that non-economic factors ultimately provide the bedrock for a migrant's decision to migrate.

Poor infrastructure ranked second as a push factor for nationals from their home countries. Poor governance ranked number one as the primary push factor for nationals as nationals strongly believe that their home countries are being poorly governed and this was enough reason for them to leave.

Table 2. Ranking of Pull and Push Factors

Rank	Pull factors	Push factors
First	Existence of migrant network	Poor governance
Second	Better infrastructure	Poor infrastructure
Third	Economic opportunity	Poor personal or household economic status
Fourth	Education related factors	Poor education system
Fifth	Good governance	High cost of living
Sixth	Proximity to home country and ease of access	Need for change of social environment

One can note that an increase in the number of Nigerians and Zimbabweans in South Africa is to be expected in the future, especially an increase in the number of students and skilled professionals. This increase will be significantly influenced by the growing social networks that have great influence on a migrant's decision. Residential integration is a factor that is strongly related to migrant networks. Integration is indicated by where people live in relation to one another. Immigrants are often drawn to places where there are high numbers of co-nationals because they have a common bond or some connection - a family member, friend, acquaintance - upon whom they can rely in finding a social and economic foothold in the host country (Jimenez, 2011).

Conclusion

From many of the migrants' responses, South Africa is seen as a stepping stone or means of "onward passage" for migration to other countries where migrants have decided not to return to their home countries. The hopes of employment and the experience gained thereof in South Africa will ultimately improve a migrant's ability to move onto their more desirable destination especially with regards to those studying in South Africa, the hope that the qualification gained will be better recognised than a qualification from their home country will ease their migration to another more desirable foreign country.

It can be inferred that governments and other stakeholders can do little to stop people migrating, especially where better living conditions exist elsewhere. However, to reduce migration between countries in Africa there is a need for improved economic and political conditions in all countries in Africa. Migrants need support and acceptance in host countries, and the causes of migration such as improper and bad governance as well as lack of income generating activities and employment in many African countries requires attention. However, it is not realistic to expect migration to slow down in the near future as these factors are unlikely to be solved in the short term. From the above discussion, it is clear that migration is not solely due to one factor; a host of factors always come into play.

Globalisation cannot be stopped since people have the freedom to move (even the Berlin wall could not completely eradicate human movements), thus international migration will always remain a central theme in discourses globally. Policy makers are very interested in migration as it impacts on the policy formation process, but demographers and development economists who are interested in the economics of migration, find this area of research limiting to the extent that often times, migration research can only be qualitative, many quantitative attempts fail due to the lack of sufficient and comprehensive data, as well as the fact that migrants in a country have often arrived illegally.

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