

UNIVERSITY OF THE WESTERN CAPE



A thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) in Sociology

**A study of the Socio-Economic Integration of Highly-Skilled Nigerian Migrants
in Cape Town**

By

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February 2020

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DECLARATION

I declare that *A study of the Socio-Economic Integration of Highly-Skilled Nigerian Migrants in Cape Town* is my own work, that it has not been submitted for any degree or examination in any other university, and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by complete references.

Full name.....Gordon Chukwuemeka Igbokwe.. Date.....18 February 2020.

Signed.... 



ABSTRACT

Migration is an important topic, not only for researchers in South Africa, but also for policymakers and the media. It is an issue at the top of the national and international agenda. In the debate on migration and the literature, voices of migrants themselves remain mostly unheard. The public perceptions and policy-making are often based on fear, stereotypes and common myths rather than reality. In this study, the researcher aimed to examine the socio-economic integration challenges of highly-skilled Nigerian migrants and how they may help contribute their skills towards the socio-economic development of South Africa to potentially inform the national migration policy, as well as future research.

Methodologically, the researcher conducted a mixed-method study using an interpretive paradigm. Data were derived from 22 semi-structured interviews and six in-depth interviews. The study used a combination of purposive and snowballing sampling techniques, where semi-structured and in-depth interviews, as well as observations, were also carried out. Data gathered were analysed using thematic analysis.

The study found that the main reason for migrating to South Africa was for socio-economic reasons, specifically, affordable education, enabling work environment, better infrastructure, career opportunities and family reunions. The research identifies critical domains such as education, housing and employment as prerequisites for the integration of this group of Nigerian migrants. It also found that the acquisition of identity documents helps to facilitate the integration of highly-skilled migrants. The study also brings to the fore how skilled Nigerian migrants may have contributed to the socio-economic and skills development of the country through paying taxes and transfer of skills. It further illustrates and how Nigerian migrants cope in a foreign land by using social connections in the form of work-based networks, family-based networks and friendship networks.

The research suggests that to develop and implement policies related to migration, there is a need for government to take into accounts the contributions and perceptions of migrants. This study provides possible recommendations from highly-skilled Nigerian migrants on how to improve the inconsistencies in the implementation of the national migration policy. Lastly, it recognizes the need for migration studies to push the research on highly-skilled migrants to the top of the research agenda.

KEYWORDS

Highly-skilled migrants; Nigerians, Cape Town; motivations; socio-economic integration; social networks; South-South migration; development; migration policy.



ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The financial assistance of the National Research Foundation (NRF) towards this research is hereby acknowledged. Opinions expressed and conclusions arrived at are those of the author and are not necessarily to be attributed to the NRF.

My thanks go to Prof. Mulugeta F. Dinbabo for working with me on this thesis, and taking me under his wings when all seemed hopeless and unattainable.

A special thanks to Mweete Nglazi for her dedication and unconditional assistance and support over the years towards this thesis, and also Nathalie for her patience in going through my work. Thanks to Tinkie and Elize for their support and truly being family friends all these years.

Thanks to Mr and Mrs Nglazi, and Wendy for always being there in times of need. My special thanks to Ele-Ojo and family for his vision and always being there for me. My thanks also go to my sisters Dorothy and Jane for their support in my early tertiary days. Thanks to Chidi, Aunty Rose, Blessing, Alex and Obinna.

Special thanks to all the participants in this study who took out time to participate in the field study despite their busy schedules. I would also like to everyone that I might not mention in this forum who has contributed immensely in one way or the other in discussions, exchange of ideas and other form of help.

Finally, I acknowledge all migrants all over the world who has made a difference in other countries they choose to settle. With reference to the inscription on a photo of Albert Einstein hanging on the office wall of former United Nations Secretary General Kofi Annan, The inscription on the photo says: *“A bundle of belongings isn’t the only thing a refuge brings to his new country... Albert Einstein was a refugee”*.

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my late siblings; Lizzy, Chuma and Newman who passed away under a month interval.

Also to my mother who gave me life and unconditional love and to my father, whose words of wisdom still resonates with me till today; Often when I tend to lose faith and lacked the zeal to press on, I could hear the words he used to say to me ‘my son stay focussed in your dreams, for honour and shame from no condition rise...act well your part in life there the honour lies’.

Above all, this work is dedicated to the Supreme Being, the ancient of days God of all gods and maker of all makers.



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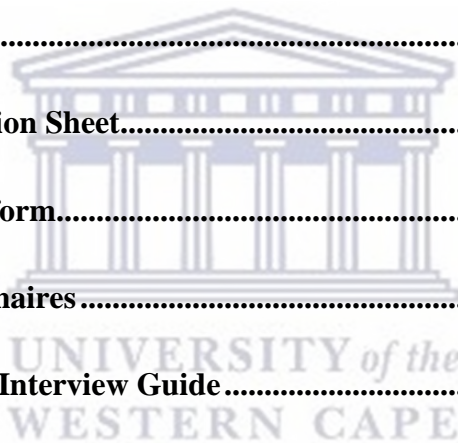
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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

“A simple way to take measure of a country is to look at how many people want in, and how many people want out” (Tony Blair as cited in Ramirez and Dawson, 2015:1)

1.1 Background and Contextualisation

Migration between and across continents and regions has always been an important component of structural transformation. Migration is deeply embedded in every society and in our world history, long before the general development of national states. The progressive shift of humankind from rural societies to cities has been fuelled by a continuous process of migration until now (Dinbabo and Mensah, 2017).

Migration has been an important aspect of human focus since the existence of humans (Mukonza, 2011). In recent times, globalisation has enabled people to become aware of new opportunities that exist abroad (Mukonza, 2011). We live in an increasingly globalised world, shaped by migration. The lures of more economically viable countries often provide the incentive for people to migrate. Every day people make a conscious decision to leave their country either to work, study or to reunite with their families (Muñiz-Solari, Li and Schleicher, 2010). Sometimes, people migrate because of insufficient opportunities in their home country, or because of the low quality of life and poor environmental conditions, while others choose to migrate because of socio-economic considerations and political or cultural conditions (Muñiz-Solari *et al.*, 2010).

Migration is seen “as one of the key societal processes linking humans and space” (Findlay and Rogerson, 1993:34). The links between “social class and regions, society and space, are increasingly visible” because of globalisation, that is why migration is brought to the foreground by researchers and policymakers (Findlay and Rogerson, 1993:34). Numerous factors can be considered as the cause of migration, for instance, capitalism and globalisation; however, it could be a complex and flexible interaction between culture, capital and agency (Findlay and Rogerson, 1993). Despite increasing international migration, there is still a gap in migration research that inadequately explains the concept of migration. However, a decision to migrate sometimes is a very complex process that is not easily reduced to a few isolated factors.

Perhaps this explains why some of the migration research is greatly divided, - some consider only certain aspects of the migration process or a particular form of migration.

Though the decision to migrate might be challenging due to several factors, in the long run it could be potentially positive for migrants because it might open a space for opportunities, and give access to new options, which could facilitate economic and social mobility. It can also benefit both countries of origin and destination. At destination level, migrants can act as agents of development by providing their skill sets to the labour force. At origin level, migration can reduce pressure over natural resources and foster relationships and remittances back home (Dinbabo and Mensah, 2017).

Recently, South Africa has become a destination for many migrants from Africa and the rest of the world (Mukonza, 2011). This development was mainly due to pull factors such as the political and economic stability that the country experienced over the years. Push factors that make people migrate to South Africa are equally as important (Mukonza, 2011). These include factors such as conflict, famine and unstable political and economic climates in home countries (Mukonza, 2011). Nigerians play a crucial role in African migration by increasingly migrating to other parts of the world, including South Africa. According to Adepoju (2004), the thriving economy of South Africa is an incentive for some highly-skilled Nigerians to migrate to the country instead of going to European countries. Significantly, in recent times, Nigerians have an increasing tendency to migrate towards permanent residency in South Africa (Akinrinade and Olukoya, 2011).

Since the post-apartheid era, South Africa has undergone a series of transformations, both in development and socio-economic growth. South Africa has also maintained their lead as the biggest economic and migration hub in Southern Africa and Africa as a whole. Because of its stable economy, it invariably attracts all kinds of migrants from Africa.

Despite all these achievements, the country has been bedevilled with different kinds of social problems such as gross inequality among the citizens, race issues, unemployment and segregation. These social problems are still a huge challenge and a constant reminder of the inherent problem in the society. In most cases, the locals take their frustrations out on migrants in the form of xenophobic attacks by looting, destruction of life and property, and in some cases, they engage in indiscriminate deportations of migrants.

What is most concerning is that the South African society, according to Segatti *et al.* (2012), in addressing their issues often blame the foreigners for their unemployment situation, claiming

that the migrants are taking their jobs. Also, over the years, the South African media and public forum have labelled migrants as criminals and a threat to security. Nigerians, for example, are blamed for drug peddling and marrying local women to obtain residency, fuelling local outrage against Nigerians.

Despite the viral attacks on Nigerians, this thesis argues that highly-skilled Nigerians are not a menace to society, rather they engage in skills and professions that are productive to the host society. In fact, they are somewhat indispensable and arguably an economic force based on their skills contribution to the development of an under-skilled country such as South Africa. Though it could be argued that other Nigerian migrants in south Africa has not been given any scholarly focus based on the fact that most of them are undocumented and somewhat illegal which makes proper data collection of these group difficult to recordd for the purpose of study. (The reason for skills scarcity is expanded in chapter two).

This thesis was prompted by the visible social problems encountered by Nigerians who stay in South Africa. In trying to understand these problems, the researcher discovered that much has not been written or explored about this particular group, the highly-skilled Nigerians in South Africa. Most studies suggest that migrants are often a burden and problem to the host country, which brings about the main research question on: How do highly-skilled Nigerians contribute to their host country and what are their socio-economic integration experiences?

Highly-skilled migration represents an increasingly significant component of the global migration trend. Though the occurrence is not new, the trend of highly-skilled migration is changing (Iredale, 2001). For instance, the immigration rate of highly-skilled immigrants in Africa is about 10.6% compared to other continents (Dumont, Spielvogel and Widmaier, 2010). Nigeria, in particular, has an emigration rate for the highly skilled estimated at 2.73% which is high compared to the total global emigration rate of 0.7% migration of highly skilled migrants in other Countries (Dumont *et al.*, 2010).

For this study, the term **highly skilled** will specifically focus on those who have completed university-level education and include specialised technicians, investors and entrepreneurs. The research recognises internal migration, but the focus of this thesis is on international migration, that is, cross-border migration between two countries or regions. Therefore, this research examines the socio-economic integration challenges among highly-skilled Nigerian migrants in Cape Town and their possible skills contribution towards the development of the

host country. It also explores possible gaps in migration policies, of which the findings will perhaps inform policy and further research.

1.2 Brief Profile of the City of Cape Town

Cape Town, a spectacular setting in the Western Cape province of South Africa, is one of the most famous tourist destinations in the world and is home to a culturally and linguistically diverse population of approximately 3.7 million, as of 2011 (Statistics South Africa, 2012). The city is South Africa's second-largest economy after Johannesburg, with a GDP (at 2005 prices) of R203,581 million, and an unemployment rate of 23.9% in 2011 (Statistics South Africa, 2012). The local economy is regarded as relatively diversified. The three key sectors of the metropolitan economy are finance, insurance, property and business services, manufacturing, wholesale and retail trade, and catering and accommodation (Statistics South Africa, 2012). The metropolitan economy is attracting a great deal of international and domestic migrants.

Consequently, the city has experienced a large influx of international and domestic migrants who contribute to overcrowding, competition, and social tensions among the residents where these migrants try to make their home (Landau, Segatti and Misago, 2011). Thus, local authorities face a challenge to remedy these issues while at the same time promoting the city's global competitiveness (Landau *et al.*, 2011).

Europeans arrived in the City of Cape Town around the year 1625 (Wilkinson, 2000). The colonial town began to grow with the influx of slaves from West and East Africa, Madagascar, the East Indies, as well as indigenous Khoi people (Wilkinson, 2000). The city had a reputation of racial tolerance before the coming of apartheid (Bickford-Smith, 1995). Segregation of Africans and coloureds was initiated in the twentieth century (Wilkinson, 2000). Before the demise of apartheid, the City of Cape Town had spatial injustices and both social and economic inequalities polarising its population (Wilkinson, 2000). So as the new democracy emerged in 1994, the city became a new migration hub, drawing new migrants from Southern, Central, East, and West Africa (including Nigeria) (Segatti, 2011a).

Figure 1 City of Cape Town Metropolitan Municipality¹



Found in: GroundUp (2016)

Figure 1: Above is a map of the City of Cape Town Metropolitan Municipality showing all of its suburbs. The municipality extends from Gordon's Bay in the south-east to Atlantis in the north-west.

1.3 Rationale

The rationale for this thesis emanates from the social problem such as unemployment, civil unrest, gross inequality, and social divide which vicariously affect the migrants living in South

¹ Found in: GroundUp (2016). Electronic source (website) has no page numbers

Africa. The thesis was able to shed some light on the negative perceptions of migrants, and brings to fore the skills contribution of highly-skilled migrants together with their socio-economic integration experiences in South Africa.

The South African government has continued to pursue a more restrictive migration policy in the post-apartheid era (Peberdy and Crush, 2007). Apart from giving out a few amnesties to political asylum-seekers and refugees from some sub-Saharan African countries, the South African government has generally shown little interest towards immigration. Instead, more restrictive policies have been put in place which has made it difficult for employers to obtain work permits for migrants who want to work in South Africa (Dinbabo and Nyasulu, 2015). Despite these restrictive migration policies, international migration into South Africa has continued to surge. The increase in economic immigrants has occasionally been met with hostility from the generally poor and unemployed sections of South African society who view foreign migrants as direct competitors for jobs in the primary sectors of the economy. This misconception has often resulted in prolonged protests and xenophobic attacks against migrants which often result in the destruction of life and property (Dinbabo and Nyasulu, 2015).

Due to globalization, both traditional countries of immigration (including Western high-income countries) and newly emerging countries of immigration are faced with the need to attract highly-skilled migrants (Florida, 2005). Highly-skilled migrants who are entering the labour market of these countries help to diversify the human resources required for the country's operations in foreign markets, or for cooperation with foreign companies at a time of globalization (IOM, 2004). In addition, these migrants offer the skills and expertise lacking within the workforce of the destination countries suffering from 'brain drain' (International Organisation for Migration, 2004). Integration of these migrants, therefore, is a prerequisite to fully realize this potential (International Organisation for Migration, 2004).

The literature on integration of immigrants has paid less attention on the integration processes concerning highly-skilled migrants than their low-skilled counterparts since the last decade of the twentieth century (Föbker, Imani, Nipper, Otto and Pfaffenbach, 2016). Though highly-skilled migrants are perceived in the host Country to be more productive than their non-skilled counterparts by individuals in destination countries (Facchini and Mayda, 2012) so far, it has received little attention in scientific research debates. It is only recently that there has been discourse concerning highly-skilled migrants' motives for immigration (Mbah, 2015); their diversity in terms of their professional and economic situations (Conradson and Latham, 2005; Mulholland and Ryan, 2011; Ryan and Mulholland, 2014a, 2014b, 2014c; Mbah, 2015;

Föbker *et al.*, 2016); their settling in, family life and social networks (Mulholland and Ryan, 2011; Föbker, Temme and Wiegandt, 2014; Föbker *et al.*, 2016; Imani, Nipper and Thieme, 2014; Plöger and Becker, 2015; Ryan and Mulholland, 2014b, 2014a, 2014c); their impact on the development of both sending and host countries (O' Neil, 2003; Castles and Miller, 2009; Vargas-Silva, 2011), future motilities (Mulholland and Ryan, 2011) and the determinants or “Pull” factors of international migration in South Africa by (Dinbabo and Nyasulu, 2015; Dinbabo and Carciotto, 2015). In addition, most studies on the integration of highly-skilled migrants have been conducted in traditional immigrant receiving countries such as European Countries and Canada than in newly emerging immigrant receiving countries like Sub Saharan African Countries.

Highly-skilled migrants from Nigeria are a particularly interesting group to examine, because Nigeria is one of the most popular source countries for skills acquisition in South Africa, the United Kingdom, United States, and Germany (Olatuyi, Awoyinka and Adeniyi, 2013; Mbah, 2015, 2017). Nigeria's continued poverty, income inequality, high rates of unemployment, low standard of living, insecurities and corruption have also been documented (Central Intelligence Agency, 2017a) and may all be possible push factors that make highly-skilled Nigerians migrate to other countries.

International migration is an important topic, not only for researchers in South Africa, but also for policymakers and the media, and it ranks high on the national and international agenda. In the debate on migration and in the literature, voices of migrants themselves remain mostly unheard and public perceptions and policy making are often based on fear, stereotypes, and common myths rather than reality. Motivated by these shortcomings, the researcher used a case study of highly-skilled Nigerian migrants in Cape Town to give these migrants a voice to share their experiences of socio-economic integration, their contribution to socio-economic development, as well as their recommendations to policy making. challenge public perception about Nigerian migrants; narrow the gap between perception and reality with regard to fear and distrust of these migrants; show diversity of these migrants and fight against stereotypes, xenophobia and discrimination; and inform research as well as policy making and Nigerian migrant associations on local and national levels. While the South African economy was booming in the early 2000s and its economy is relatively stronger than other African countries, some hihly-skilled Nigerian migrants still find the country attractive than going to European countries (Adepoju, 2004).

With regard to highly-skilled Nigerian migrants in South Africa, there is a paucity of literature available, particularly with regard to their experience of socio-economic integration, their social networks, and their coping mechanisms to deal with challenges, their contribution to the socio-economic development in South Africa as well as their recommendations to policy (Adepoju, 2004).

1.4 The South African context

South Africa has the largest economy in Africa, with a GDP per capita (based on purchasing power parity) of \$13,200 (2016 estimates) (Central Intelligence Agency, 2017b)². It is classified as an upper-middle-income country by the World Bank. This emerging economy has a wealth of natural resources, a transparent legal system, sophisticated financial system, communications, energy and transport sectors, and the largest stock exchange in Africa which is ranked in the top 20 worldwide (Central Intelligence Agency, 2017b). The country also has a modern infrastructure which supports the efficient transportation of goods to major urban centres across the region (Central Intelligence Agency, 2017b).

Economic growth was especially robust between 2004 and 2008 when the country enjoyed the benefits of macro-economic stability and a global commodities' boom and was able to survive the 2008 global financial recession (Lee and Schoole, 2015). However, economic growth began to drop between the third and fourth quarters of 2008 as a result of the global recessions' impact on commodity prices and demand (Lee and Schoole, 2015), and continued slowing to just 1.5% in 2014. According to Lee and Schoole (2015:4), and the World Economic Forum (2014:17), it was due to "*the diversion of public funds, the perceived wastefulness of government spending, and a more general lack of public trust in politicians*". Similarly, the Central Intelligence Agency (2017b) was of the opinion that unemployment, poverty, and inequality remain the most pressing challenges facing the country. The rate of unemployment is approximately 25%, and is especially high among black youth (Central Intelligence Agency, 2017b). Although South Africa's economic policy has focused on controlling inflation, the country faces structural constraints that also limit economic growth (Central Intelligence Agency, 2017b). These constraints include skills shortages, declining global competitiveness, and frequent strike activity (Central Intelligence Agency, 2017b). In addition, the government faces mounting

² Electronic source (website) has no page numbers

pressure from urban constituencies to strengthen service delivery to poverty-stricken areas and increase the employment rate (Central Intelligence Agency, 2017b).

Despite the setbacks above, this emerging economy still attracts international migrants. The 2011 census data estimated that there were a total of 1,692,242 foreign nationals out of a total national population of approximately 50 million, representing 3.3 per cent of the population (Statistics South Africa, 2012). This attraction to South Africa is likely linked to the fact that, despite all the shortcomings, it is still a much better destination than most African countries, with its superior infrastructures, better health facilities, employment opportunities, and cheaper education (Statistics South Africa, 2012).

After the apartheid era, South Africa required an enhanced organization structure that would empower each South African to affirm social responsibility regarding the country. This framework suggested renewing the systems of the organization of migration laws and to be prepared towards change, while keeping an eye on the legacy of politically-authorized racial isolation.

The Constitution of South Africa sets the rules on how the government functions. There are three spheres of government in South Africa: national, provincial, and local government (Republic of South Africa, 1999). These spheres of government are free and independent of each other and should not to be seen as stratified (Republic of South Africa, 1999). On the other hand, they are meant to work as demonstrated by the constitution and laws made by the national parliament (Republic of South Africa, 1999). At the national level, laws and policies are supported by Parliament which are made up of the National Assembly and the National Council of Provinces (NCOP), while at the provincial level, there are nine provincial governments (Republic of South Africa, 1999). Every region has a governing body which consists of 30 to 90 people from the Provincial Legislature (MPLs). Some ordinary laws are supported by lawmaking bodies. The assembly passes an ordinary spending plan every year (Republic of South Africa, 1999).

Public policy can be defined in different ways. The government is the fundamental agents of policies. They can decide to do something or choose not to. Public policies are expected to achieve the described targets and present responses for societal issues. According to Birkland (2001:132), “*policies are government explanations of what it expects to do or not to do, including law, regulation, ruling, choice, or request*”. Power is practised in the regular world. It is utilized to designate assets and benefits to groups of people. Policy making includes the presence of different strategy processes. Governments are no unitary performing artists,

however, and comprise of various offices that cover and contend with one another. In addition, policy strategies become an unending cycle of choices and approaches (Knill and Tosun, 2008).

In terms of highly-skilled migration, South Africa is a major sufferer of ‘brain drain’, losing its highly skilled and academic talent to Europe and North America (Ellis and Segatti, 2011). Debates at the national level tend to focus on remedying the skills shortage by improving the quality of the education system (Ellis and Segatti, 2011). Yet, what is often overlooked is the highly-skilled surplus in Africa and elsewhere. The private sector and some government departments are in favour of enacting immigration policy reforms to enable individuals with skills to work in South Africa more easily (Ellis and Segatti, 2011). In addition, the National Development Plan (NDP) prioritizes the acquisition of skills, some of which must be recruited internationally in order to achieve national priorities, such as inclusive economic growth.

The Department of Home Affairs is responsible for managing international migration. The current policy on international migration is set out in the 1999 White Paper on International Migration and its approach characterises a problematical way of thinking and acting about immigration. The white paper has been described as “...largely static and limited to compliance rather than managing international migration” (Republic of South Africa, 2016). The 2016 Green Paper on international migration proposes the pro-active management of international migration that will advance national security and development agenda of the country (Republic of South Africa, 2016). As a result, this proposed policy is likely to enable individuals with skills to work in South Africa in order for them to contribute to the national development priorities, such as inclusive economic growth. Moreover, the South African government needs to engage in dialogue with all relevant stakeholders (such as the private sector and skilled migrants) on the importance of international migration so that there is consensus on the ways in which the country can meet national development goals.

This research promises to provide a voice to highly-skilled Nigerian migrants to share their experience of socio-economic integration, their contribution to socio-economic development as well as their recommendations to policy making. In addition, the study intends to change public perception of Nigerian migrants for the better: to narrow the gap between perception and reality with regard to fear and distrust of these migrants, to show the diversity of these migrants, and fight against stereotypes, xenophobia and discrimination. Moreover, the studies

might help to illicit new evidence-based recommendations for research as well as policymakers and Nigerian migrant associations on local and national levels.

1.5 Problem Statement

Despite the growing body of literature on migration, much of the perception is that migrants are a problem to the destination country. Migrants are often perceived as the “other” and regarded with suspicion by nationals of destination countries. South Africa is not immune to this problem associated with migration, as evidenced by the recent xenophobic attacks against African immigrants. Nigerian migrants, in particular, are often perceived as “criminals” by South Africans (Segatti *et al.*, 2012).

The significant shortcoming in the South African literature on migration is that migrants are often seen as a problem as mentioned above, without considering how useful they are to the socio-economic development of the destination country, which has motivated the researcher to do this research. In exploring this problem, the study hinges on the main question of how skilled Nigerians cope with the socio-economic integration amidst the notion about migrants, and how do this set of highly-skilled migrants contribute to the socio-economic development of the destination country.

So far, the available research concerning Nigerian migrants in South Africa focuses on intermarriages (mixed marriages between Nigerian men and South African women) (Adeagbo, 2011, 2013); xenophobia and discrimination directed at Nigerians (Morris, 1998; Danso and McDonald, 2000; Adelaja, 2001; Adeagbo, 2011, 2013); and the HIV vulnerabilities faced by Nigerian migrant men (Agbazue, 2003). These studies on Nigerians in South Africa focus mainly on migrants living in Johannesburg (Morris, 1998; Adelaja, 2001; Agbazue, 2003; Adeagbo, 2011, 2013). These findings may not be generalizable to those living in other cities, such as Cape Town. Furthermore, there is a paucity of research on highly-skilled Nigerian migrants in South Africa with regards to the sustainability or reversibility of their stay, their integration into the South African society, labour market, skills contribution, and their socio-economic integration over time (Segatti *et al.*, 2012).

According to Brewer (1979), stereotypes refer to a situation where a minority group is blamed by the majority of society for the social ills and economic disorders in the society. The experience of untold hardship and painful segregation during the apartheid era may have immensely contributed to the present state of the xenophobic attitude towards migrants in the

country (Everatt, 2010). The South African environment is a good example of where foreigners are made to be scapegoats for the social ills of the country.

Anti-Nigerian sentiments grow further as echoed in the media and newspapers. The generalised prejudice and discriminatory treatment towards Nigerian immigrants have continued in South Africa and even among the educated (Crush and Ramachandran, (2010). This anti-foreign sentiment might be ascribed to the limited jobs, unemployment and prevalent poverty in the country. Perceptions are that Nigerians are criminals and often take South African women and job opportunities (Morris, 1998). This was also echoed by Everatt (2010) who explained that the anti-Nigerian sentiment is more predominant among black South African men who believe that foreigners are a problem to the society and are also taking their wives and their jobs. According to Sagetti, Adeagbo and Ogunyemi (2012), a special prejudice has been directed towards Nigerians concerning the trafficking of illegal drugs and activities, which also fuels the anti-Nigerian sentiment in communities and locations. Consequently, this resentment of having to compete with foreigners for the limited resources of the country may have fuelled the increase in xenophobia and the destructive violence against foreigners. According to Morris (1998), these accusations might have also increased institutional xenophobia towards Nigerians.

The current study might help to close the gap on the significant shortcomings in the South African literature on migration of highly skilled in South Africa. T. The findings of this study may therefore contribute towards a better understanding of the reasons why highly-skilled Nigerians migrate to Cape Town and may reveal the challenges, if any, that they encounter during the process of integration. Given the growing cooperation and competition between the two African countries, the new knowledge generated through this research might be useful in laying the foundation for future scholarly research, policy-oriented knowledge and cooperation (Segatti *et al.*, 2012).

The present study significantly contributes to the linkages between highly-skilled Nigerian migrants and international migration. Also through the media or publications, this study might inform the relevant authorities and policymakers to understand how highly-skilled Nigerian migrants might contribute their skills while living in South Africa. The research hinges on the main question of how the highly-skilled Nigerian migrants manage the challenges of socio-economic integration and how they contribute their skill sets to the host country.

1.6 Research Aims and Objectives

1.6.1 Research Aims

The aim of this research is to provide an empirical investigation into the motivations of highly-skilled Nigerian migrants to migrate, their contribution to the host country, and to define the socio-economic integration challenges faced by this group of migrants, and the sustainability of their stay in South Africa. By studying this group of highly-skilled migrants, the research will help to debunk the stereotypes that migrants are a problem for the host country, particularly in South Africa where migrants are targeted and vilified as the biggest problem in the society. The main aim of the study is to examine the socio-economic integration of highly-skilled Nigerian migrants in Cape Town. Cape town was chosen for this study because of its attractiveness to highly skilled migrants, also the growing institutions of higher learning in Cape Town which attracts students and academics from different countries to come and study and work. More so, it has a relatively stable environment for foreign investment including tourism and it also boosts a diversified population and groups of people and diversified race from different Countries. (See profile of Cape Town in 2.25)

1.6.2 Research Objectives

The study objectives are:

- i. To explore the highly-skilled Nigerian migrants' motivations for migrating to Cape Town.
- ii. To examine the socio-economic integration challenges of these migrants in Cape Town.
- iii. To examine the social network ties of these Nigerian migrants.
- iv. To examine the individual, household and community-level coping strategies of highly-skilled migrants in Cape Town.
- v. To explore the Nigerian migrants' views and opinions of the South African government migration policy.
- vi. To examine how these Nigerian migrants contribute their skills and how their socio-economic integration experiences inform their decision-making, pertaining to the sustainability or reversibility of their stay.

1.7 Research questions

The study research questions are:

- i. What are the factors motivating the migration of highly-skilled Nigerian migrants to Cape Town?
- ii. What are the socio-economic integration challenges encountered by these migrants in Cape Town?
- iii. What are the social network ties of these Nigerian migrants in Cape Town?
- iv. How do these migrants cope living in Cape Town?
- v. What are the Nigerian migrants' views and opinions of the South African government migration policy?
- vi. What are the Nigerian migrants' skills contribution and how their socio-economic integration experiences inform their decision-making, pertaining to the sustainability or reversibility of their stay?

1.8 Terms and concepts

In this thesis, the concept of migration used focuses on external migration (e.g. migration between two countries) as opposed to internal migration. This is because the determinants of these concepts might differ.

The terms and concepts used in this study are explained and defined below;

Assimilation: According to Castles (2000), assimilation is the one-sided process of adjustment, where newcomers have to relinquish their unique linguistic, cultural or social characteristics and become indistinguishable from the host society.

Brain circulation: This refers to the fluid movement of students or skilled labourers between countries, which results in a win-win situation for both source and host countries (International Organisation for Migration, 2011; Mbah, 2015).

Brain drain: According to the International Organisation for Migration (2011), this term refers to the exodus of educated and skilled people from their home country to a destination abroad leading to skills shortages in the former.

Brain gain: According to the International Organisation for Migration (2011), this term refers to the entry of educated people possessing skills into a destination country.

Brain waste: This term refers to the occupation change, unemployment or under-employment of highly-skilled migrants (International Organisation for Migration, 2006). Therefore, brain waste is the process through which migrants become less proficient over time (Mbah, 2015).

Circular migration: This term is defined as the “*fluid movement of people between countries, including temporary or long-term movement which may be beneficial to all involved, if occurring voluntarily and related to the labour needs of countries of origin and destination*” (International Organisation for Migration, 2011:19).

Emigration: The term emigration refers to the act of people moving out of the country with a view of settling in another (Petkou, 2006; International Organisation for Migration, 2011; Segatti *et al.*, 2012).

Globalisation: According to Held, McGrew, Goldblatt and Perraton (1999:5), and Czaika and de Haas (2013:4), globalisation is defined as the “*widening, deepening and speeding up of worldwide interconnectedness in all aspects of contemporary social life*”. Consequently, globalisation improves interaction among countries, regions and institutions, when individuals migrate from one place to another.

Highly-skilled migrant: The term, highly-skilled migrant, in general, refers to a foreign-born individual with a university degree. According to the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), **Highly-skilled migrants** are those who have completed tertiary education, for instance ISCED 5 and 6 education levels (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, 2011). Chuie-Hong (2010:36) added that those who are highly-skilled specialists, independent executives and senior managers, specialised technicians or trades-people, investors, physicians, business people and subcontract workers can be considered to be highly-skilled migrants. Recently, the list of shortages in skilled occupations put out by the South African Department of Home Affairs includes many occupations that do not require tertiary education (Republic of South Africa, 2014). The term **Skills migration** refers to the migration of people classified as highly skilled. In this thesis, the highly skilled included the migration of highly skilled individuals moving between countries and transferring their skills to the host country. Broadly speaking, it involves people who have received some form of specialised education and training, or who possess a high level of expertise and competence in a particular area and utilises these skill productively, as posited by Mattes, Crush

and Richmond (2000). Highly-skilled persons can also include those whose experience in a particular field is extensive or equivalent to formal or higher education. Highly-skilled individuals, as noted by Iredale (2001), include people who have worked their way up the corporate ladder or started their own business.

For this study, the term **highly skilled** will specifically focus on those who have completed university-level education and include specialised technicians, investors and entrepreneurs. The research recognises internal migration, but the focus of this thesis is on international migration, that is, cross-border migration between two countries or regions.

Immigration: The term immigration is defined as the act of non-nationals entering a country with a view of settlement (International Organisation for Migration, 2011; Petkou, 2006).

Integration: Integration is “*the process by which migrants become accepted into a population, both as individuals and as groups*” (International Organisation for Migration, 2011:51). It is typically a two-sided process through which migrants and the local population accommodate each other (International Organisation for Migration, 2011). According to the International Organisation for Migration (2011), what the host community or country considers for acceptance differs from country to country. Furthermore, they explained that “*integration does not necessarily imply permanent settlement. It does, however, imply consideration of the rights and obligations of migrants and host societies, of access to different kinds of services and the labour market, and of identification and respect of a core set of values that bind migrants and host communities in a common purpose*” (International Organisation for Migration, 2011:51).

Migration: The term migration refers to the movements of people, goods and services over geographic spaces between two countries or regions in any part of the world (Muñiz-Solari *et al.*, 2010). According to the International Organisation for Migration (2011), labour migration is the movement of people to new places located within or outside of the country in search of employment and stable economic circumstances.

Multiculturalism: Multiculturalism is the process in which minority ethnic groups form part of a larger host society and establish communities with distinct linguistic, cultural and social behavioural features in the host country, while still remaining distinctive in their own national identity (International Organisation for Migration, 2011).

Regular migration: This term refers to migration that occurs through recognised, authorised channels (International Organisation for Migration, 2011).

Segregation policy: Segregation policy is a complete separation between the immigrants from the host society's cultures. The model implies that the monocultural value system of the majority population remains untouched and unaffected, while the immigrant population is required to do an absolute minimum of adjustment (International Organisation for Migration, 2011).

Socio-economic integration: The extent to which migrants integrate into a country and perform in its economy may be measured along two dimensions (economic and social) (Dustmann and Frattini, 2011; International Organisation for Migration, 2013). In this research, **economic integration** is measured by asking participants several questions regarding educational attainment, employment, income, satisfaction with living standards, perceptions of financial security, views about their job situation, and also issues regarding medical insurance (Dustmann and Frattini, 2011; International Organisation for Migration, 2011). **Social integration** is measured by asking questions regarding their sense of belonging, their civic engagement, their perceptions of their personal safety, and their social support structures (Dustmann and Frattini, 2011; International Organisation for Migration, 2013).

Two-way integration: This is the "*process of mutual accommodation between immigrants and the majority population*" (Castles, 1998:248). The concept implies that migrants will cease to be distinctive in culture and behaviour over time, but sees the adjustment as a two-way process in which migrants and the host community learn from each other and take aspects of each other's culture.

Undocumented migrants: These are people who entered or stayed in a country without the appropriate documentation (International Organisation for Migration, 2011).

Xenophobia: This refers to "*attitudes, prejudices and behaviours that reject, exclude and often vilify persons based on the perceptions that they are outsiders or foreigners to the community, society or national identity*" (Republic of South Africa, 2016:7).

1.9 Chapter Outline

Chapter two reviews the relevant literatures, with an overview of migration, international migration, and integration, together with the migration motives and decisions. The literature review explores literature on highly-skilled migrants in the global arena, the reasons for migration, the role of skilled labour, and the developmental effects of highly-skilled migration.

It further explains the profile of Nigeria as a country and narrates the history of the migration of highly-skilled Nigerian migrants in the diaspora. It also expands on the types of highly-skilled Nigerian migrants and expands on the skills development impact of migration on the host country. The experiences of other migrants in other countries will be compared. Furthermore, the South African country profile was discussed together with international migrants in South Africa. The literature on highly-skilled Nigerian migrants in South Africa and how they live in the spaces of xenophobia was reviewed. Furthermore, a detailed review of the post-apartheid migration policy was reviewed in the literature, including the response to international migration at the municipal level and a profile of Cape Town was presented.

Chapter three will integrate the leading contemporary theories of international migration, and its rationale to the study. It goes on to examine, describe and consider theories on why transnational population flows persist across space and time. Rather than favouring one theory over another, a priori, the research sought to understand each model on its own so that the key assumptions and hypotheses can be understood. The theoretical framework discussed an overview of migration theories, and international macro- and micro-theories. It also examined the new school of economics of migration, which contrast with neoclassical theories. Other theories that are considered are the Gravity Model, Push-Pull theory, Network theory, Social Capital, and Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital. The chapter explores some new approaches to migration research and offers a criticism of the theories of migration. The conceptual framework was used to analyse the motivations of migrants based on the experiences and trajectories of highly-skilled Nigerian migrants in Cape Town. The domains of the integration framework were used as indices of measurement. Education, housing, health, employment are prerequisites for successful integration to take place.

Chapter four describes the methodology. The discussion entails describing the study design, the interpretative framework used in this study and its philosophical assumptions, study setting, study population, sample size and procedure, data collection, how data was processed, analysed and presented, and how the researcher attempted to enhance the rigour of the study. Ethical issues are also discussed in this section.

Chapter five is the presentation of the data; analysis of the study. The data presentation is descriptive with tables, bar graphs and pie charts. The justification for demographics representation is to show the class and the categories of participants and to filter out the themes for analysis. The second part is the narrative analysis and discussion of the structured interview.

Chapter six: Analysis and Discussion of Semi-structured Interviews - the procedure of the analysis follows the qualitative research goals by elucidating what migration means to the participants. The analysis involved the discussion of the context, analysis of the participants' perceptions, attempts to relate the findings to the literature discussed, and also summarising the implications of the findings to the literature.

Chapter seven

In this chapter the narrative analysis and discussion of the in-depth interview is presented. Here, the participants discussed their motivations for coming to South Africa, their integration challenges, skills contribution, and their views on migration policies. The chapter highlights the link to the literature and attempts to answer / address the research objectives. A summary concludes the chapter and highlights the lessons learned.

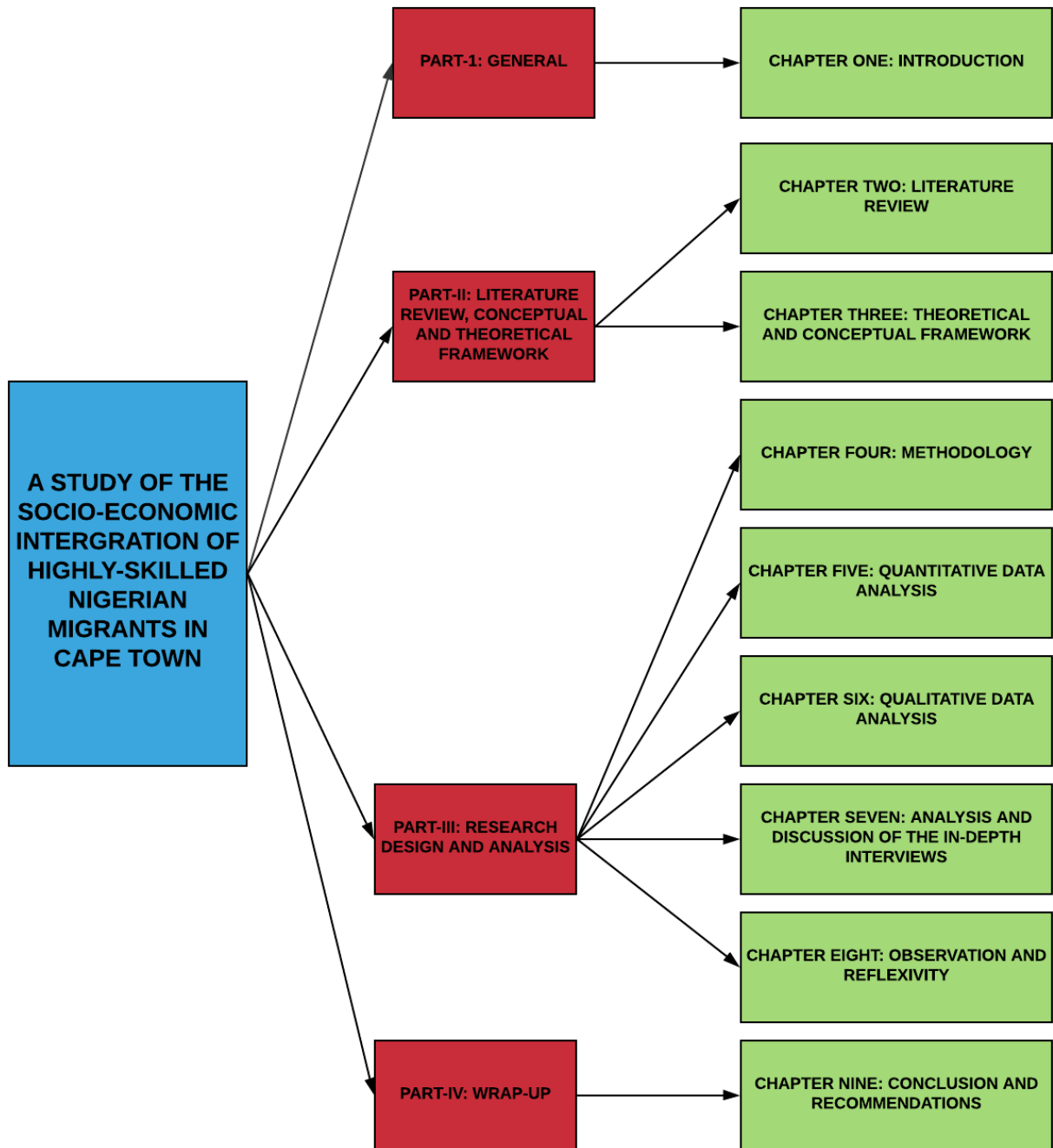
Chapter eight

This chapter involves observation and reflexivity. With this chapter in mind, the researcher went into the community to observe first-hand how locals socialize and interact with foreigners. The researcher attempted to gauge people's views regarding cultural integration (e.g. intermarriages), and observe the social settings that the highly-skilled Nigerians live in and interact in with South Africans.

The researcher took time to reflect on the pre-notions and biases attached to the research, the challenges faced, and the lessons learned during this period.

Chapter nine discusses the conclusions and recommendations. It starts with the summary of the findings, significance of the study, limitations of the study, areas for further studies, recommendations, and the conclusion. Also, the chapter highlights new knowledge the study has generated and also distinguishes what sets the research apart from other research.

Figure 2: Outline of the chapters and subtopics of this thesis³



Author's own illustration

³ Author's own illustration

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

“But, I don’t call it immigration, I call it migration. As a species, it is very healthy for us to get up and move around the planet. Sometimes certain groups of people have to do that for economic reasons. Everybody loves the idea of homeland. I used to, but I kind of got the bigger picture now. It is a home planet to me.” (Lydon, 2014:386)

2.1 Introduction

This section focuses on international migration and decisions to migrate. It also looks at the highly-skilled migrants’ motivations, experiences, challenges and comparison of other migrants’ experiences in other parts of the world. A special review was done on the socio-economic situation of Nigeria, the home country of the migrants, and also the South African context, which is the receiving country. Integration of highly-skilled migrants also explored together with an examination of policy frameworks on migration and other relevant documents. Globally, migration has profoundly shaped the world in which we live. Migration plays a central role in current global processes of social, economic and political change (International Migration Institute, 2006:1). Moreover, a number of important shifts in the migration patterns and processes which have occurred worldwide have created new impediments for migration policies in the twenty-first century (International Migration Institute, 2006). In contrast to other major migration destinations across the world, South Africa suffers from a paucity of statistical data on its longer-term migrant communities (Segatti *et al.*, 2012). Segatti, Adeagbo and Ogunyemi (2012) further explained that the available statistics show that the number of Nigerians granted entry by the South African immigration increased considerably in 2004 when monthly entries were more than 2,000, and increased from 3,000 to 4,000 entries per month from 2008 to 2010. Furthermore, Sagetti (2012) explained that Nigerian migrants in the diaspora may be categorised into two distinct categories i.e., refugee/asylum seekers, and international travellers e.g. tourists, business people, students and highly-skilled expatriates.

2.2 International Migration

International migration is an important and a relevant practice in today's world (Dinbabo and Nyasulu, 2015). It is a process where millions of people migrate across traditional, social and geographical boundaries, and in more recent times, this practice has altered the global landscape which brings about globalization (Dinbabo and Nyasulu, 2015, Majee, Dinbabo, Ile, Belebema, 2019). Research on international migration has brought about new information on migration in the research community, and it has also been a catalyst for some scholars and policymakers to discuss international migration as a research field (Dinbabo and Nyasulu, 2015).

As mentioned above, international migration plays a very important role in globalisation (Dinbabo, Ile, Majee, Belebema, and Boadu, 2018; International Migration Institute, 2006). It helps to shape global transformations such as migration integration and development. Some of these processes of transformation have raised new intellectual and practical challenges for humanity in the twenty-first century.

Due to globalisation, both traditional countries of immigration (including Western high-income countries), and newly emerging countries of immigration are faced with the need to attract highly-skilled migrants (Florida, 2005). This attraction is mainly because highly-skilled migrants entering the labour market of these countries help to diversify the human resources required for the country's operations in foreign markets, or for cooperation with foreign companies at a time of globalisation (International Organisation for Migration, 2004). Also, these migrants offer the skills and expertise lacking within the workforce of the destination countries suffering from 'brain drain' (International Organisation for Migration, 2004). Therefore, the integration of these migrants is a prerequisite to fully realise this potential (International Organisation for Migration, 2004).

International migration is the movement of people, goods and services across state boundaries. According to the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, the number of international migrants worldwide was estimated to be 258 million in 2017 (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2017a). Kritz and Zlotnik (1992) posited a systematic approach which outlined the vital role of goods and services in international migration, that necessitated improved communication, technology, and transport networks.

One of the major impediments for research and the process of migration nowadays is that it has "*become multi-layered and dynamic*", which involves new populations and destinations whilst

adapting to the continuous change of the global environment (International Migration Institute, 2006:2). The International Migration Institute (2006) identified three areas of change that will continue to be important in shaping global migration in the future. These are:

- The role of individual states and the changing characteristics of countries, and the complex ways in which they are entrenched in regional and global relationships (International Migration Institute, 2006).
- The nature of migratory behaviour at the micro-level and the way migration results in changes in the communities of both countries of origin and destination (International Migration Institute, 2006).
- The policy environment of the receiving Country, and the factors that encourage or hinder effective policy-making and boundary agreements.

These arenas of change may be important to the South African context in terms of policies and implementations of migration laws (International Migration Institute, 2006).

Castles and Miller (1993) pointed out the complications of the growing international migration, with its attendant problems of diverse cultural complications and resultant conflicts. With the increase in international migration to the United States and Europe, the influx of migrants in these places gave rise to the Los Angeles riots of May 1992, subsequent ethnic cleansing, concentration camps and shelling of civilian migrants in Yugoslavia (Castles and Miller, 1993). The implication to development is that it shows that international migration comes with its disadvantages. For example, in South Africa, there have been common cases of xenophobia against migrants (Adeagbo, 2011, 2013).

According to the United Nations population report, published in 2013, approximately 232 million people, equivalent to 3% of the global population, have emigrated from their country of origin to reside in another for a duration of at least 12 months (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2013). These people often include migrant workers with a variety of skill sets, families, and those emigrating because of a mass exodus triggered by conflict or natural catastrophes (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2013).

The motivation for people to migrate is not sometimes clearly defined in terms of what influenced their decisions and choice of migration. Most people are motivated because of a

wide range of related reasons, for instance, to find employment, joining family members, to study, or to retire. The motivation to migrate also includes the search for protection from political upheaval, and other factors such as human rights violations in the country of origin (International Migration Institute, 2006). Subsequently, some migrants may move to settle permanently in the host country, while other migrants might have the intention to go back, while other migrants often aim to settle temporarily with the intention of moving to a better destination (International Migration Institute, 2006).

In Africa, most reasons for migration are as a consequence of wars, political instabilities, and socio-cultural, economic and environmental problems such as climate change that leads to drought and famine (Castles and Miller, 1993; Dinbabo, 2017; Golini, Bonifazi and Righi, 1993). In addition, growing inequalities between the developed and developing countries play a contributing factor for people to migrate.

2.3 Migration in sub-Saharan Africa

Migration into sub-Saharan Africa has been documented over the centuries; the region is comprised of an international population, ranging from nomads, frontier workers, highly-skilled professionals, refugees and undocumented migrants (Adepoju, 2000; Dinbabo, 2017; Dinbabo and Carciotto, 2015).

The sub-Saharan region has a long history of both international and internal migration, according to Mercandalli and Losch (2017). It is estimated that approximately about 33 million Africans reside outside their home country. In North Africa in particular, most people tend to migrate to European countries, while in sub-Saharan Africa, some tend to predominantly migrate to the neighbouring countries. Though migration to Europe and the Western world makes more headlines, there has been a consistent migration flow and pattern in the movement of people on the African continent (Mercandalli and Losch, 2017). Mercandalli and Losch (2017) also noted that the demographic transition within the sub-Saharan regions has also shown a significant upsurge in population growth, of which the calculation was based on official estimates excluding the undocumented migration. It was also estimated that the internal sub-Saharan migratory flows was six times more than the international migration, as posited by Mercandalli and Losch (2017).

The issue about migration patterns in the sub-Saharan Africa has been fraught with numerous misconceptions and most accounts are based on false assumptions. In the first place, the notion

that most migrants prefer to go to Europe is not accurate and somewhat contradictory and misleading. According to Ratha, Mohapatra, Ozden, Plaza, Shaw and Shimeles (2011), contrary to the previous conception, they explained that regional migration has accounted for more than 65% of the total population of people that migrate to other neighbouring African countries. . Another contributing factor is the major changes in international relations, for instance, the fall of the Soviet Union and the end of apartheid in South Africa, the rapid growth of some Asian countries, and the unstable political environment of the Latin American countries (Castles and Miller, 1993; Golini *et al.*, 1993)

Furthermore, there is also a false impression that the rapid urbanization of sub-Saharan African cities is as a result of the influx of neighbouring migrants. This accession was contested by Potts (2009) and the United Nations Human Settlements Programme (UN-Habitat, (2014). They stipulated that the increase in population in urban areas was not as a result of rural migration, but rather due to circular migration and fertility in terms of increase in birth rate. Similarly, Borat, Meyer and Mlatsheni (2002) further explained that, in the case of South Africa, after the apartheid regime, most people looked at the prospects of migrating to South Africa. This development and considering South Africa as a migration hub was due to the technological advancement, good financial market, and good infrastructures which has enhanced the attraction of skilled workers to South Africa (Bhorat *et al.*, 2002).

Contrary to the speculations and general knowledge, the policy on poverty reduction in a country is one of the important factors that mitigate people from migrating out of the country. According to the World Bank (2014), it was found that poverty reduction, economic growth, and human development are all contributors to increased levels of migration. Similarly, Flahaux and De Haas (2014) explained that a higher human development may not only increase human capital, but can also encourage people to migrate. . According to (UNHCR, 2013), the survey on poverty reduction carried out explained that the number of refugees only accounted for 16 percent of the total population of international migrants in Africa.

A realistic reflation of the migration pattern in sub-Saharan Africa shows that human mobility in sub-Saharan Africa is characterised by sub-regional movement between neighbouring countries and it is permanently driven by economic factors rather than conflicts (African Centre for Migration and Societies, 2015). There have been expectations from migrants that a favourable regional migration policy can be enacted to remove restrictions which will allow for free movement across borders. Nevertheless, most African countries still have restrictive policies in place (Dinbabao *et a.l.*...2015), perhaps because of the need to keep undocumented

migrants in check which might have also led to the exploitation of migrants and the systematic violation of their basic rights (Dinbabo and Nyasulu, 2015).

2.4 International migration in the South African context

The history of international migration in the South African context started as far back as the colonial era, which began in 1652. Most of the immigration comprised of European settlers who resided in colonial centres in the Cape and Natal (Delius, 2017). With the imposition of European colonial rule came slavery. The majority of slaves in the Cape colony, for example, were imported from India, South East Asia and East Africa with the Muslim religion predominating (Baderoon, 2009:92).

The movement of trekkers, who descended from predominantly Dutch settlers, into the interior of South Africa, took place from the 1830s (Delius, 2017). Thereafter, sugar plantations in Natal attracted labourers from India, as did commercial wool production in the Eastern Cape, the opening of diamond mines in Kimberley, and gold mines on the Witwatersrand that provided an increase in the demand for labour, attracting local migrant workers from the northern Transvaal and neighbouring African countries such as Mozambique and Lesotho (Delius, 2017; Dinbabo and Nyasulu, 2015). The economic returns and demand for labour of the gold-mining industry on the Witwatersrand soon overtook that of the diamond mines in Kimberley (Delius, 2017). A cheap labour system emerged with the expanding gold-mining industry attracting migrants from African countries such as Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi and Mozambique (Lucas, 1987). After the South African War of 1899 to 1902, the mining industry also sought labourers from North China (Delius, 2017). The majority of the Chinese labourers were repatriated by the Union of South Africa in 1920 because of shifts in race politics in the British colonies and their diminished value to the mining industry (Delius, 2017). According to the 1910 Census, the foreign migrant stock from neighbouring countries made up 6% of South Africa's total population (Dinbabo and Nyasulu, 2015:29). By the 1920s, the cheap labour system of the mines was well established and lasted for the next 50 years (Delius, 2017). With apartheid, which began in South Africa in 1948, came restrictive immigration policies (Crush, Williams and Peberdy, 2005). The restrictive migration policies during apartheid tightly controlled the inflows of migrants by encouraging the permanent settlement of whites but allowing black Africans only temporary entry under the migrant labour system in order to meet the cheap labour demands of the growing mining industry (Klotz, 2000).

The imposition of the cheap labour system by the rapidly growing mining industry brought an enormous number of migrant workers from neighbouring countries (Delius, 2017). By the 1970s, foreign workers accounted for 70% of the male workers in the gold mines on the Witwatersrand, with men from Mozambique, Malawi and Lesotho predominating (Crush, Jeeves and Yudelman, 1991). The 1970 Census, for example, revealed that foreign migrants from neighbouring countries employed in South African gold mines, aged 18 to 35 years, was over 80% for Lesotho, about 50% for Botswana, and close to 15% for Mozambique, compared to the male South African male contemporaries who are in the labour force working in the mines (Lucas, 1987:313).

The government encouraged inflows of whites into the country in order to bolster the white population between 1960 and 1980 (Peberdy and Crush, 1998). During this period, South Africa became a haven for white immigrants escaping political uncertainty in newly independent African countries such as Zambia, Kenya and Zimbabwe (Peberdy and Crush, 1998).

After 1986, the government temporarily relaxed bans on black African immigration in an attempt to strengthen the homelands, while simultaneously enforcing state policing powers (Klotz, 2000). It is also worthy to mention that the homeland policy of South Africa led to the forced migration towards homeland. The 1991 Alien Controls Act reinforced the government's strict control of the flow of people at the countries' ports of entry (Klotz, 2000).

International migration after democracy in 1994 and more recent times is discussed further in section 2.18.

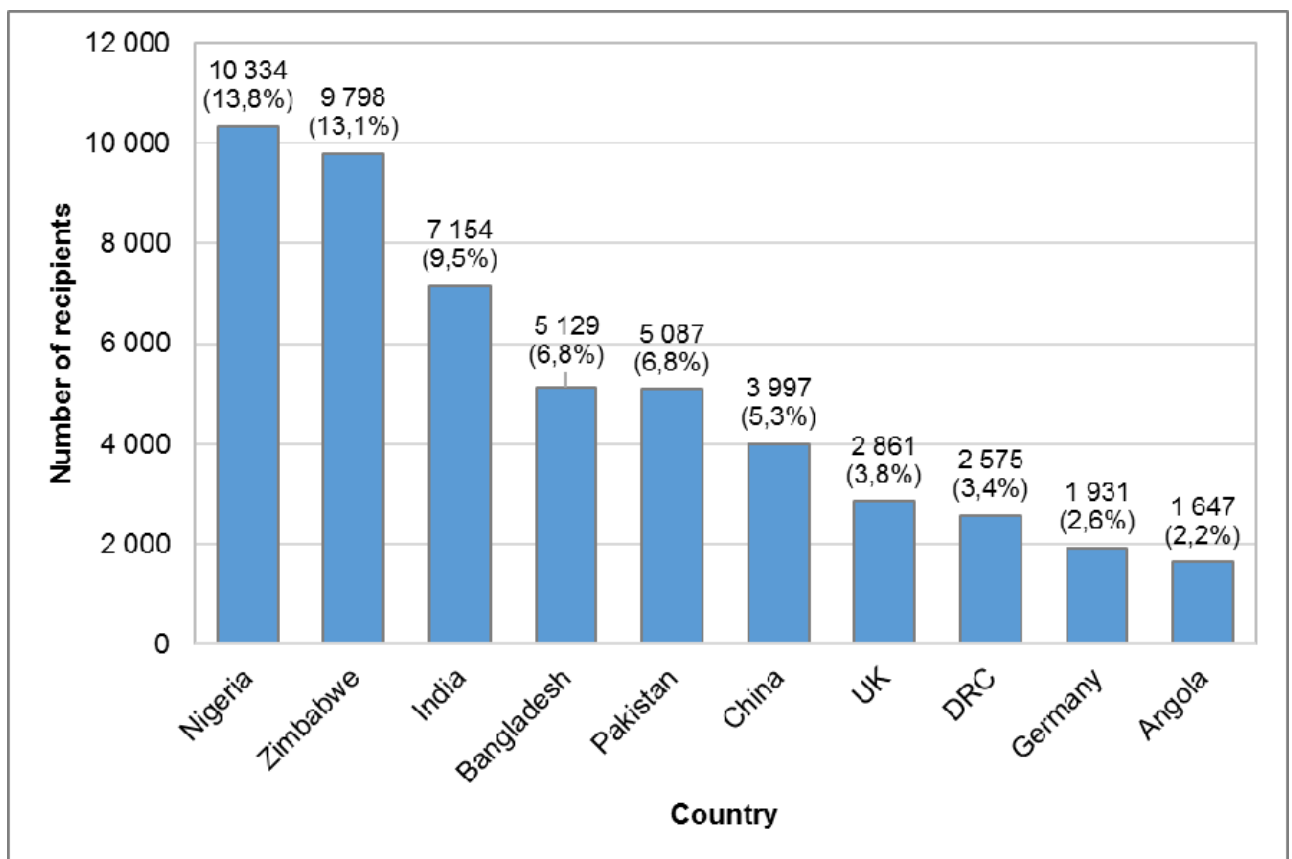
2.4.1 International Migrants in South Africa

There has been limited empirical research on migration occurring through and to the Global South (Nawyn, 2016). In terms of human mobility, Africa is commonly viewed as a continent with a highly mobile population fleeing poverty, violent conflict, political unrest, economic instability, and environmental degradation in search of greener pastures in Europe and North America (Flahaux and De Haas, 2016). Yet, what is overlooked is the movement to African countries. South Africa, in particular, is a major migration hub in Africa. As shown in Table 1, a vast majority of its international migrants are from Africa. International migrants travelling to South Africa are composed of highly-skilled professionals, low-skilled and semi-skilled migrant labourers, entrepreneurs, students, asylum seekers and refugees, tourists, unaccompanied minors and undocumented migrants (Flahaux and De Haas, 2016). The

available Statistics South Africa publication on documented migrants published in 2017 showed that Zimbabwe and Nigeria were the top two sending countries in Africa for temporary residence visas – work, study, relative permit (Statistics South Africa, 2017) (**Figure 3**). However, some of the statistics are difficult to follow because the data lacks consistency.



Figure 3 Distribution of Recipients of Temporary Residence Permits in South Africa by Country of Origin , 2015⁴



Found in: Statistics South Africa (2017:8)

Figure 3 shows the distribution of recipients of temporary residence permits in South Africa by country of origin, based on Statistics South Africa 2014 estimates. The exact number of South Africa's international migrants cannot be accurately determined; therefore, estimates are based on different data sources. There are, however, discrepancies between data sources.

⁴ Found in: Statistics South Africa (2017:8)

Table 1 International Migrants in South Africa by Country of Origin⁵

Country	2015	2017
Zimbabwe	604,248	649,385
Mozambique	370,347	381,386
Lesotho	295,504	312,537
Malawi	96,751	102,327
United Kingdom	117,019	123,764
Swaziland	82,601	87,362
Democratic Republic of Congo	47,597	50,340
Namibia	164,558	174,043
Nigeria	25,837	27,326

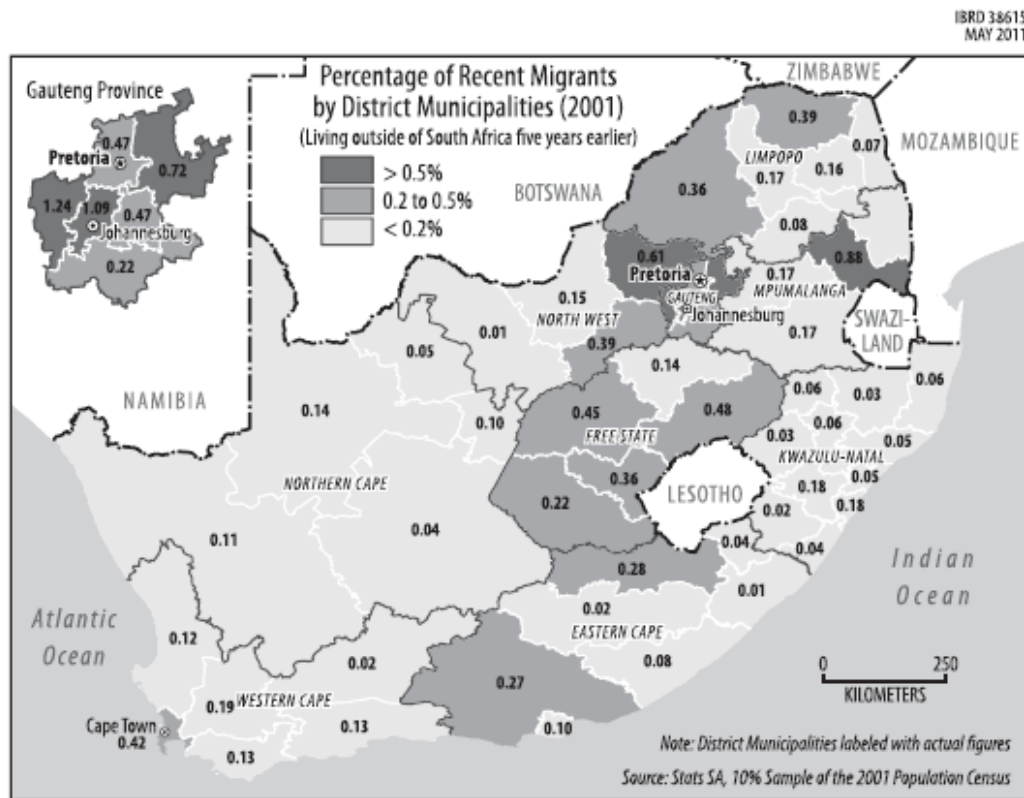
Adapted from: United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (2017b)

Table 1 shows the number of international migrants in South Africa by country of origin based on estimates from 2015 and 2017 UNDESA.



⁵ Adapted from: United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (2017b). Electronic source (database) has no page numbers.

Figure 4 Percentage of Migrants in South Africa by District, 2001⁶



Found in: Segatti (2011a:18)

Figure 4 shows the percentage of migrants in South Africa by district municipality, based on Census 2001 estimates. According to Statistics South Africa, recent migrants are those who lived outside South Africa five years prior to the 2001 Census. The district municipalities are labelled with actual figures. The shading is according to the categories, as indicated in the legend situated on the top of the figure. A higher percentage of recent migrants settled in Pretoria and Johannesburg relative to Cape Town.

International migrants settle in urban and peri-urban areas. The 2001 census data showed that international migrants settled in urban areas such as Johannesburg, Pretoria and Cape Town (Figure 4).

⁶ Found in: Segatti (2011a:18)

2.5 Migration Motives and Decisions

The decision to migrate depends to a large extent on the connection of the individual both at home and the destination country (Blumenstock and Tan, 2016). Some literature has also focused on how a strong network connection can facilitate migration because of access to information (Borjas, Bronars and Trejo, 1992; Munshi, 2003). Family and friends are important in terms of support, when people decide to settle in a particular country, therefore, it could be deduced that the decision to migrate is a function of the utility a migrant receives from friends and family that is connected (Blumenstock and Tan, 2016).

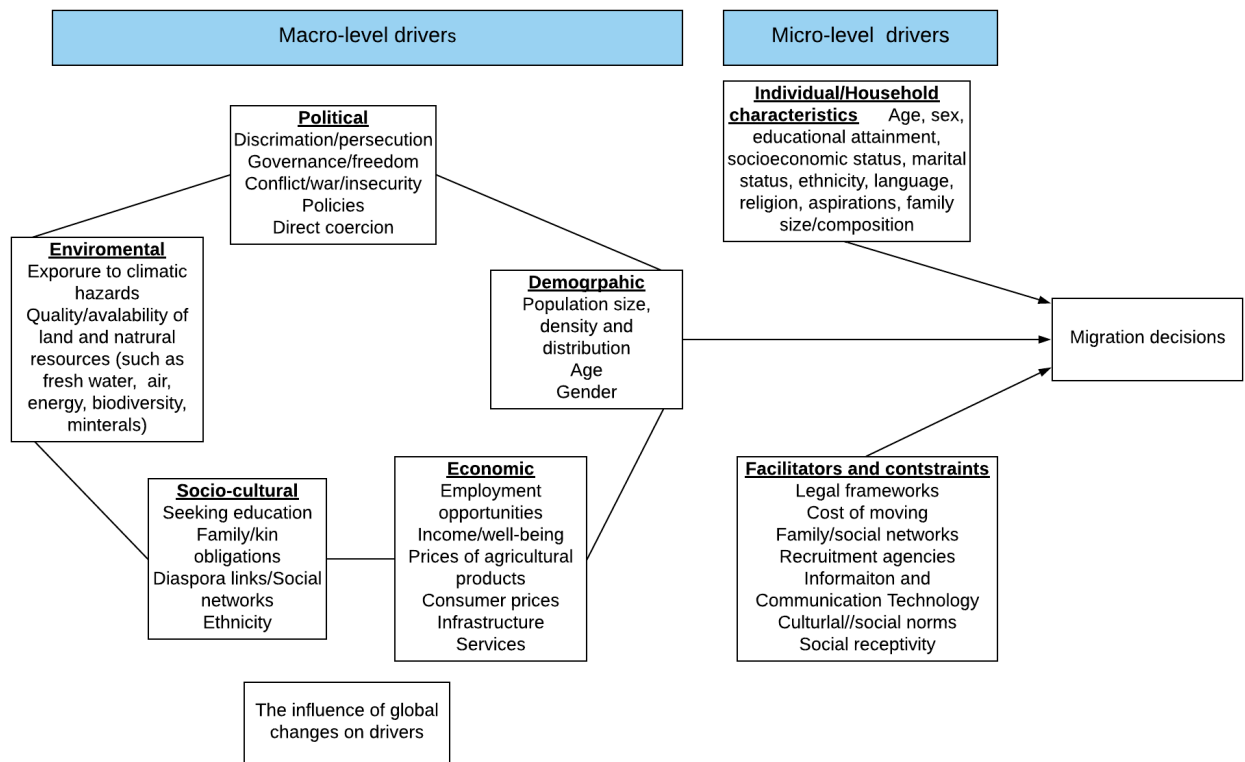
According to Parnwell (1993), migration decisions are individual, which explains why migrants have different motives to migrate, therefore, each context has different decision outcomes. Some factors and potential courses of action are perceived and weighed differently by individuals. In some cases, when people want to migrate, there is a disparity of information received by migrants regarding the source and destination country, for example, a potential migrant is much better informed about the source country than the country of destination. In this respect, the individual has to rely on media information or statements of migrants and returnees from the host country (Parnwell, 1993). Similarly, Gardner (1981) explained that most migrants migrate to where they already have contacts. Blumenstock and Tan (2016) added that family and friends are important factors in terms of support when people decide to settle in a new environment.

At the micro-level, the decision to migrate is not considered as impulsive to external circumstances, but on an individual basis, where there is hardly the same combination of reasons for a decision to migrate, however, there is always the consideration of both internal and external factors depending on circumstances and the individual's disposition to migrate (Parnwell, 1993). Family relationships and responsibilities also affect the decision, as well as the process of migration. In most cases, some migrants may not have a concrete plan for migration, but rather justify their decision with the possibilities that await them in the receiving country (King, 2000). It is important to note that in migration decisions the attraction of more economically developed places provides an incentive for some people to move to that area. According to Muñiz-Solari, Li and Schleicher (2010), migration is described as strong spatial flows, which not only impacts the dynamic global economy but also the changes in

demography, societies and culture. If these demographic changes can be impacted upon by migration decisions, then migration motives and decisions may need to receive policy attention on an international level.



Figure 5: The drivers for international migration⁷



Adapted from: Mercandalli et al. (2017:17)

Figure 5 shows how the decision to migrate is influenced by five interconnected groups of drivers, similar in some respects to the drivers of migration by Black *et al.* (2011:S5). Demographic drivers include the population size, density, and distribution in places of origin. The economic drivers of migration are employment, income, better standard of living, consumer prices, and infrastructure services. Socio-cultural drivers include seeking educational opportunities, family/kin expectations, social networks, diaspora links, and ethnicity. Environmental drivers include exposure to climatic hazards, quality and availability of land and natural resources such as fresh water, air, energy, biodiversity and minerals. The political drivers include discrimination/persecution, governance/freedom, conflict/war, insecurity, government policies and the impact of direct coercion. The role of human agency in the decision to migrate is related to household and individual characteristics (such as age, sex, educational attainment, socio-economic status, marital status, language, religion, aspirations and family size/composition, among others, and the facilitators and constraints to movement

⁷ Adapted from: Mercandalli et al. (2017:17)

(such as legal frameworks, cost of moving, family and social networks, recruitment agencies, information, technology and communication, and social receptivity).

2.6 Reasons for the Migration of Highly-Skilled Individuals

The reasons for the migration of highly-skilled individuals would be what Zimmerman (1996 as cited in Dzvimbo, 2003) terms push and pull factors, forces that can drive migrants out of their home countries or induce them to move to a particular country. These push-pull factors which cause people to migrate can be attributed to socio-economic, political, cultural, environmental and linguistic-based reasons (Dzvimbo, 2003; Papademetriou and Martin, 1991). They may also be *“psychological factors, such as an environment conducive to professional autonomy in universities, research institutes and the workplace in general; and personality, goals, and personal history, which accounts for individual differences”* (Dzvimbo, 2003:1). Other factors may include the job market situation, migration related legislation and policies in both sending and receiving nations, social and professional ties, and financial difficulties (Dzvimbo, 2003; School, Heering, Esveldt, Groenewold and Van Der Erf, 2000).

Although some factors mentioned above are common across countries, other ways of understanding the dynamics of highly-skilled migration might be to analyse the factors in the context of a specific region or country. The West African region has experienced various types of migration, including highly-skilled migration. The available data indicate that the emigration rates of highly-skilled migrants from West Africa increased by 6% between 1990 and the year 2000 (Ammassari, 2012). The reasons for the emigration of highly-skilled workers are not well documented in the literature. A few studies tried to elicit the migration motives of highly-skilled workers from the region (i.e. from Ivory Coast, Niger and Senegal and Nigeria) (Efionayi and Piguet, 2014; Mbah, 2014; Mbah, 2017). The authors further explained that family networks, desire to obtain an education, deteriorating economic conditions, Green Card/citizenship, and better future prospects were identified as the migration motives of highly-skilled West African workers (Efionayi and Piguet, 2014; Mbah, 2014; Mbah, 2017). In addition, marriage and desire to support one's family back home were important factors in the case of high-skilled Nigerian female migration (Mbah, 2014).

2.7 The Concept of Integration in Migration

The concept of integration has a range of definitions, which vary considerably in interpretation and policy implementation depending on national context (Rudiger and Spencer, 2003). Understood in the broadest sense, integration is the complex multilevel process in which migrants become part of the host society (Castles, 1998; Ray, 2002; Rudiger and Spencer, 2003; International Organisation for Migration, 2004). There is, however, “*no single generally accepted definition, theory or model with regards to integration*” (Castles, Korac, Vasta and Vertovec, 2001:12). Oliver (2016:2) describes integration as “*a set of actions and processes that occur irrespective of desired policy goals*”. Oliver (2016) also mentioned integration as a policy goal, which involves integration policies and practices dealing with migration that address specific circumstances in a given country. The latter understanding encompasses a range of positions ranging from the assimilation policy approach and more adjustment by immigrants, leading to shared values and practices on one end of the continuum, to the multicultural approach with more adjustment by society leading to diverse values and practices on the other end (Oliver, 2016). More adjustment is done by the individual who tries to integrate and assimilate in the systems of the host country.

Spencer (2011) proposed that integration as a concept means the interaction of migrants with individuals and institutions within the host society that facilitates economic, social, cultural and civic participation and an inclusive sense of belonging in the community of a host country. The International Organisation for Migration (2004) identified six indicators for integration: language, integration within the education system, social integration, political integration, economic integration, and residential integration. Others have described indicators of integration in different ways (Ager and Strang, 2004; Waters and Jiménez, 2005). For example, Waters and Jiménez (2005) point to four main indicators of integration, which is spatial concentration, language assimilation, social-economic status, and intermarriage.

Scholars point to integration processes as occurring across multiple domains. Heckmann and Schnapper (2003) identified four levels that include structural, interactional, cultural, and identification/belonging. Spencer (2011) also listed these domains as structural, social, cultural, civic, and political and identity. Along similar lines, Entzinger (2000) identified three domains, namely legal-political (state), cultural (nation), and socio-economic (market). Regardless of the definitions used, it is widely acknowledged that these domains are not mutually exclusive; they have complex interrelationships and may take place at different speeds (Oliver, 2016).

Integration can also be seen as a dynamic process with several possible trajectories which occur over time and space (Phillimore, 2012; Oliver, 2016). Ray (2002) offered a useful definition of integration that highlight the temporal aspect of integration: “*a sustained mutual interaction between newcomers and the societies that receive them, an interaction that may well last for generations*” (Ray, 2002:4).

Integration has been evaluated across disciplines for a long time. Sociologists have long used the theories of assimilation and multiculturalism to understand the processes of integration. They have focussed on socio-economic integration, for example, education, income, employment, language assimilation and intermarriage to measure integration (Bloemraad, 2007). According to Castles, Korac, Vasta, E. and Vertovec (2001), they explained integration as a process by which immigrants gain acceptance into a host society and the multilevel and multiform way in which they participate in it. Integration was also explained by the authors as a process relating to different forms of participation, such as in families, neighbourhoods, at work, school and other social gatherings. However, the integration process, from an economists’ perspective, is evaluated in relation to market outcomes of migration flows, such as the labour market, fiscal transfers, or the provision of public goods (Hübschmann, 2015).

With regard to highly-skilled migration, Lucassen (2006) described the process of integration of highly-skilled migrants in a destination country on a temporary basis, as an open and unbiased process which occurs in different parts of society and proceeds with different degrees of intensity, rates and direction. Regardless of the lengths of their fixed term contracts, these migrants choose a place to stay, complete bureaucratic processes within institutions and organise their social and work lives (Föbker *et al.*, 2016). Also, among the indicators of successful integration of highly-skilled migrants into society includes education, housing, health and employment (Föbker *et al.*, 2016).

The lack of definitional clarity regarding the concept of integration indicates that there was no academic consensus in its interpretation. In this dissertation, the researcher will focus on the domains of **social integration** and **economic integration**. In this research, socio-economic integration will include the extent to which migrants integrate into a country, and perform in its economy and may be measured along two dimensions (social and economic) (Dustmann and Frattini, 2011). **Social integration** is measured by asking questions regarding their sense of belonging; their civic engagement; their perceptions of their safety; and their social support structures (Dustmann and Frattini, 2011; International Organisation for Migration, 2013). **Economic integration** is measured by asking highly-skilled Nigerian migrants questions

or qualifications, language and cultural knowledge, family reunification, and safety and stability in the local environment (Ager and Strang, 2008; Oliver, 2016).

With regard to highly-skilled migrants, possession of qualification, economic capital, institutionalised support structures, low language barriers in institutions, and changing from a temporary stay to a permanent one have been identified as facilitators of integration (Lucassen, 2006; Mbah, 2017). Lucassen (2006) further points out, as an example, that factors like termination of contracts, high workload or frequent mobility did not discourage the highly-skilled migrants' concern to integrate into German society. A common barrier that impeded integration was the uncertainty in the duration of stay which is not usually specified when visas are issued.

Barriers to integration include discrimination, non-recognition of qualifications, state policies which restrict immigrants' access to welfare and other services, and state policies around language provision (Heckmann, 2006; Ager and Strang, 2008; Oliver and Jayaweera, 2013; Oliver, 2016).

Spencer and Charsley (2016) used the term 'effectors' for both barriers and facilitators of integration. According to them, effectors can be conceptualised in the following domains: individual, families and social networks; opportunity structures in society; policy interventions; and transnational factors, which may have an impact through family or policy. For example, they recognise the interrelationships between the different domains and that the focus is not only on the individual itself, but also on the structural factors (Spencer and Charsley, 2016).

2.9 Skills Contribution of High- Skilled Migration

It has been reported that highly-skilled migrants can have an impact on the development of both sending and receiving countries. For example, highly-skilled migrants have a positive developmental impact on sending countries in terms of remittances, acquisition of skills and knowledge, and the development of trade and business (Economic Commission for Africa, 2006; Rizzica, 2008; Castles and Miller, 2009; Mbah, 2014). Both circular (i.e. migrants return to their sending country, once or multiple times over a period of time) and transnational migration (i.e. migrants settle in or integrate into societies of receiving countries while maintaining strong social, business, and political ties to the sending country) of highly-skilled migrants can have a positive impact on the development of both sending and receiving countries with respect to remittances and taking advantage of the learning and business

opportunities (O' Neil, 2003). Nathan (2013, 2014) used endogenous growth theory, which shows how human capital helps generate new ideas that advance the technological frontier and feed into productivity gains to analyse the growing body of broader economic impacts that work for host countries such as the United States, South Africa, European countries and others.

The author identified:

- Production side effects including effects on productivity and its drivers as well as trade flows, entrepreneurship and market structure. This means that the skills contribution affects production, including human capital, in the host country.
- Consumption side effects (including effects on prices as well as product/service mix, especially non-tradable) (Nathan, 2013, 2014). This would mean the stock of cultural capital and skills that the migrants brought into the host country which is non-tradable.

According to Nathan (2014:13), these effects lead to “*small, robust, positive impacts*” and that distributional effects of highly-skilled migrants on indigenous workers, firms and markets are not well established in the literature. The few studies available show somewhat different outcomes, suggesting that technological and industrial contexts may play important mediating roles (Nathan, 2013, 2014).

In order to maximise on the developmental impacts of highly-skilled migrants, capacity-building programmes have been developed to encourage transnational networks for the transfer of knowledge and skills, such as Transfer of Knowledge through Expatriate Nationals (TOKTEN) from the United Nations Development Programme, and the Migration for Development in Africa (MIDA) programme, initiated by the International Organisation for Migration (IOM) (Faist, 2008).

2.10 The Experiences of Migrants in other Countries

The experiences of the general population of migrants in other countries are diverse. It includes migrants with undocumented or documented status alongside those who enter the host country as refugees, asylum seekers, unskilled or skilled workers. Research has shown that these migrants face challenges and experiences related to their migration status. For example, a review by Olvera (2016) showed that undocumented Mexican migrants living in the United

States face deportation fears and problems with mobility due to their migration status. In a study of transnational migrants living in Southern Africa, Mutasa (2014) showed that the profiling by police of migrants who do not speak a local language results in illegal deportations of these migrants in some instances. In addition, Mutasa (2014) showed that some undocumented transnational migrants learn to speak the local language in order to avoid deportation by the authorities.

A United States study found that some migrant parents with undocumented status had to deal with deportation fears which prevented them from accessing welfare benefits that their children were eligible for (Landale, Thomas and Van Hook, 2011). Some research examines the labour market experiences of migrant workers, including documented and undocumented workers. For example, Reza, Subramaniam, and Islam (2018) undertook a systematic review and meta-synthesis of the impact of the broader socio-economic context on the social and economic well-being of Asian migrant workers living in Asia. The authors found that intra-Asian migrant workers experienced job insecurity, unfavourable working conditions, low wages and extended working hours that adversely affected their social and economic well-being (Reza *et al.*, 2018).

Other research has shown that migrants tend to be lonely and experience impediments to obtaining housing. For instance, a study of Ghanaian and Somalian migrants living in Toronto found that they faced difficulties such as obtaining housing, racism, limited information on properties, and scarcity of culturally sensitive homes (Mensah and Williams, 2013). These Ghanaian and Somalian migrants in Toronto tended to use religion as coping mechanisms for social isolation and stress related to their housing challenges (Mensah and Williams, 2013). Research has also examined how general migrants build social networks in their situated settings and how these networks influence successful labour market integration. For instance, drawing on a qualitative study of Ghanaian migrants living in Norway, Badwi, Ablo and Overa (2018) showed that migrants with Ghanaian social networks alone relative to those with wider social networks had poorer labour market outcomes due to largely obtaining unskilled jobs.

The experiences of the general population of migrants in other countries may be important to other migration studies, but are beyond the scope of this chapter and study, in which the researcher offers a brief account of the experiences of these migrants. The next section provides more detail on the experiences of highly-skilled migrants who are the target population of this research.

2.11 Highly-Skilled Migrants' Experiences in Other Countries

Though the experiences of low skilled migrants in a new society are well documented, only a few studies have examined the experiences of highly-skilled migrants in a new society and none of the studies are conducted in the global South.

Research has shown that highly-skilled migrants may experience the same challenges and insecurities related to their migration status as other migrants do. For instance, in a study of highly-skilled migrants in Sweden's Information Technology sector, Axelsson (2017) showed that Sweden's immigration policy and practices may delay labour market entry, cause temporary losses of mobility rights, delay the path to citizenship, creates insecurity of the presence, and in some cases, creates uncertainty about the future and deportation fears for some highly-skilled migrants (Axelsson, 2017). The author also indicates that the administrative and bureaucratic inefficiencies associated with the work permit application process may also be important in determining the speed of successful entry and pathways to citizenships for some highly-skilled migrants (Axelsson, 2017).

In another study, Mavroudi and Warren (2013) examined the lives and experiences of highly-skilled migrants from non-European countries working in the higher education sector, following a United Kingdom immigration policy change. The United Kingdom immigration policy was switched from a liberalised regime to a point-based system with increasing restrictions on non-European Economic Area migrants (Mavroudi and Warren, 2013). The authors found that the migrants were uncomfortable with the change in immigration policy, which was likely to produce mobility challenges. Many migrants had experienced difficulties during the application process and had a negative impression of the United Kingdom Border Agency (Mavroudi and Warren, 2013).

Drawing on qualitative interviews of Nigerian women working in the United States, Adewunmi (2015) examined the experiences and the challenges these migrants faced when they immigrated to the United States, as well as the coping mechanisms they employed (Adewunmi, 2015). The author indicated that the migrants experienced a range of challenges such as culture shock, feelings of loneliness, deportation fears, career setbacks and financial challenges (Adewunmi, 2015). Despite the challenges, all of them were of the opinion that life in the United States was far better than in Nigeria (Adewunmi, 2015). The authors reported that the migrants used more problem- and emotion-oriented strategies and less avoidance-oriented strategies to cope (Adewunmi, 2015). The problem-oriented coping strategies typically

involved them obtaining education in the United States which enabled successful United States labour market entry (Adewunmi, 2015). The emotion-oriented strategies involved them acquiring social capital through membership to Nigerian churches and organizations (Adewunmi, 2015). Another study noted that Western migrants in the Arabian Gulf live in isolation and never aim to integrate into society (Baruch and Forstenlechner, 2017).

Some research examined the career experiences of highly-skilled migrants. Drawing on the experiences of Indian women working in New Zealand, Pio (2005) illustrated the barriers that these migrants faced to enter and sustain employment and how these challenges resulted in delayed full labour market access. In a qualitative study of Turkish Cypriot female solicitors in London, Inal and Karataş-Özkan (2011) demonstrated that the accumulation of cultural capital and familial influences were important resources for access to employment and economic capital in the British labour market. Drawing on qualitative interviews with highly-skilled minority ethnic workers in France and Germany, Al Ariss and co-authors (2013) examined the agency of these migrants in terms of career choice and changes in the context of the obstacles faced in the two countries. The authors reported that the highly-skilled ethnic minority workers appeared to use resisting blending in and subverting agentic strategies that involved accumulating and mobilising cultural, social, economic and symbolic capital in France (Al Ariss *et al.*, 2013). For instance, social networks formed with influential people, educational attainment, gaining commensurate work experience, economic resources for settling in and to pursue studies, obtaining work permits, and citizenship were all significant resources for access to employment and sustaining work in France, despite the systemic barriers faced by the highly-skilled ethnic minority migrants (Al Ariss *et al.*, 2013). In Germany, the authors reported that the highly-skilled ethnic minority workers appeared to use the loopholes from the labour market as an agentic strategy, because it was difficult to use their education and social capital to gain access to jobs (Al Ariss *et al.*, 2013).

Other research examined how highly-skilled migrants build social networks in their situated settings. Drawing on qualitative interviews of highly-skilled French migrants in London, Ryan and Mulholland (2014b) elaborate that women play an active role in building local social networks rather than being passive trailing wives. Koelet, Van Moi and De Valk (2017) indicate that children play a critical role in establishing local social networks and maintain contact with local family and spatially dispersed extended family among European migrants. In another study, drawing on qualitative research with highly-skilled French migrants in London's business and financial sectors, Ryan and Mulholland (2014a) showed the salience of shared

interests in building professional networks, and how the formation of these professional networks facilitated career advancement. The authors also showed how all participants formed expansive networks comprising of professional relationships with colleagues, local relationships and social ties with extended family back in their country of origin (Ryan and Mulholland, 2014a). They demonstrated how the dynamic nature of these relationships, which change over time, and the salience of opportunity, common interests and incentives in keeping long distance relationships helps them over time (Ryan and Mulholland, 2014a).

Research has also shown how social networks influence highly-skilled migrants' decision to remain in a destination country. For instance, family influences are known to encourage highly-skilled migrants' decision to remain in the destination country (Ryan and Mulholland, 2014b; Baruch and Forstenlechner, 2017; Koelet *et al.*, 2017). Compared to other highly-skilled migrants' experiences in other countries, not much is known about the experiences of highly-skilled migrants in South Africa, which this research sought to fill the gap.

2.12 Understanding the socio-economic background of Nigeria

Nigeria is sub-Saharan Africa's most populous country, with an estimated population of 177 billion (Central Intelligence Agency, 2017)⁹. It is located in West Africa, and bordered by the Gulf of Guinea and Niger, Chad, Cameroon and Benin (Central Intelligence Agency, 2017a). The country gained independence from the United Kingdom on 1 October 1960 (Central Intelligence Agency, 2017a). Nigeria is a federal republic, comprising of 36 states and one federal capital territory, all of which enjoy considerable political and judicial autonomy (Central Intelligence Agency, 2017a). According to the Central Intelligence Agency (2017a), Nigeria has over 250 ethnic groups; the predominant groups are Hausa and Fulani (29%), Yoruba (21%), Igbo (18%), Ijaw (19%), Kanuri (4%), Ibibio (3.5%) and Tiv (2.5%). English is the official lingua franca. In terms of religion, Nigeria consists of Muslim (50%), Christian (40%), and indigenous beliefs (10%). Muslims reside predominantly in the north, while Christians are predominantly in the south (Central Intelligence Agency, 2017a).

The Nigerian economy fluctuated over time, passing through a series of business cycles. The period immediately following the independence of 1960 was characterised by an economic upturn which included the oil boom era of the 1970s where the gross domestic product (GDP)

⁹ Electronic source (website) has no page numbers

witnessed drastic increases in real terms (World Health Organisation, 2005). However, the 1980s witnessed a decline in economic activities, as observed by the negative growth rate of the GDP. The growth rate of the GDP averaged -2% between 1979 and 1989 (World Health Organisation, 2005). The economy was then trapped in this downturn spiral mainly due to the narrow economic base, low industrialisation, and the subsistence nature of the economy. The major sectors contributing a significant chunk to the economy were mining (predominantly crude oil), agriculture (including livestock), and industry (predominantly small) (World Health Organisation, 2005). The relative composition and contributions of these sectors to the economy have been changing with the times (World Health Organisation, 2005). From the 1960s until the oil boom era of the 1970s, agriculture accounted for over 80% of federal revenue, while the period following the oil boom era saw a decline in agriculture and a rise in the contribution of oil to the tune of over 95% of export receipts (World Health Organisation, 2005). There was a positive growth rate in the period 1999 to 2008. During this period, the average GDP growth rate was 7.8% because of the rise in the contributions of the non-oil sectors to the economy (Aliyu, 2011). The WHO country cooperation strategy, published in 2014, states that agriculture accounted for approximately “40% of Nigeria’s GDP, over 60% of the total employment and the most recent economic growth” (World Health Organisation, 2014:4).

In terms of income and national output, Nigeria’s 2017 GDP per capita (based on purchasing power parity) is estimated to be \$5,900 and the 2015 human development index value is 0.527 (Central Intelligence Agency, 2017a; United Nations Development Programme, 2016). Additionally, Nigeria had an unemployment rate of 23.9% (Central Intelligence Agency, 2017a), and a measure of income distribution of 43.0 (using the Gini index) for 2010 (World Bank, 2015). Despite these relatively positive statistics of growing national product (GNP), the country has been classified as one of the 20 poorest nations in the world, despite its rich and abundant resources, because of corruption and mismanagement (World Bank, 2015). The available data shows the poor performance and decline experienced in the economy have been linked to political and social instability, critical shifts in economic policies, inequitable wealth and income distribution, and the global oil recession over the years (World Health Organisation, 2005).

Oil has been the main export commodity of Nigeria since the 1970s (Central Intelligence Agency, 2017a). Despite its wealth, oil-rich Nigeria has one of the highest rates of unemployment, poverty, and inequality in the world (Central Intelligence Agency, 2017).

Literacy levels in Nigeria is low at 62.3% (Central Intelligence Agency, 2017a). In addition, the country faces many challenges such as an erratic power supply, poor infrastructure, the slow pace of passing legislative reforms, an inefficient land registration system, restrictive trade policies, an inconsistent regulatory environment, a sluggish and weak judicial system, unreliable dispute resolution mechanisms, growing insecurity, and widespread corruption (Central Intelligence Agency, 2017a). In a more recent development, according to the Central Intelligence Agency (2017a), it was documented that Nigeria is the continent's largest economy. Notwithstanding this enormous achievement, people still migrate out of the country for a variety of reasons including gross inequality, low standard of living, insecurity, etc. Estimates for 2013, released by the National Statistics Office following an April 2014 statistical "rebasings" exercise, put the country's GDP at US \$502 billion, compared to estimates for South Africa at around US \$350 billion (Central Intelligence Agency, 2017a; Provost, 2014).

2.13 History of the Migration of Nigerians

From as far back as the pre-colonial era, Nigerians have been travelling internationally. Between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries, the Hausa took part in the trans-Saharan trade as well as pilgrimages to Mecca and Medina (Akinrinade and Olukoya, 2011:73). The trans-Atlantic slave trade was responsible for the forced migration of Nigerians to the new world from the middle of the fourteenth century to the end of nineteenth century (Akinrinade and Olukoya, 2011:73; Anon., 2015). In the colonial era, there was a large-scale migration of people from Nigeria to countries such as Cameroon, Sierra Leone, Guinea, Benin Republic and Ghana in order for them to work in plantations, mines and public administration (Adepoju, 2007:2; Akinrinade and Olukoya, 2011:73).

After Nigeria gained independence in October 1960, Nigerians continued to migrate to the United Kingdom and the United States for educational purposes and in search of greener pastures (De Haas, 2006; Mberu and Pongou, 2010; Akinrinade and Olukoya, 2011). During the period of the oil boom, Nigerians also migrated to the United Kingdom and then later to the United States, mainly to attain higher education. Some of these Nigerian migrants decided to remain in these countries even though the original idea was for them to return to Nigeria after studying abroad to take up skilled positions left by the departing British colonial administration (Akinrinade and Olukoya, 2011). The economic collapse, political repression and violence of the 1980s, all appear to have encouraged the movement of Nigerians abroad

(De Haas, 2006; Mberu and Pongou, 2010; Akinrinade and Olukoya, 2011). Unlike their predecessors, the nationalists who after studying abroad came back to fight for independence. After 1960, the migrants seemed to stay longer after graduating or never returned (Mberu and Pongou, 2010). Since the 1980s, there have been waves of migration to North America, Europe, the Gulf States and other African countries. For instance, the Green Card lottery system attracted relatively highly-skilled Nigerians to the United States; the nurses and doctors migrated to the Gulf States (Mberu and Pongou, 2010). The United Kingdom also became a popular destination for Nigerian students and professionals (Mberu and Pongou, 2010). In recent years, there has been increasing recognition of the burgeoning size of the Nigerian diaspora, with male emigrants dominating (Table 1).

Within Africa, South Africa is one of the major destination countries of choice for Nigerian migrants (De Haas, 2006; Akinrinade and Olukoya, 2011). According to Adepoju (2004), some highly-skilled Nigerians found the booming economy of South Africa a convenient alternative to Europe, North America and the Gulf States. Subsequently, some students were also attracted to the quality of the South African higher education system (Akinrinade and Olukoya, 2011). In all post-colonial migrations, Nigerian migrants have tended to stay permanently in the destination country (Akinrinade and Olukoya, 2011).

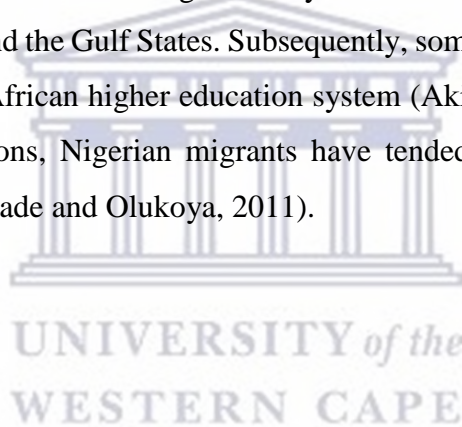


Table 2 Distribution of Nigerian Migrants in Selected Countries¹⁰

Countries of Destination	Year					
	2015			2017		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
North America						
Canada	16,368	14,525	30,893	17,017	15,101	32,118
USA	133,684	139,411	273,095	138,118	144,035	282,153
Europe						
Finland	1,789	551	2,340	1,956	597	2,553
Germany	1,492	7,521	9,013	17,846	8,866	26,712
Greece	1,799	1,058	2,857	1,760	1,045	2,805
Ireland	9,239	12,655	21,894	10,170	13,376	23,546
Italy	25,941	30,318	56,259	26,471	30,777	57,248
Netherlands	3,856	3,223	7,079	4,123	3,460	7,583
Spain	17,608	12,590	30,198	17,695	12,789	30,484
Sweden	2,853	1,531	4,384	3,031	1,692	4,723
Switzerland	2,411	1,092	3,503	2,501	1,132	3,633
United Kingdom	199,216	98,042	297,258	105,813	103,604	209,417
Gulf States						
United Arab Emirates	10,084	4,316	14,400	10,484	4,487	14,971
Africa						
Benin	28,008	16,595	44,603	28,921	17,115	46,036
Burkina Faso	2,401	2,769	5,170	2,416	2,785	5,201
Cameroon	61,591	47,106	108,697	65,376	50,143	115,519
Côte d'Ivoire	19,465	19,452	38,917	19,660	19,646	39,306
Gabon	11,216	4,263	15,479	1,710	4,450	6,160
Ghana	39,242	28,387	67,629	41,027	29,678	70,705
Niger	35,202	37,977	73,179	47,927	50,922	98,849
South Africa	20,823	5,014	25,837	22,023	5303	27,326
Sudan	7,655	7,173	14,828	8,996	8,492	17,488
Togo	18,046	13,928	31,974	18,510	14,286	32,796

Adapted from: United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (2017b)

¹⁰ Adapted from: United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (2017b). Electronic source (database) has no page numbers.

Table 2 shows the distribution of the Nigerian diaspora using UNDESA 2015 and 2017 estimates. From the table, it is evident that their numbers are growing and emigration is male-dominated in most countries except Italy, Ireland and Burkina Faso. Though the exact number of Nigerian migrants may not be accurately determined, the estimates are based on different data sources.

2.14 Highly-skilled Nigerian Migrants in the Diaspora

In recent times, there have been arguments about issues such as the process of migration, return migration, transnational and onward migration, as well as their implications on the advancement and progress of migrants in the host country. A number of literature focuses on transmigration and actions of migrants in the host countries or on the return of migrants (Levitt and Jaworsky, 2007; Vertovec, 2010). Others, like King and Kilinc (2014), cautioned against the negative nexus between integration and transnationalism, regarding them as a continuum of two poles (King and Christou, 2014).

So far, there is a dearth of information on highly-skilled Nigerian migrants in the diaspora. The United States (US), United Kingdom (UK) and Germany are destination countries with some information on highly-skilled migrants. Mbah (2015) pointed out striking differences in the way highly-skilled migrants immigrated to these destination countries and integrated into the host society:

a) Immigration to a destination country

According to Mbah (2015), highly-skilled Nigerian migrants went to the US through the Green Card lottery system or marriage. In the UK, they entered through the British passport, student visa and marriage. While highly-skilled Nigerian migrants from the US and UK entered each destination country through regular immigration channels, those in Germany entered the country either through irregular migration channels (i.e. using false travel documents, sought political asylum) or on a legal tourist or business visa and then overstayed (Mbah, 2015).

In the US, highly-skilled Nigerian migrants aspire to achieve the American dream and gain knowledge of how to get started through their migrant networks; here migrants maintain close links with each other and also feel well integrated into the host society. For some Nigerians, the entry into the United States are for different reasons and circumstances, for instance, most

highly-skilled Nigerians entered the USA as a result of the American Green card Lottery (Mbah, 2015).

In contrast, highly-skilled Nigerian migrants residing in Germany experience obstacles to integrating into the host society such as language, a small African-born foreign population, and restricted labour market access (Mbah, 2015). These obstacles explain why highly-skilled Nigerian migrants become self-employed and participate in intermarriages to foster integration. These developments and strategies of migrants were plans by migrants to counter the lack of opportunities in the host country, and it has become a contentious issue in recent times (Portes, 1999; Safran, 1991).

Highly-skilled Nigerian migrants living in the UK, however, have different expectations and more knowledge about integration into the education system (Mbah, 2015). Therefore, they use education as a facilitator for integration, and tend to be second-generation returnees (Mbah, 2015). Unlike other countries, migrants in the UK are well informed about the system and prevailing situations in the country. The second-generation returnees, however, experience difficulty integrating into the labour market, unlike their predecessors (King and Kılınc, 2014).

b) Integration into a host society

In the US, highly-skilled Nigerian migrants aspire to achieve the American dream and gain knowledge of how to get started through their migrant networks; here migrants maintain close links with each other and also feel well integrated into the host society (Mbah, 2015).

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2.15 Types of Nigerian Migrants in Diaspora

According to a study carried out by Mbah (2015), a variety of variables were used to capture the complexity of individuals who fulfil the requirements of a complex typology based on an actor-centred approach. The literature reveals six types of highly-skilled Nigerian migrants. These include students, the privileged, establishers, dependents, integrated, and transmigrants (Mbah, 2015). A description of each is given below.

The **student** migrant refers to those in the country of destination for at least five years, focussing on scholarly endeavours at university. They send no remittances and will return home following graduation or gaining some work experience if they deem conditions to be conducive (Mbah, 2015).

The **privileged** have been living in the country of destination for varying lengths of time, working in different fields including education. They send little or no remittances and they periodically visit Nigeria, but have no intentions of moving back to Nigeria (Mbah, 2015). They have many family members already living legally in the destination country and these family members facilitated their immigration to that country.

The **establisher** refers to those who are struggling to integrate into the host society, doing low-paying unskilled work, trying to be successful but encountering challenges, and do not plan to return to Nigeria (Mbah, 2015). They have responsibilities in Nigeria and thus have a reason to send remittances home. They also have to provide for their family in the destination country.

Dependents are typically females who are reunited with their spouses in the country of destination, focussed on raising a family and working predominantly in the low-paid employment sector. They do not send remittances and do not intend to return home (Mbah, 2015).

The **integrated** refers to those engaged at either tertiary institutions or other sector activities and are remunerated well and thus are better integrated into the host society than the establisher counterparts described above (Mbah, 2015). As with the establishers, they face responsibilities both in Nigeria and the destination country. Occasionally they send remittances home and visit home often (each year) or periodically (every three years). It is, however, unclear if they have intentions of returning home in the future (Mbah, 2015).

The **transmigrants** are typically migrant entrepreneurs living in the destination country who visit Nigeria either often or frequently (more than once a year) (Mbah, 2015). They also have responsibilities in both countries, therefore they send remittances to Nigeria alongside

providing for their families in the destination country. Being a transmigrant is defined as a state in which one identifies with both their own cultures and that of the host society at the same time without losing their identity or home (Mbah, 2015). Female transmigrants who are skilled may think of pursuing job opportunities or developing their careers (Mbah, 2015).

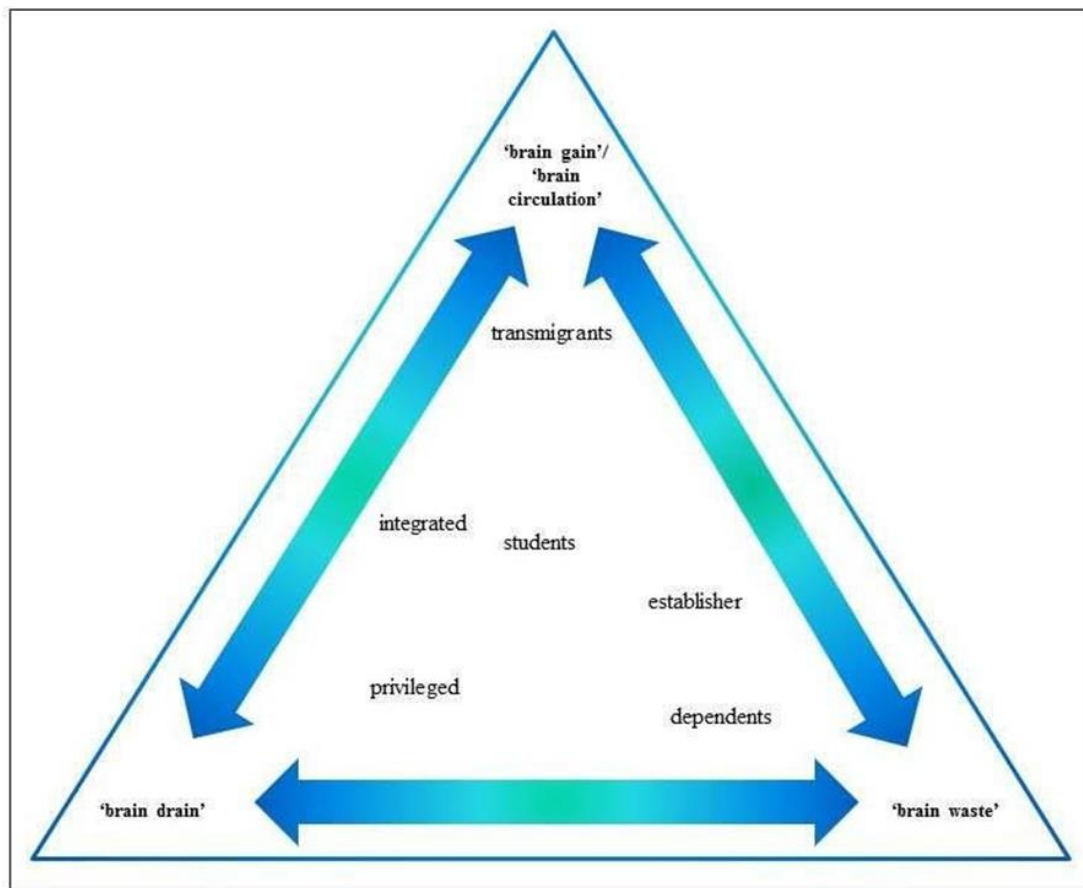
The above-described six migrant types are viewed as non-static affiliations that may change over time depending on how the migrants' experiences, preferences, and choices change (Mbah, 2015).

2.16 Migration of Highly-Skilled Nigerians as a Dynamic Process

Mbah (2017:3-4) argues for the conceptualisation of migration of highly-skilled Nigerians “*as a dynamic process with several possible trajectories, depending on the individual’s development and preferences, which evolve over time and space*”. Therefore, migration is regarded as a multi-way and multi-faceted process characterized by repetitive movements between states and the six different migrant types mentioned above (Mbah, 2017). The author also notes that the six migrant types may be related to three knowledge flows namely, brain drain, brain waste, and brain gain/circulation (Figure 3) (Mbah, 2017).

Presently, in migration research, the definitions and the understanding of knowledge flows are highly contested. In most cases, migration is viewed as multidimensional and complex of which the concepts are hazy (Åkesson and Baaz, 2015). The authors argued that sometimes those contemporary issues like racism and discrimination are often neglected. Conversely, the skills and knowledge acquired from the home country might be difficult to be transferred to the host country in terms of skills contribution to the development of the host country. In essence, there is a need for a policy shift if a particular system in place does not work (Åkesson and Baaz, 2015). In considering the above argument, it could be implied that highly-skilled migrants often face racism and discrimination, but it does not necessarily imply that they stay in an uncondusive economic and social situation in the host country.

Figure 7 Types of Nigerian Migrants in Relation to Different Knowledge Flows¹¹



Found in: Mbah (2015:18)

Figure 7 shows the types of Nigerian migrants in relation to knowledge flows. There are six types of highly-skilled Nigerian migrants namely students, the privileged, establishers, dependents, integrated, and transmigrants (Mbah, 2015). These migrant types can be categorised into three different knowledge flows (brain drain, brain waste, and brain gain/circulation), situated at the corners of the triangle (Mbah, 2015). Mbah (2015) explained that the closer the migrant type is to the corner of the triangle, the more likely it is to be considered to be this specific knowledge flow of this corner of the triangle. Occupying the central position within the triangle implies that individuals belonging to this migrant type cannot be considered to be any particular knowledge flow, but remain free until they shift between migrant types (Mbah, 2015).

¹¹ Found in: Mbah (2015:18)

2.17 The Impact of Highly-Skilled Migration

The impacts of high-skilled migration from Nigeria on human development are not well documented in the literature. However, research shows that return migration of highly-skilled Nigerian migrants ‘can potentially turn a ‘brain drain’ into a ‘brain gain’ and sometimes ‘brain circulation’ (Olatuyi *et al.*, 2013:38). A study investigating the potential for return migration among the Nigeria diaspora found that 22% of participants (the majority of whom were gainfully employed) wished to return to Nigeria on a permanent basis without conditions, and 77% wished to do so with conditions such as permanent jobs and positions in parastatal companies (Olatuyi *et al.*, 2013). This finding suggests that there is little “brain waste” in this particular home country and that those who plan to return have the potential to enhance the human capital in Nigeria.

Nonetheless, there is a growing recognition that many highly-skilled Nigerian migrants may remain in the destination country, especially if conditions at home do not change. Increasing attention is being paid to the role and contributions of the Nigerian diaspora in the human development of Nigeria. For this reason, the Nigerian government began to support diaspora involvement in Nigeria’s development through Nigerians in Diaspora Organisation (NIDO). According to Afolayan (2009), it seems as though Nigerian migrants do not only contribute to the human development of their home country, but also the skills contribution of their destination country. Mohan (2002) examined the developmental contributions of the diaspora in three distinct ways: firstly, by development ‘in’ the diaspora, which refers to how migrants use their localised networks to secure economic and social well-being and consequently contribute to the economic and social development of the destination country; secondly, by development ‘through’ the diaspora, which refers to how migrants use their transnational connections to improve their social and economic well-being; and thirdly, development ‘by’ diaspora, which refers to the role played by the diaspora community in developing their home country (Mohan, 2002; Olatuyi *et al.*, 2013).

While much of the literature on development by the highly-skilled Nigerian diaspora focuses on remittances and remittance flows, there is relatively little research on the impact of their skills contribution in the diaspora.

2.18 The Role of Skilled Labour in South Africa

The article by Ellis and Segatti (2011) covers a list of issues around the role of skilled labour within the context of South Africa. More specifically, it sheds light on the immigration and emigration factor that has come into play from 1994 onwards (Ellis and Segatti, 2011). The post-apartheid regime came with a huge concern for South Africa and her workers, and that of black South Africans who needed employment (Ellis and Segatti, 2011). This was a critical time for South Africa as they had just come out of the apartheid era (Ellis and Segatti, 2011), which meant that they needed all hands on deck to rebuild what was lost and develop what was ignored for so many years (Ellis and Segatti, 2011). South Africa, in the year before 1994, experienced a brain drain when skilled workers migrated overseas to work elsewhere (Ellis and Segatti, 2011). The education and health sectors suffered the most with a staggering 59% being attributed to the brain drain of South Africa (Crush, McDonald and Williams, 2000; Ellis and Segatti, 2011). This was as a result of South African expatriates who immigrated to places such as the European Union, North America, Australia and New Zealand (Ellis and Segatti, 2011).

Moreover, Ellis and Segatti (2011) echoed that the lack of development within the black population of South Africa was a result of the apartheid regime. A weak education system and a significant number of skilled workers emigrating counted as two contributing factors that caused stagnant development (Ellis and Segatti, 2011). This development left a huge gap in South Africa. Also, there was a reluctance by the black ruling party to embrace and emphasise skilled migration as a driver for development in the land (Ellis and Segatti, 2011). The reluctance to embrace skilled migration was not helping as it was not addressing the gap problem (Ellis and Segatti, 2011). In addition, after 1994, most of the white population that were skilled, started migrating to other parts of the world for fear of uncertainties, which consequently caused a brain drain in South Africa (Ellis and Segatti, 2011).

Despite the conditions and shortcomings of the policies which contributed to the brain drain, Ellis and Segatti (2011) presented an explanation that could help to fill in the gap. This suggestion was based on the different structures and policies that have been put in place to help the growing problem of scarce skills (Ellis and Segatti, 2011). The famous quota system is one of the structures that have been put in place to bridge the gap between races as well as used for multinational companies (Ellis and Segatti, 2011).

There were numerous miscommunications between government departments and skilled-workers at the initial stage of implementation (Ellis and Segatti, 2011). A study was done in

2009 by Erasmus and Breier (2009) for the Department of Labour. The findings showed huge discrepancies between skill shortages and the quota lists issued by the Department of Home affairs (Erasmus and Breier, 2009). During the process of the quota system and affirmative action, many white skilled workers were lost to foreign opportunities (Ellis and Segatti, 2011).

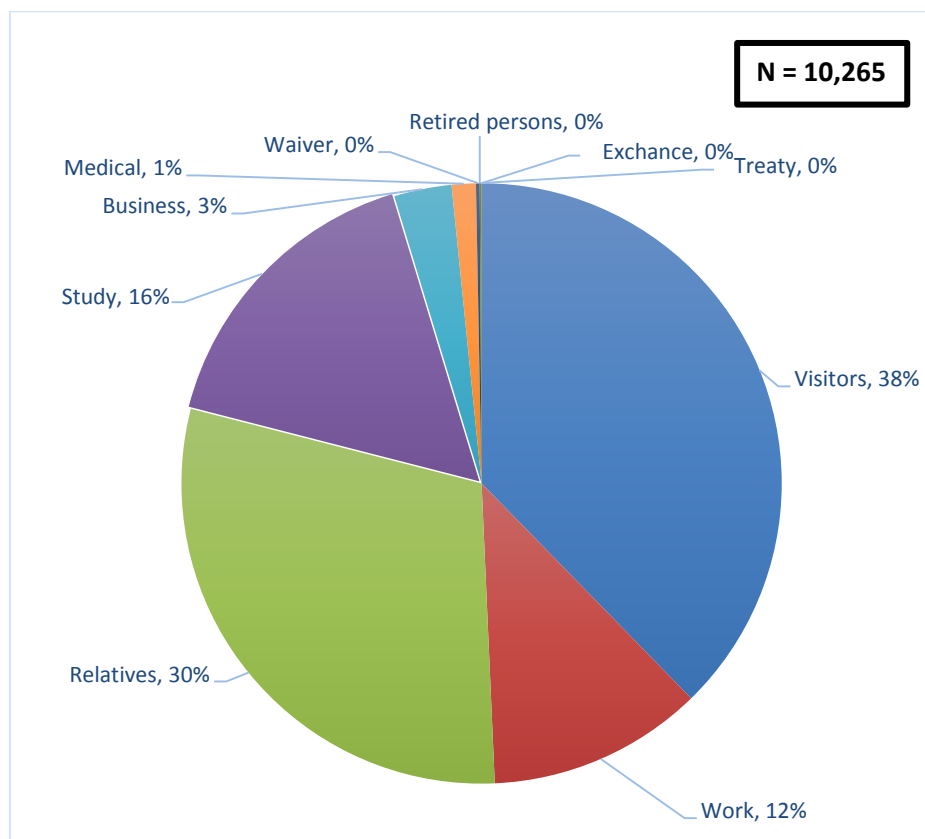
The South African government's flaws were exposed during the time of the immigration/emigration issue (Ellis and Segatti, 2011). Their migration policy was filled with contradictions that confused many interested parties and entities (Ellis and Segatti, 2011). Subsequently, South Africa was faced with a challenge that may have led to some of her contradictions (Ellis and Segatti, 2011). This policy contradictions resulted in a shift in policy to accommodate highly-skilled migrants. In the revised policy, it was suggested that, while South Africa could proceed with employing skilled migrant workers, it will at the same time also be working for its national interest and policy, by promoting indigenous skills development of the country (Ellis and Segatti, 2011).

2.19 Nigerian Migrants in South Africa

The population of Nigerians in South Africa is steadily increasing. For instance, the 2001 South African census data estimated that Nigerians made up 0.01% of the national population (7,172 people) in that year (Segatti *et al.*, 2012). According to Segatti, Adeagbo and Ogunyemi (2012), Nigerian arrivals in South Africa became considerable in 2004, when there were more than 2,000 entries per month, and then the number of entries rose from 3,000 to 4,000 per month from 2008 to 2010. Thereafter, Nigerian arrivals in South Africa were 65,554 in 2011, 61,298 in 2012, 82,490 in 2013, 64,051 in 2014, and 36,385 by August 2015 (Republic of South Africa, 2016). Notably, Nigerians reside in each of the nine provinces of South Africa. The available statistics from the 2001 population census indicated that the majority of Nigerians resided in Gauteng (5,029), followed by KwaZulu-Natal (737), the Western Cape (566), Eastern Cape (325), Limpopo (177), North West (131), Mpumalanga (122), Free State (71), and Northern Cape (14) (Segatti *et al.*, 2012). Currently, there are no explicit figures of Nigerians in South Africa. According to Segatti, Adeagbo and Ogunyemi (2012), the total number of Nigerians in South Africa in 2012 rose from 12,000 to 17,000. These suggested figures were probably an underestimation of the actual figures, because of under-reporting and data distortion from different sources (Segatti *et al.*, 2012).

Just like Nigerians migrating elsewhere, those that move to South Africa tend to have social or institutional network ties in South Africa that help them to migrate, access the labour market, and adjust to life (Akinrinade and Olukoya, 2011; Segatti *et al.*, 2012). For example, higher education institutions in South Africa often make an effort to recruit Nigerian students, many of whom, towards the end of their studies at higher education institutions, discover opportunities to extend their stay by getting work authorization permits, employment and permanent residency (Akinrinade and Olukoya, 2011). In addition to higher education institutions, other organisations, such as the diaspora organisations and Nigerian churches, provide support to Nigerian migrants (Segatti *et al.*, 2012).

Figure 8 Types of Temporary Residence Permits Granted to Nigerian Nationals in 2013¹²



Adapted from: Statistics South Africa (2014:55)

¹² Adapted from: Statistics South Africa (2014:55)

2.20 Highly-Skilled Nigerian Migrants in South Africa

Despite South Africa receiving some highly-skilled Nigerian immigrants, there is a dearth of information on this group (Crush *et al.*, 2000; Segatti *et al.*, 2012). This is not surprising as there is limited detailed demographic information on Nigerians in South Africa (Segatti *et al.*, 2012). The types of migration permits that are granted to Nigerians to stay in South Africa (Figure 7) suggest a high overall level of education, with a minimum of secondary education qualification (Segatti *et al.*, 2012).

According to Segatti, Adeagbo and Ogunyemi (2012), the pockets of available information show that highly-skilled Nigerian migrants have few networks and occasional social ties to the Nigerian High Commission in South Africa. The available information relates to the occasional interactions between Nigerian professionals and their embassy (Segatti *et al.*, 2012), as evidenced when the Nigerian High Commissioner honoured South African-based Nigerian academics, engineers, medical doctors and fashion designers during a 2010 award ceremony (Segatti *et al.*, 2012). These interactions still goes on occasionally, especially when an important personality from Nigeria arrives in the country (Segatti *et al.*, 2012).

2.21 Migrants in Spaces of Xenophobia

Few studies investigate xenophobia from the perspective of Nigerian immigrants living in South Africa (Danso and McDonald, 2000). While there was research on the experiences faced by Nigerian men with South African partners (Adeagbo, 2011, 2013), there are few studies on growing anti-Nigerian sentiments (Morris, 1998; Adelaja, 2001). According to Mukonza (2011), the xenophobic occurrence is as a result of many factors, and more importantly, it exposed the weaknesses of the South African Immigration policies, particularly at the implementation stage.

Xenophobia typically refers to the “*negative social representation and discriminatory practices directed towards immigrants, refugees and migrants*” (Tevera, 2013:10). Xenophobia is one of the significant challenges to peace, security and development in host societies. According to Tevera (2013), xenophobia typically happens in urban localities in South Africa, where foreigners are maligned or scapegoated for the social ills of the country. The first wave of xenophobic violence in post-apartheid South Africa occurred from December 1994 to January 1995 (Tevera, 2013). The violence began when alleged undocumented migrants from Malawi, Mozambique and Zimbabwe, residing in Alexandra Township in

Johannesburg, were singled out and forcefully taken to the police station by disgruntled armed local groups trying to purge foreigners from their community (Tevera, 2013). This campaign, dubbed Operation Buyelekhaya (go back home), blamed foreigners for social ills such as crime, unemployment and sexual attacks (Tevera, 2013). In 2005, another wave of violence occurred in the Olievenhoutbosch settlement (located close to Centurion in the Gauteng province) between locals and migrants, leading to fatalities and the ransacking and damaging of foreign-owned business establishments (Tevera, 2013).

Reasons for the xenophobic violence that occurred in South African urban areas during the post-apartheid era differ. For example, some blame the stereotypical negative views of foreign migrants presented by some sections of the print media in South Africa that propagate anti-migrant sentiment (Tevera, 2013). Others blame the contestation of scarce resources, inadequate service delivery, and the involvement and complicity of community leaders in contractor conflicts for economic and political reasons (Tevera, 2013).

The recent eruptions of xenophobic violence may have tarnished South Africa's image as a haven of peace, stability and the land of opportunity for migrants. The role of xenophobia as an impediment to peace, security and development deserves academic inquiry and policy attention. Xenophobic violence against migrants in South Africa is under-researched, with very few studies concerning xenophobia focussing on highly-skilled migrants. Also, there is a paucity of research on highly-skilled Nigerian migrants with regards to their integration in the South African socio-economic settings, labour market, as well as their contribution to skills transfer.

2.22 Overview of Post-Apartheid South African Immigration Policy in Relation to Highly-skilled migrants

In terms of highly-skilled migration, South Africa is a major sufferer of brain drain, losing its high-skilled and academic talent to Europe and North America (Ellis and Segatti, 2011). Debates at the national level tend to focus on addressing the skills shortage by improving the quality of the education system. Yet what is often overlooked is the highly-skilled surplus in Africa and elsewhere. The private sector and some government departments are in favour of enacting immigration policy reforms to enable individuals with skills to work in South Africa more easily (Ellis and Segatti, 2011). A description of the post-1994 immigration policy environment in relation to the immigration of highly-skilled persons is given below.

Following the end of apartheid in 1994, migration has moved closer and closer to the top of the policy agenda at the national level. Between 1994 and 1999, the South African government, under President Nelson Mandela, was opposed to the immigration and emigration of skilled labour (Ellis and Segatti, 2011). President Mandela's administration focused on increasing employment opportunities among previously disadvantaged groups under apartheid, especially among black South Africans through black economic empowerment (Ellis and Segatti, 2011). In the period 1990 to 1994, there was a dramatic increase in the numbers of skilled South Africans, especially those of white ethnicity, leaving the country (Ellis and Segatti, 2011). This represented a brain drain and had the potential to undermine the country's ability to attract investment and stimulate and sustain economic growth (Ellis and Segatti, 2011). President Mandela and his ministers viewed those who left the country as unpatriotic South Africans or unwilling to accept the nation's dramatic political transition from apartheid to non-racial democracy (Ellis and Segatti, 2011). The large number of skilled South Africans who left created a severe skills shortage, which was exacerbated by the poor education system for black Africans under apartheid (Ellis and Segatti, 2011). Following this, the Mandela administration adopted a neo-liberal macro-economic strategy, which opened the country's borders in many areas of trade (Ellis and Segatti, 2011).

President Mbeki's government continued with the neo-liberal macro-economic strategy adopted under the Mandela government (Ellis and Segatti, 2011). The neo-liberal macro-economic strategy played an important role in the establishment of the African Union (AU) and the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) (Ellis and Segatti, 2011). Mbeki's government thought that attracting skilled labour from outside the country was the most promising short- to long-term strategy to expand the shrinking skills base in South Africa, and that a globalised economy implied a global market in labour, especially for those with marketable skills (Ellis and Segatti, 2011). A quota system was introduced in 2002, allowing for those considered skilled under the Immigration Act of 2002 to be issued with visas, and this was revised after 2005 to give priority to certain skills and professions identified in the Government Gazette (Daniels, 2007). Consequently, work permits granted to foreign workers rose from 59,000 in 2002 to 137,000 in 2008 (Crush, 2011:12). In addition, statistics indicated that the number of African and Asian skilled migrants entering the country dramatically rose from 15,000 in 2001 to 47,000 in 2008, and from 7,000 in 2002 to 29,000 in 2008 respectively (Crush, 2011:12). By 2005, the number of skilled migrants granted entry into the country from Africa exceeded that from Europe for the first time (Crush, 2011:12). The SADC Protocol on

Facilitation of the Movement of Persons, signed in 2005, encouraged skilled labour and academic talent from the SADC region to immigrate to South Africa (Southern African Development Community, 2005). However, this protocol is ineffective. It has yet to be ratified, and therefore, it is not binding on any member state of SADC (Nshimbi and Fioramonti, 2014, 2016).

President Zuma's government's approach to skilled immigration seemed to take a more protectionist approach to the labour market as opposed to the approaches taken by the previous administrations (Ellis and Segatti, 2011). It introduced stricter immigration controls through the 2011 Immigration Amendment Act, which were opposed by businesses and the human rights sector. Also, insufficient administrative reform in the Department of Home Affairs pertaining to the management of migration further indicated that *“despite official rhetoric, government circles hold broadly negative views regarding the role of migration in skills development in South Africa”* (Ellis and Segatti, 2011:78). In June 2016, a green paper on international migration was published on the Department of Home Affairs website and it was open for comment until September 2016 (Republic of South Africa, 2016). The need to update the 17-year-old migration policy was driven by the government's realization that South Africa is a major source, transit and destination country for the mixed-migration flows which need to be managed more robustly in order to maximise the benefits of migration for the country in terms of economic development, social cohesion as well as security (Republic of South Africa, 2016). The Immigration Amendment Act mentioned above explained the issue regarding the management of migration. It then directed that this department should not be the only one responsible for managing migration (Republic of South Africa, 2016).

After coming into power, the African National Congress (ANC) had to deal with emerging issues and challenges of the right framework on the implementation of immigration laws that would be appropriate and transformative to the country. The elections in 1994 saw the ANC taking over power and thereafter they had to deal with several impediments to a successful migration policy implementation that met the country's needs with respect to transformation and development (Tati, 2008). Tati (2008) discussed some of the issues that South Africa has faced in post-apartheid South Africa, particularly with issues of immigration.

According to Tati (2008), some of the big patterns of migration policy in South Africa as it moved towards democracy was reviewed. The author posited that migration was an important component in South Africa, especially when it came to the mining industry, as that was where many semi-skilled or unskilled male workers were recruited into the labour force. Despite the

strict conditions South Africa had when entering the country, these restrictions played a role in reducing foreign workers being recruited for mine work (Tati, 2008). After the late 80s, there was a shift in the composition of migration patterns in South Africa which led to the decrease in the labour force (Chipenta, 2000). Because of the decline of organised recruitment to the mines, the strict entry conditions consequently led to the ineffective management of migrant workers (Polzer, 2008). As a result of this development, it brought about a new kind of political discourse on the roles of migrants and the challenges of implementation of proper migration laws associated with it.

Politically, migration has also posed some challenges in South Africa. With a new government, restrictive measures were put in place to ensure that quality migration was being achieved and this saw a decline in the demand for foreign labour (Tati, 2008). The political agenda was also to increase the transformation of local and domestic labour in order to increase job opportunities and access to those who had been previously disadvantaged during apartheid, hence the implementation of transformative agendas like Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) (Tati, 2008).

Additionally, there have also been political challenges when it comes to migration and its relation to a global or international standpoint. South Africa is known as a major destination for migrants, displaced people and refugees from, most often, African countries (Tati, 2008). The political challenges, together with the undocumented migrants and irregular migration, contribute to the country's high migration rate, compared to global statistics (Global Commission on International Migration, 2005). Irregular migration has also been observed in other parts of the developing world (Lohrmann, 1989).

Moreover, irregular migration happens in South Africa because of the historical and contemporary position of the country, given how South Africa was the main destination for the migration of foreign labourers working in mines (Tati, 2008). South Africa also hosts an increasing number of refugees from African countries experiencing conflict or violence (Tati, 2008). However, because South Africa has a discouraging method of acquiring documentation to enter the country legally, many migrants then smuggle their way in, which then fuels the public perception that such migrants are criminals or have criminal intent (Global Commission on International Migration, 2005).

Tati (2008) suggests that the South African government should grant free movement of people, and to issue legal recognition to irregular migrants. South Africa has seen an increase in

deportation, even though cross-border traffickers are active along the borders (Tati, 2008). Police enforcement at the border has also proven to be ineffective because of the abuse of human rights by the police (Tati, 2008). Foreign students can be irregular migrants as well as there is no guarantee that they will obtain jobs once they graduate in their home countries (Tati, 2008). The uncertainty of having a complete record of irregular migrants is not only in South Africa, but also a common problem with the rest of the world. De Freitas (1998) noted the difficulty of obtaining acceptable data in the US. Chalamwong (2004) also echoed the same in terms of obtaining precise data on migrant workers in Thailand.

2.23 Migration policies in selected countries

2.23.1 South African migration policy

The migration of people to South Africa has continued to present enormous arrays of both challenges and opportunities for policymakers, civil society actors, sending and host communities, and for migrants themselves (Scalabrini Institute for Human Mobility, 2014).

To manage migration in a country is hard work for any government, and post-apartheid South Africa has been no exception. By the end of apartheid, it became obvious to the new government that existing regulations governing migration in South Africa was completely insufficient to meet the specific requirements of the new democracy. The policymakers and civil actors of the society were required to tackle various complex policy questions that were raised by migration, set against the dramatic social, economic and political changes that took place in the country. However, the administrative justice and equity, and the national requirements of migration management did not alter with the arrival of the new democracy, but it continued in the approach that emphasised control and security (International Organisation for Migration, 2013; Segatti, 2011b).

The last important piece of the apartheid era regulation, passed in 1991, was the Aliens Control Act. This migration policy is organized in numerous legislative improvements that have consistently reinforced the strict control of the flow of people across South Africa's borders (Klotz, 2000). This act was described as the attempt to entrench the past in the future, by which current immigration regulation was consolidated (Peberdy and Crush, 1998).

During 1995 and 1996, there were improvements made to the Aliens Control Act, to help improve migration laws and to have control over immigration, as well as to bring immigration

policies closer to the country's new improved constitution that was approved in the year 1996 (Peberdy, 2001). With the adoption of the final Constitution in 1996, the Aliens Control Act was confirmed as unconstitutional and liable to constitutional review by the year 2002 (Kabwe-Segatti, 2008).

The basic responsibility of the South African migration policy fell to the Department of Home Affairs, under the leadership of the Inkatha Freedom Party's (IFP) president, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, in the context of the post-apartheid Government of National Unity (GNU). In November 1996, the department appointed a task team to help with the creation of a Green Paper on International Migration that was issued by the Government Gazette in May 1997. The Green Paper recommends the instigation of two separate, but related migration policy streams: a) refugees and asylum seekers, and b) one for immigration policy, governing migration functions such as student visas, work visas, tourist visas, and permanent residence permits (African National Congress, 2012).

2.23.2 Issues raised by human mobility

A range of different organisations and actors were all involved in the issues of the human mobility on how to resolve stringent and conflicting migration laws in the South African setting, as well as a variety of government departments at the municipal, provincial and national level, research and academic institutions, and a range of non-governmental and civil society actors.

.In South Africa, the Department of Home Affairs manages the immigration and asylum systems, including the core civic affairs roles. The Department of Home Affairs is part of the SA government's justice, crime prevention and security cluster that involves justice and constitutional development, the police, correctional services, defence and military veterans, and state security. The management of these different governmental departments continues to be weak, and the effective employment of migration policies is affected by this (Scalabrini Institute for Human Mobility, 2014).

At the South African's national level, lawyers for human rights or legal resources centres played a crucial role in both the policy and litigation debates to help protect the rights of

migrants in the country. The Consortium for Refugee and Migrants in South Africa (CoRMSA) signifies a group of approximately 25 member organisations from across the country, including non-governmental organisations, aiming to strengthen partnerships and coordination among organisations. South Africa also has a significant faith-based sector engaged in issues of human mobility and protecting the rights of migrants, such as the work of the Scalabrini order, the Catholic Parliamentary Liaison Office, the Jesuit Refugee Service, and the Methodist Church of South Africa. Whereas other organisations take common, activist- or legalistic approaches, others are engaged largely in the provision of services for migrants, refugees and asylum seekers (Scalabrini Institute for Human Mobility, 2014).

2.23.3 Implementation Challenges

Even though there were improvements in the legal and policy frameworks of migration in SA, since 1994, the effective employment of policy continues to be a serious challenge. Violation of rights in the state's management of human mobility is still systemic and well documented. Institutions and administrative organizations required to effectively implement the Refugees Act have regularly fallen short of what is needed to meet South Africa's legal requirements, and to maintain and protect the rights of asylum seekers and refugees. Under the Immigration Act, SA is still struggling with concerns such as undocumented migrants, and an associated robust detention and banishment government, that also regularly violates migrants' rights (Scalabrini Institute for Human Mobility, 2014).

2.23.4 Institutional and Administrative Barriers

According to the Scalabrini Institute for Human Mobility (2014), the institutional and administrative barriers that asylum seekers face are common and take numerous forms. The asylum system is just like the immigration system, and is managed by the Department of Home Affairs, a historically under-capacitated and troubled department with the dubious reputation amongst civil servants of being the "employer of last resort" (Vigneswaran, 2008:795). Lack of experience of home affairs employees in handling asylum seekers and refugees, historically limited departmental capacity, and the inadequate resources and the low political priority placed on the management in South Africa (Scalabrini Institute for Human Mobility, 2014).

2.23.5 Detention and Deportation

According to the data statistics of Home Affairs, it was estimated that there have been roughly about 2.8 million deportations between the years 1994 and 2008, with one million deportations going on between 2005 and 2008 alone (Segatti and Landau, 2011:158). The statistics' reliability is often questioned, because the same individuals can be deported numerous times in one year. The Lindale Detention Centre, located in Krugersdorp, Gauteng, is the centre of South Africa's wide-ranging detention and deportation system, where undocumented migrants are held captive until being deported to their homelands. The detention and deportation system is quite expensive and ineffective, and continuously violates the rights of many migrants, as well as refugees and asylum seekers (Scalabrini Institute for Human Mobility, 2014). This system is demonstrating the significant gaps between the immigration policy and how it is operated, which highlights the negative and often dangerous control-oriented approach to migration management. The detention and deportation system highlights the confusion that takes place in the operation of specific aspects of the Immigration Act of 2002, and the Refugees Act of 1998 (Amit, 2012). Individuals who were protected under the requirements of the Refugees Act were exposed to the disciplinary detention and deportation provisions of the Immigration Act, which left the asylum seekers and even documented refugees very vulnerable and at a significant risk of being deported. Under the Refugees Act, asylum seekers and refugees should not be captive for deportation purposes, therefore they cannot be legally held at a waiting camp before deportation. However, the government consistently ignores the distinctions between the two acts, which results in the detention of individuals who should be protected under the requirements or provisions of the Refugees Act (Amit, 2012).

Efficiently managing the movement of people in South Africa has been complicated due to policy failures since apartheid. Migration management in South Africa is characterised by indecision, not just from the lack of regulations, informal policy directives, and lack of implementation of existing legislation, but due to the lack of a flawless direction that moves the migration management priorities forward in South Africa. In the interim, a number of de facto policy shifts became misleading in the current management of the state of migration, mainly within the refugee and asylum seeker stream (Scalabrini Institute for Human Mobility, 2014).

2.23.6 Summary of South African Migration policy

South Africa, like other countries across the world, experience various challenges to human mobility as individuals move to, from, and within the country in significant numbers. The particular convergence of South Africa's very own social and political history means that the country experienced important complications in managing migration effectively, which meant that for many migrants, refugees and asylum seekers, the rights that are formally protected on paper are certainly not always protected in practice. Without a doubt, the gaps between policies and practices, between the formal guarantee of rights and the capacity of migrants to implement those rights, is known as the most demanding issues that migrants face in the South African context.

According to the Scalabrini Institute for Human Mobility (2014), the gap between policies and practice worsened through the lack of political will, and by the capacity and resourcing issues in the migration authority in South Africa, in particular, within the Department of Home Affairs. Regulation was revised and redrafted by the end of the apartheid era in order to meet the new international, and domestic requirements. The related training and resourcing was necessary for the effective implementation of the country's new legislative framework. The political will to provide such resources has been questioned within the context of the numerous unmet basic requirements of many South African citizens. For several policymakers and citizens, migration continued to be conceptualised as a zero-sum game, where migrants took advantage of an overly tolerant system, at the expense of South African citizens.

Although more academic attention has been paid to matters of human mobility in South Africa than in many of its regional neighbours, many characteristics of migration remain under-researched, and under-theorized. Matters on the availability and reliability of data remains an ongoing challenge for both the migration researchers and policymakers, who found it hard to find evidence upon which to base their migration policy decisions.

Consequently, research gaps remain in terms of comprehending both the impact and potential of human mobility in South Africa. For example: where some work has been done in these areas, additional research could help shed additional light on the arrangements of both international and domestic mobility and settlement, remittance flows and figures, the economic influences of migrants within and across a range of socio-economic contexts, problems of migrants' access to healthcare, the special requirements of unaccompanied minor migrants, the numerous impacts of South Africa's detention and deportation system, and the administrative

procedures and impacts of termination. Thus, future research could continue to explore and theorise the presence of such noticeable and abundant gaps in policies as they are written, and the actual practices of migration governance.

2.23.7 Migration Policy models and Implementation in selective countries

The speed of labour migration movements through borders is a one-time technology, which is related to the immigration policy and practice (Cwerner, 2004). Sometimes, the migratory movements are enhanced, for example: through using chipped passports and fast-tracked crossing at points of entry (Sparke, 2006), also from the perception of asylum claimants, through a fast decision-making and quicker legal processes (Cwerner, 2004). In other cases, detention (custody) centres function as a speed box that help slow the speed of migratory flows (Papadopoulos, Stephenson and Tsianos, 2008; Andersson, 2014).

Similarly, skilled migration systems serve to accelerate the admission of the highly skilled (Shachar, 2006). It also produces discrepant temporalities of waiting, withdrawal and delay through compelling subjects to negotiate their way amongst different administrative and labour market statuses (Mezzadra and Neilson, 2013). Therefore, borders manage both the migratory flows in spatial senses, in order to determine who will be allowed to go or settle and in temporal senses to help regulate the speed of admission into certain regions or labour markets. However, immigration policy and practice have a huge impact on labour migrants' lives after entering the host country, because they continue to be the subject to various limitations such as length of stay; times for renewing permits and applying for changes to immigration statuses; and temporary or permanent limitations to have full access to the labour market, welfare and income support (Anderson, 2010).

Thus, the time spent living in such temporally thick borders are not linear but could be characterised by a variety of disruptions and discontinuities, as well as waiting, delays, withdrawals and unexpected diversions, distances the entire moment from submission of an application through a period of waiting for a decision to be made, via entry and a second moment of waiting for enough time to pass to become eligible to apply for permanent status or waiting for citizenship.

The Swedish migration policy claim that highly-skilled professionals are offered mobility and a comprehensive set of rights, and focus on highly-skilled professionals in the Swedish

information technology industry. It further argued that, like the lower skilled, the highly skilled seem to experience various insecurities due to their immigrant status (Axelsson, 2017).

A liberal demand-driven labour immigration policy was pursued by the Sweden government in December 2008. This policy allowed access to all workers according to their skills or educational level, of which employers have no limit to recruit any number of workers, for any sector of the labour market, from any country outside the European countries (Berg and Spehar, 2013; Swedish Ministry of Justice, 2008). This policy does not set any priorities regarding the staying length (Parusel, 2013). Before, the previous system granted permanent residence to specialists in the information and communications technology upon arrival (Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development, 2011; Swedish Government Official Reports, 2006). However, with this current policy, it is not possible to issue permanent status upon arrival (Swedish Migration Board, 2014). With this new policy system, work permits are granted for the employment period with a maximum of a two-year work permit, and could be extended more than once for another two years, to make their length of stay on the basis of their work permit for the maximum of a four-year period (Swedish Government, 2005). Therefore, the Swedish government does not reassure return or circular labour migration, it is up to the employer to decide how long they need non-EEA labour (Parusel, 2013).

It was also argued that, after working about four years in Sweden, during a seven-year period, non-EEA nationals or immigrants are entitled to apply for citizenship. Some highly-skilled migrants experience several moments of waiting and delay in relation to their admission, labour market access and settlement. These moments of waiting place even the highly skilled as “neither fully included nor fully excluded from the space of citizenship and from labour markets” (Mezzadra and Neilson, 2013:62). This has spatial and temporal consequences in terms of temporary losses of mobility rights, elongated pathways to permanent status, insecurity of presence, and lives placed on hold. Indeed, contrary to the assumption in much of the literature that being on the road to permanent status is a privileged position, an appreciation of the temporal thickness of borders and the in-between space they create reveals that for some highly-skilled professionals, this may be a time fraught with uncertainty and insecurity. In order to understand more fully the situation of the highly skilled, and labour migrants in general, it is therefore essential to extend the analysis beyond immigration policies to consider the role of the practices of the government agencies in charge of work permit application processes, which may be equally, if not more, important in shaping highly-skilled professionals’ experiences of

various systems for labour migration and, by extension, their choices of where in the world to work.

2.23.8 The Human Capital Model (Canada)

The human capital model was implemented in Canada in the 1990s by establishing a point system (Citizenship and Immigration, 1998:28). The 1976 Canadian immigration Act, required from the government to plan specific immigrant levels on their annual basis, and established three different categories such as family, humanitarian, and independent applicants, that will be selected according to a point system weighted towards an occupational demand, vocation preparation and experience (O' Shea, 2009).

The Canadian government shifted away from the occupation-based model towards the human capital model, because it recalibrated the point system in 1993, to give more points for higher skilled education. Furthermore, the human capital model was realized as the 2002 immigration and refugee protection act, by retooling the federal skilled workers programme point system that was allocated into a maximum of 100 points in six categories with a 67-point acceptance threshold (Koslowski, 2014).

The distribution of points amongst categories has since changed and it is allocated into the following manner: a) ability in English or French language (28); b) Education level (25); work experience 15); age (12); arranged employment in Canada (10); and adaptability (10). It was found that human capital factors of education and language comprised over half (52) of the 100 points in the system, of which the work experience and a job offer account for only a quarter. The Canadian immigration authorities set recruitment to yield 60% of immigrants through the economic stream, and 40% through family reunification and refugee (O' Shea, 2009). Employers can have a temporary foreign worker through the temporary foreign worker programme, lower skilled migrant such as farm workers or home caregivers, only if they received a labour market opinion from the governmental authority that there will not be any negative effects on the labour market (Koslowski, 2014).

2.23.9 The Neo-corporatist Model (Australia)

This model is based on state selection using a point system with extensive business and labour participation. Like Canada, this model differentiates admission of permanent immigrants into

three categories namely: family, humanitarian, and skill stream applicants. The immigrants have been accepted through a point system since 1973. The Australian model's skilled migration programme is open to those who meet particular requirements such as proficiency in the English language, occupation demands, and those who are under the age of 50 years. The point system selects successful applicants through a skilled occupation list, which the Department of Immigration and Citizenship (DIAC) continually reuses in consultation with employers and unions, to target labour market needs by sector and skill set (Koslowski, 2014)

2.23.10 The market-oriented demand driven model: The US

This model is based on employer selection of migrants. Some US immigration laws encourage both permanent and temporary highly-skilled migrants, but potential immigrants must receive a job offer first from the employer, who selects the immigrants individually within their broad policy guidelines and criteria that was established by the government (Tichenor, 2012).

There are no available data and comparable studies on the distribution of participants by language spoken in Nigeria. The data was analysed based on the responses from the participants of this study.

2.23.11A case of Chinese Immigrants in the US

The Tiananmen Square protests took place in 1989, and the ensuing government crackdown affected Chinese nationals, not only at home but around the world. The US government reacted to these events that happened in the China by endorsing various immigration policy measures that would help to safeguard Chinese nationals who lived in the US (Orrenius, Zavodny and Kerr, 2012).

Firstly, the US postponed all required departures of Chinese nationals present in the country as of June 1989. Afterwards, these Chinese nationals received authorization to work legally in the US. The Chinese Student Protection Act was approved in October 1992, and gave permanent residence to about 80,000 Chinese nationals residing in the US on student or other temporary visas (United States Bureau of the Census, 1993). Illegal Chinese nationals received permission to work legally in the US. They received a green card that had effects on the recipients' labour market outcomes.

Comparative to other countries mentioned, immigrants from Hong Kong, Taiwan, and South Korea, countries were not covered by the post-Tiananmen immigration policy measures. Highly educated immigrants from mainland China experienced substantial employment and earnings during the 1990s. Chinese immigrants who arrived before the recent law was enacted in the US also benefited from the conditions and had relative higher earnings from the year 2000 than those Chinese immigrants who arrived too late. Female Chinese immigrants benefited more than men in terms of employment. The results propose that attaining legal work status and then a green card has a positive effect on skilled migrants' labour market outcomes (Pan, 2010).

In a review, Pan (2010), and Mukhopadhyay and Oxborrow (2012) found that fewer changes were made among less educated immigrants. These findings are consistent with the literature on the wage effects of green cards and, more broadly, legalization programmes. The results suggest that highly-skilled immigrants on temporary, primarily student, visas benefit greatly from quickly transitioning to permanent resident status (Mukhopadhyay and Oxborrow, 2012; Pan, 2010).

The immigrants from China who came to the US after the uprising were still apprehensive to speak of their roles in the uprising or even where their sympathies lay. These natives refer to blood cards, the disapproving term for green cards awarded to those who, by virtue of their presence in the US at the time, profited from the Chinese Student Protection Act (Orrenius *et al.*, 2012).

2.23.12 Comparison of the models

In terms of permanent immigration, both Canadian and Australian immigration authorities shaped flows to allow the majority to enter on the basis of their education, employment experience, and skills, instead of family reunification, while 12-15% of the US immigrants acquired permanent residence with an employer sponsorship.

The US still admits over twice as many permanent immigrants as Canada and Australia combined. The US even admitted more employment-based permanent immigrants than either Canada or Australia until 2009. It was found that immigrants going to Canada and Australia prefer the points system, because it is more effective in attracting highly-skilled migrants than the more implicit demand-driven US approach. It appears that the Canadian and Australian models perform much better than the US model. When policies are assessed in terms of

immigrant numbers with temporary high-skilled migrants added to permanent immigrants, the demand-driven approach is a better option. The three ideal-typical selective migration policy models might become historical artefacts, because each government of a country uses different policy models.

2.24 Response to International Migration at the Municipal Level

Although migration issues have become the subject of regular debate at the global and national level, local authorities within municipalities need to address various migration issues from their own perspective. Local authorities can play a critical role in maximising the development payoffs of migration, integrating migrants in host communities, and reducing social tensions between migrants and host communities (Landau *et al.*, 2011).

A study investigating the local response to migration issues at the municipal level was undertaken in the City of Johannesburg, Merafong City, City of Tshwane, Mossel Bay, and Nelson Mandela Metropolitan municipalities (Landau *et al.*, 2011). The study used multiple data sources: surveys, observations, and 109 interviews conducted between 2002 and 2010 (Landau *et al.*, 2011).

In the study, local authorities listed multiple challenges of migration at the municipal level such as (1) unwillingness to view migration as a development issue; (2) promote civic participation among migrants; (3) building trust between migrants and local authorities; (4) having incomplete and unreliable data on migrants and citizens to inform local decision-making as well as the lack of capacity to collect, analyse and interpret the available data; and (5) improving collaboration between different government departments each with their own concerns and interests (Landau *et al.*, 2011).

Consequently, the inability to address these challenges is evident in various areas that are key to national development such as: migrants continue to face discrimination in accessing financial services, investments, social and health services, police profiling of migrants, the waves of xenophobic attacks, and migrants being used as political scapegoats for the social ills of the country (Landau *et al.*, 2011).

2.25 South African Urban History: a Unique Case of Cape Town

Cape Town was different in terms of racial integration and ethnic harmony when compared to other parts of the country before apartheid was implemented (Welsh, 1971). There are, however, opposing arguments to this statement as the issues of segregation within the province are brought to light by various researchers (Swanson, 1977; Saunders, 1979). In order to explain the segregation within Cape Town, researchers have noted that the history of the city needs to be explored (Checkland, 1983). The book, *Ethnic Pride and the Racial Prejudice in Victorian Cape Town*, authored by Bickford-Smith (1995), uses the process of a cross-racial interpretation of urban life to investigate themes within Cape Town such as group identities, ideologies and social practices. The primary focus, therefore, included the question of race relations in Cape Town and the interaction of other racial groups (Bickford-Smith, 1995). Through the findings of earlier writers, it becomes apparent that racial groups interacted socially, creating less of a segregated society than other areas of the country (Evans, 1915). Although displeasing to some, many Europeans married coloureds creating interracial marriages (South African News, 1901 as cited in Bickford-Smith, 1995). There was, however, a bias towards lighter pigmentation and even records of racism within court sentences where blacks were not favoured. Without a law preventing interracial relationships (including marriage and concubine) it continued, creating residential mixing to a certain degree (Elphick and Giliomee, 1989 as cited in Bickford-Smith, 1995). There is speculation surrounding race relations and slave emancipation, but there is little evidence that Cape Town was ordered according to race. The segregation that occurred was primarily within churches and government schools reinforcing the dominant class status, but not complete segregation (Bickford-Smith, 1987). The Separate Amenities Act of Apartheid legalised practices which led to greater segregation. However, it was before these laws, during slave-owning, that racism and segregation occurred (Bickford-Smith, 1995).

The Cape then saw the rise of the Cape Liberals who racialised the population and held to the superiority of the European civilisation, believing that blacks needed to become like whites to receive equal treatment (Bickford-Smith, 1995). This discrimination intensified as the support for the 'Afrikaner Bond' grew, and segregation became the norm (Bickford-Smith, 1995). Politics then became racialised and through this experience, black candidates were dissuaded from standing in the Cape parliament besides two, one of whom was successfully elected (Bickford-Smith, 1995).

Segregation was deemed necessary as development occurred. The black bourgeoisie challenged the status attached to the lightness of one's pigmentation as well as the wealth and privilege associated with it. A racial distinction was made between the "deserving" white population in poverty and the black population deemed dangerous and "residuum" (without privileges) (Bickford-Smith, 1995). Negative connotations surrounding the black population in Cape Town became propaganda for a political party focused on economic and demographic expansion. The outbreaks of disease created more segregation as the poor white population had to be saved from Cape Town's residuum made up of Malays, Africans and coloureds (Bickford-Smith, 1995:73). This led to institutional segregation where superior hospitals and schools were built for the poor white population.

Segregation amongst the dominant class continued to grow while integration among the lower classes did not differ. The dominance of white over black became the reason for continued and intensified segregation, and this way of residing was then understood to be more affordable (Wiebe, 1967 as cited in Bickford-Smith, 1995). Lower paying jobs, often laborious tasks, were predominantly given to the black and coloured population, while more elite work was given to whites. Contestation against the unequal rights that discriminated against black and coloureds in Cape Town erupted in various spheres (Bickford-Smith, 1995). Most of these unique characteristics of Cape Town paved the way for the influx of skilled migrants including, skilled Nigerian migrants after apartheid. (Bickford-Smith, 1995).

2.26 Limitations and Gaps in Literature

Most of the reviews in the literature speak to the argument and objectives of the study and it explains the reason for migration. However, the literature on integration of immigrants has paid less attention to the integration processes concerning highly-skilled migrants than their low-skilled counterparts since the last decade of the twentieth century (Föbker *et al.*, 2016). Highly-skilled migrants are not usually considered in the destination countries as a problem and therefore have received little attention in scientific research debate. Until recently, there have been few studies concerning highly-skilled migrants' motives for immigration (Mbah, 2015), their diversity in terms of their professional and economic situation (Conradson and Latham, 2005; Mulholland and Ryan, 2011; Mbah, 2015; Föbker *et al.*, 2016), their settling in, family life and social networks (Föbker *et al.*, 2014; Ryan and Mulholland, 2014a, 2014b, 2014c; Plöger and Becker, 2015; Föbker *et al.*, 2016), their impact on the skills contribution of both sending and host countries (O' Neil, 2003; Castles and Miller, 2009; Vargas-Silva, 2011), and

future mobility (Mulholland and Ryan, 2011). Also, most studies on the integration of highly-skilled migrants are conducted in traditional immigrant-receiving countries than in newly emerging immigrant-receiving countries. With regard to highly-skilled Nigerian migrants, there is a paucity of literature available and the focus has been on those residing in traditional countries of immigration and Western high-income countries such as the United States, the United Kingdom and Germany (Mbah, 2015, 2017).

Based on the rationale and problem statement, there is a paucity of research on highly-skilled Nigerian migrants living in South Africa, particularly with regard to their sustainability or reversibility of their stay, their integration into the South African society, labour market, their contribution to the skills transfer, and their growth over time. However, there is little or no information in the literature on highly-skilled migrants in general and particularly on Nigerian highly-skilled migrants living in South Africa. Most literature focused on remittances and its flow, but relatively little research has been conducted on the role that highly-skilled migrants play in the skills development process in the diaspora and their social economic challenges. Therefore, the direction of this research was to seek to fill these gaps that might provide new knowledge and proffer certain recommendations for further studies.

2.27 Conclusion

This literature review critically engaged and provided information on international migration and migration motives and decisions. It expanded on the concept of integration and the facilitators of integration. The literature went on to discuss the reasons for high-skilled migration and the integration of highly-skilled migrants. The literature also explored the skills contribution effects of highly-skilled migrants, giving a brief account of the experiences of the general population of migrants in other countries, highly-skilled migrants experiences in other countries, the history of the migration of Nigerians, Nigeria's country profile, the history of Nigerian migration, highly-skilled Nigerian migrants in the diaspora, types of highly-skilled Nigerian migrants, migration of highly-skilled Nigerians as a dynamic process, and the impact of highly-skilled Nigerian migrants in the diaspora.

Furthermore, the context of South Africa was also explored which included a profile of South Africa, international migrants in South Africa, Nigerian migrants in South Africa, highly-skilled Nigerian migrants in South Africa, and how migrants manage to live in the spaces of xenophobia. An overview of the post-apartheid South Africa immigration policy in relation to

the immigration of the highly-skilled was reviewed. In addition, a brief profile of the City of Cape Town was presented together with an account of highly-skilled Nigerian migrants and certain reasons for migrating to South Africa. It concludes by providing the limitations and gaps in the literature.

This chapter provides a synthesis of the relevant literature relating to the study of the socio-economic integration of highly-skilled migrants and highlights the gaps in the literature.

The next chapter will discuss the theoretical and conceptual frameworks that undergird this study. Different academic domains and theoretical approaches and methodologies will be explained.



CHAPTER THREE: THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

“I want to understand the world from your point of view, I want to know what you know in the way you know it. I want to understand the meaning of your experience, to walk in your shoes, to feel things as you feel them, to explain things as you explain them. Will you become my teacher and help me understand?” (Spradley, 1979:34)

3.1 Theoretical Underpinning

This section sketches the theoretical and conceptual framework that undergirds this study. Different academic domains have adopted different theoretical approaches and methodologies in explaining the course of international migration. There is currently no comprehensive and coherent theory of international migration, but *“a fragmented set of theories that have developed largely in isolation from one another”* (Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouaouci, Pellegrino and Taylor, 1993:432).

It is crucial to understand the role of theory within a study as providing the scientific backing needed within social research, given the reality that every researcher, just as with all human beings, has been socialised into their environments and therefore study social contexts from within their own worldviews (Stewart, 2013:32). According to Stewart (2013:32), social scientific theory requires *“simplicity, logical coherence, and reliance on factual evidence”*, but also that such theories are relevant and applicable to any social context.

The process of constructing theory begins with the formulation of concepts which are based on *“concrete experience”* and which represent a class of phenomena, Propositions are then made to reflect a relationship between different...concepts and can be argued to be true or false. Theories are more complex than propositions or hypotheses, being based on observed facts, and are developed to represent related propositions and a system of constructs that explain social phenomena. Theory needs to have practical value and therefore new theories are developed to present more comprehensive and holistic explanations of phenomenon (Yusuf, n.d.). Such explanations should be based on cause-effect relationships, or causation, not mere descriptions or correlations. Theoretical explanations can be idiographic, which explains a

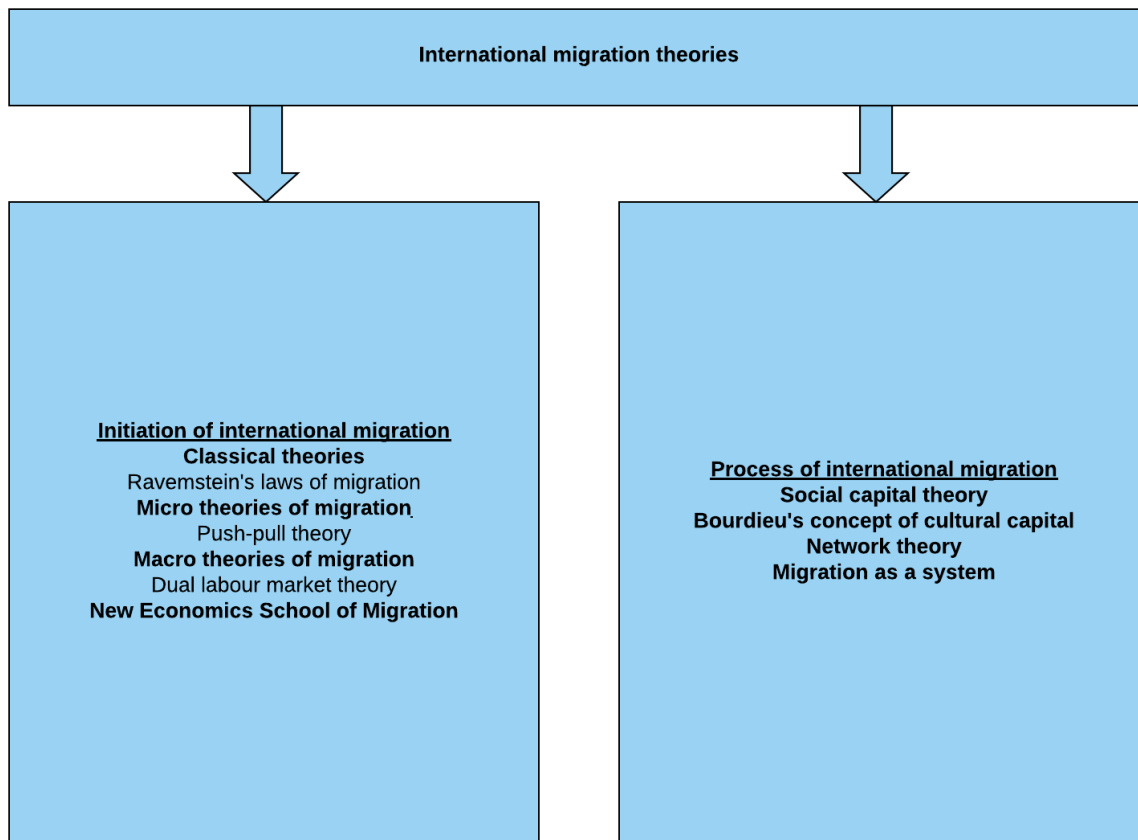
singular situation only and is not generalizable, or they can be nomothetic explanations which are generalizable to a class of situations, behaviours or phenomena (Yusuf, n.d.).

For this research, the leading contemporary theories of international migration were integrated. The study examines, describes and considers theories that account for why transnational population flow across space and time. Rather than favouring one theory over another, a priori, this study seeks to understand each model on its own, in terms of its key assumptions and hypotheses (Massey *et al.*, 1993). The theoretical framework focuses on an overview of migration theories, namely, the macro- and micro-theory of migration. It will also examine the classical approaches to migration theories. Other theories that will be considered is the new economics school of migration, the theory of social capital and its framework, and Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital. The Push-Pull theory of migration will be discussed and explained in detail. The chapter will also explore some new approaches to migration research, network theory, and offers criticisms of the theories of migration.

Figure 9: Theories of international migration: initiation and process¹³



¹³ Author's own illustration



Author's own illustration

Figure 9 shows the theories of international migration applicable to the present study. The theories of migration are categorised into two groups, namely initiation of international migration, and the process of international migration, akin in some respects to the categorisation made by Hagen-Zanker (2008) and Massey (Massey *et al.*, 1993). The theories belonging to the initiation of international migration group include Ravenstein's laws of migration, Push-pull theory, Dual-labour market theory, and the New Economics School of Migration. The theories belonging to the process of migration group are social capital theory, Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital, network migration and migration as a system.

3.2 Overview of Migration Theories and Rationale

Migration theories are indispensable in any migration study, irrespective of the type of study the researcher wishes to undertake. Migration theories help to delineate the motivations and decisions of a migrant to migrate, whether the reasons are socio-economic, cultural, political, family reunion, or other related reasons. In most cases, these factors are calculated and

considered before migrating. Also, the migration theories provide the basic constructive theory and enhance the building of frameworks towards any migration study. In this study, the purpose of the migration theories is to delineate the motives of highly-skilled Nigerians to migrate, and also to explore factors such as socio-economic, socio-cultural, family ties and career advancement that influences their decision to migrate. These factors are part of the objective of the study that addresses the motivations and decisions to migrate.

Given the choices that migrants have in the decision to migrate, most of the choices depend on their economic opportunities, career enhancement, education, and network ties. The migration theories try to explain and clarify the impact of some of the factors mentioned above on migration. Also, some of these factors are explained by pull-factors in the form of incentives and conditions in the host countries that attract the migrant to the country (Enigbokan, Edkins and Ogundele, 2015). In this study, the pull-factors will help to understand the factors that motivate highly-skilled Nigerian migrants to migrate to South Africa. It will also help to explore motivations such as wage differentials, employment conditions, skill advancement to further education, family reunion, network connections and other such reasons which may influence migration. The rationale for using network theory in this study is to understand other reasons such as the social effects of migrating instead of focussing solely on economic reasons. In the network and new economics of migration theories, the family and household sustenance are put into consideration when calculating the motivations for migration decisions. It is also important to know that there is a strong family bond that binds the migrant with their family back in the home country. This hypothesis reinforces the mindset and the decolonisation tendency of the highly-skilled migrants. Irrespective of their achievements abroad, they still maintain valuable contacts back home, still send remittances back to their home country, and have a strong bond to the culture and tradition of where they come from. This strong cultural and traditional tie to their home country enables migrants to form enclaves in the destination country.

Each theory of migration used in this study overlaps with each other and has various similarities, especially in terms of socio-economic factors, skills advancement and further education as drivers of migration. Based on the participant responses in this study, it can be deduced that these migration theories explain to a large extent the motivating factors of highly-skilled Nigerian migrants to migrate, which were mostly improvement of education, economic stability, career and skills improvement, and family reunion. All these factors featured above are part of the reasons that participants gave for migrating to South Africa.

It is also important to note that the new economics of migration theory, which is closely linked to the network theory, help to delineate the role of families and households in migration processes in this study. Given the rationales mentioned, it can be deduced that the theories of migration used in this study have some relevance in delineating the motivations and decisions on the migration process of highly-skilled Nigerian migrants coming to South Africa, which was part of the study objectives.

In migration research, there are numerous theoretical approaches which try to explain migration and its causes. The classification differs between classical and modern theories, according to deterministic and humanistic theories or aspects of the cognitive interest (Massey *et al.*, 1993; Castles and Miller, 2009; Boyle, Halfacree and Robinson, 2014). In this research, an effort is made to follow a classification according to classical theories and newer theoretical approaches, though this certainly cannot be consistently maintained, as some theories are not clearly assigned. Such classifications make sense because the classical approaches take the causes of migration from the view of mainly economic factors as an essential and important consideration. There are two ways of consideration which can be distinguished. Firstly, from the country of origin, the causes of migration and the various migration processes and patterns are considered when migrating. Secondly, migration is considered based on the destination country, where the means for integration into the host society is the focus. However, a separation of the two factors mentioned above might hinder a full coverage of the migratory phenomenon. This research provides recent research approaches, such as social networks as a possible means of integration, among other factors (King, 2012). Furthermore, macroeconomic and structural factors came to the fore as a consequence of the global financial crisis, which is one of the main push factors which applies, in this case, to the attainment of wealth and a good standard of living by migrating to more economically viable places in the world (King, 2012).

3.3 Classical Approaches to Migration Research

One of the first theories of migration research includes Ravenstein's laws of migration (Table 3). Ravenstein's laws of migration are divided into different categories distinguished by distance, the characteristics of migrants, and their reasons for migration. According to Ravenstein's laws of migration, migration is seen as a result of an imbalance of supply and demand for labour, which is responsible for wage differentials. Ravenstein's laws of migration are purely descriptive and have no empirical-theoretical basis, though they may form the basis

for further research on migration (Samers, 2010; King, 2012; Boyle *et al.*, 2014). In this research, only the laws of migration that are relevant will be used to analyze the data on the reasons why people migrant. The relevant Ravenstein’s laws of migration for this study are as follows:

Table 3 Ravenstein's Laws of Migration¹⁴

Migration proceeds step by step (by stages)
Most long-distance migration is to the major industrial and commercial centres of the receiving country.
The volume of migration Increases with the development of industries and commercial centers.
Most migrants are adults; families rarely migrate long distances.
Women are more migratory than men 'within the Kingdom of Their birth', but men comprise a majority of international migrants.
The major causes of migration are economic.

Adapted from: King (2012:138)

Ravenstein’s laws of migration try to explain that migration occurs stage by stage until the migrants reach their final destination (King, 2012). More so, it states that people tend to migrate more to the major industrial and commercial centres of the receiving country (King, 2012). Ravenstein’s laws of migration explain that women are more migratory within their country and men constitute the majority of international migrants (King, 2012). According to Ravenstein’s laws of migration, the major causes of migration are economic and also that the volume of migration increases with the development of industries and commerce in the receiving country (King, 2012). These laws of migration by Ravenstein were considered in this study to analyse the motivations for migration of highly-skilled Nigerian migrants.

The push-pull theory is briefly mentioned and will be discussed in detail later in this chapter. The push-pull theory refers to factors which relate to the socio-economic situation in emigration (Salt, 1986). Among the push factors, are circumstances such as war disputes, conflicts, political instability and environmental problems, and deforestations which result in drought and famine. Other factors are too few job opportunities, poor earning opportunities and economic distress. High population growth is seen as one of the important reasons for migration (Wolburg, 2001; Docquier and Marfouk, 2004; United Nations and Economic Commission for Africa, 2011). A brief overview of some of the international migration theories that can help to

¹⁴ Adapted from: King (2012:138)

better understand the migration of highly-skilled Nigerians into South Africa will be discussed in more detail.

3.4 Macro-Theory of Migration

Some of the earliest international migration theories were developed to explain labour migration as it relates to economic development (Massey *et al.*, 1993). These theories explained that wage differences and human capital are the reasons for the supply of and demand for labour in different countries (Massey *et al.*, 1993). The macro-theory of migration tries to explain that countries with a large endowment of labour relative to capital have a low equilibrium market wage (Massey *et al.*, 1993). The flow of workers from labour abundant to labour scarce countries attracts the movement of human capital, which is mainly highly-skilled workers moving from capital poor to capital rich countries in order to reap high returns on their skills in the human capital scarce environment (Massey *et al.*, 1993). Macroeconomics has strongly shaped public thinking and has provided the intellectual basis for immigration policy implementation (Massey *et al.*, 1993). These perspectives contain several propositions and assumption such as:

- International labour migrations are caused by wage differentials between countries;
- The international flow of human capital (highly-skilled workers) respond to differences in the rate of return to human capital, which may be different from the overall wage rate, yielding a distinct pattern of migration that may be opposite to that of unskilled workers; and
- The way for the government to control migration flows is to regulate or influence labour markets in sending and/or receiving countries. For example, South Africa could negotiate with other countries on the terms and immigration policies on migration flow (Massey *et al.*, 1993).

The macro-theories of labour migration try to explain the impact of labour migration on economic development. Labour migration is attributed to the imbalances between demand and supply of labour across regions and countries. Ultimately, the elimination of wage differentials would end labour migration, according to these theories (Castles and Miller, 2009; Samers, 2010; Wickramasinghe and Wimalaratana, 2016).

3.5 Micro-Theory of Migration

The microeconomic model posits that the decision to relocate is based on individual choice. According to this model, individuals rationally decide to migrate because of cost-benefit calculations that informs them of an expected positive return (Todaro and Maruszko, 1987). Since international migration is conceptualised as a form of human capital, people rationally choose to move to places where they can be most productive and migrate where the expected discounted net returns are greater over a period of time (Borjas, 1990). The individual's decision to migrate is influenced by calculating the net returns and multiplying the observed earnings equivalent to the individual's skill in the destination country by the probability of obtaining a job there (Massey *et al.*, 1993). The expected earnings are then deducted from those expected in the sending country, and the difference is summed up over a period (Massey *et al.*, 1993). From the integrated differences, the estimated cost is subtracted to yield the expected net return to migration (Massey *et al.*, 1993). If the individual's calculation to migrate is favourable for the potential destination, then the rational actor decides to migrate (Massey *et al.*, 1993).

The individual migrant makes some calculation before deciding to migrate, for example, if the probability of migration is positive to a particular potential migration destination, the actor will rationally migrate, but if it is negative, the actor stays back and is indifferent to migrate (Massey *et al.*, 1993). In practice, a potential migrant goes where he/she has the highest expected net returns, which ultimately leads to important considerations and formulations (Massey *et al.*, 1993).

At the micro-level, theory assumes absolutely rational acting individuals who have perfect access to necessary information to weigh the pros and cons of a possible migration decision. The individuals here maximises utility and thus seek for a higher income, better job opportunities or better workplace conditions as the target. Time is an important variable in the decision-making process. Ultimately, the basis of assumption or the premise is that the higher the expected income, the more individuals are willing to migrate (Samers, 2010). Migration will therefore only take place if the benefits are expected to exceed the cost of migration, both in economic terms and in relation to the expected standard of living (Cebula, 1979).

3.6 The New Economics School of Migration

The new economics of school migration is a new theory that has emerged to challenge the assumptions of the classical migration theory. The key insight of the new economics school of migration notes that the decision to migrate is not taken by individuals alone but by families and households. For instance, most people who migrate to South Africa especially from Southern African Development Countries (SADC) probably came to join their families who are already settled in South Africa. The decisions to migrate are supposedly taken collectively to maximise expected income and to minimise risks, for example, market failures and labour market uncertainties (Stark and Levhari, 1982; Taylor, 1986; Stark, 1991).

Unlike the classical migration theory which focussed on the **individual actor**, the New Economics of Migration argues that households are in a better position to make decisions on their economic well-being by diversifying the allocations of household labour (Massey *et al.*, 1993). The New Economics of Migration also highlights the principles of the division of labour, where the family members are assigned economic activities in the local area, while the other members of the family are sent to work in foreign lands (Massey *et al.*, 1993). The essence of these decisions is to diversify risks through migration based on the local and international market situation.

3.7 The Push-Pull Theory

Different academic fields have used different theoretical approaches and methodologies to explain the causes of international migration (Petkou, 2006). From a more general viewpoint, international migration has often been considered as a tendency for people to move from a densely populated country to sparsely populated one and from lower to higher wage labour markets (Petkou, 2006; Martin, 2005). “*Although there are many theories explaining migration phenomenon, it is generally true that: Human organisms tend to remain at rest until compelled to action by some unsatisfied need or by the threat of discomfort*” (Petkou, 2006:60). According to Dinbabo and Nyasulu (2015), some theories of migration focus on a distinctive aspect of that particular migration pattern, factors that push or pull migrants could be as a result of globalisation, network connections, and the impact of the labour market in the home country as compared to the host country.

The push-pull theory of migration explains that migrants have reasons why they decide to leave their country of origin to other countries (Martin, 1993). The push-pull theory did not explain

why immigrants choose their preferred destination, nevertheless, no single factor is responsible for the choice of international migration. It could be a combination of a myriad of push and pull factors that initiate international migration. Martin (1993), Dinbabo and Nyasulu (2015) explain further that migration occurs because of demand / pull factors that draw migrants to host countries, while supply factors push them out of their own countries to join networks of friends and relatives that are already in the host countries who help the newcomers integrate into communities.

The majority of the theories discussed earlier *“failed to present specific reasons as to why people move from one region to another. Apart from the Ravenstein’s Laws of Migration which explains the direction of movement, the theories are not specific on immigrants’ area of either new destination, nor do they predict future migration movements and direction”* (Petkou, 2006:63). Despite most traditional immigration countries, like Germany and the Netherlands in Europe, are densely populated countries and people still migrate to those places (Castles and Miller, 1993). These factors can be attributed to industrialization and the fact that they are developed countries. Similarly, like other countries in Europe, South Africa as an immigration country is a regional hub attracting international migrants from the Western, Central and Eastern parts of sub-Saharan Africa because of industrialisation (Petkou, 2006). According to Castle and Miller (1993), international migration would be in the twenty-first century an uneven income and wealth inequalities between the North and the South. These inequalities will force people to move in search of better living standards in the south and vice versa. They further pointed out that political, ecological and demographic pressure tends to push people outside their own country (Castles and Miller, 1993).

Castles and Miller (1993) posited the push factors which make people move often include demographic growth, poor living conditions, poor economic opportunities and political hardship, while labour market demands, property availability, adequate economic opportunities and political freedom are all part of the pull factors that motivate people to migrate. Bogue (1969) observed that there are both positive and negative aspects of a situation that compel people to migrate. For instance, when migration occurs as a search for an opportunity to improve one’s life, consequently, the place of destination would exert a pull on the migrant, although migration may occur as a flight from an undesired social, economic and political atmosphere, the situation will constitute an expulsive push on the migrant. Castles and Kosack (1973) further echoed that the pull factors are dictated by economic, demographic, and social developments. Some of the the push factors which cause migrants to leave their countries of

origin might be attributed to unemployment, poverty, and underdevelopment (Castles and Kosack, (1973).

To some extent, the pull-push theory of migration fails to explain the reason why some people in certain countries migrate and others do not choose to migrate (Massey *et al.*, 1993). According to Lee (1966), migration tends to take place within well-defined channels. Furthermore, Lee (1966) suggested that migration is selective with individual characteristics of migrants. People respond differently given different circumstances, with different coping mechanisms in different situations (Martin, 1999).

Therefore, it could be contested whether the push-pull theory is of much analytical use, since some scholars (Schneider and King, 1991; Schwartz and Notini, 1994) assume that various environmental, demographic and economic factors determine people's migration decisions.

3.8 Recent Approaches to Migration Research

The dual labour market theory is the main idea of the economist, Michael Piore (Piore, 1979). The theory ignores the individual's decisions, but instead links international migration to the intrinsic demands of modern industrial societies (Massey *et al.*, 1993). Piore argues that the theory pays less attention to push factors, and pays more attention to pull factors in the destination countries or regions (Piore, 1979). Here, the labour market in industrialised countries is differentiated according to two aspects, for skilled workers with good pay and fixed employment, and for unskilled assistants with poor pay, short-term contracts and high job turnover (Samers, 2010). This is related to the South African employment situation in terms of highly-skilled workers on the one hand, and on the other hand, the uneducated migrant workers, where skilled workers have adequate remunerations, while the uneducated migrants settle for little wages to survive.

Many macro-approaches are summarised under the term of structuralism approaches. The starting point for these approaches make Marxist and neo-Marxist views obsolete, and it is unclear whether there are not more theories of capitalism, imperialism or neo-liberalism represented as special migration theories (Samers, 2010). The actual forces that structure the society are hidden and have to be brought to light by research. Migration is understood as a product of society, that is a social phenomenon, thus, there are no independent laws of migration (Boyle *et al.*, 2014).

3.9 Critique of the Theories of Migration

The classical theories of migration served as a theoretical explanation for international migration for a long time. There were some factors such as economic, war, family reunion, social and others; these can have some effect on the migration patterns and decision to migrate, for example, the push and pull factors. The assumption that a migrant can go from one region to another under certain conditions, or rather at achieving balance, remain a central argument in migration (Nunn, Leeds Metropolitan, Faculty Of, Law, Policy Research, Association of University, National Association of Teachers In and Higher, 2005; Kohnert, 2006). The authors further explained that the classical and the newer theories focus on the aspect of international migration and hardly give explanations for the reasons for internal migration. Moreover, they cannot adequately explain the impact of migration decisions in the source countries.

The classical theories' valid argument is that migrants usually assume that complete information available to them is important for success in the receiving country, and detailed cost-benefit calculations on the intended migration is based on a subjective rational choice principle (Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouaouci and Pellegrino, 1999; Haug, 2008; Massey *et al.*, 1993). The cost-benefit calculations also provide a conclusive answer to why the majority of countries are not admitting more migration, though it would be an advantage to them (Massey *et al.*, 1993; Haug, 2008). Migrants do not necessarily migrate in principle to where wages are highest, or where the job offer is particularly good, but they also migrate for other reasons. (Samers, 2010) added that empirical anomalies in the migration behaviour can be explained only on the assumption of a rationale and utility maximising individual with the classical migration theories. However, these statements cannot be derived from the formulated approaches directly, but they are subsequently added as assumptions (Massey *et al.*, 1993). Although the newer theories of migration try to fill the gaps in the classical theories, they also have deficits in their explanatory power, possibly due to the complexity of the migration phenomenon. Nevertheless, (Wickramasinghe and Wimalaratana, 2016) argued that most migration theories tend to “*lack a holistic approach to migration that would enable a clearer comprehension of the issue*” (Wickramasinghe and Wimalaratana, 2016:27).

3.10 The relevance of Social Capital Theory and Bourdieu's Concept of Cultural Capital

The rationale for using social capital theory in this study is that it is important for social networks and connections, both for individuals and the society in general, which is part of the objectives of the study. As much as social capital impacts on individuals and human capabilities, it can also have effects on the broader society. According to Putnam *et al.* (1993), social capital increases co-operation, mutual support, trust, and institutional effectiveness. Its importance to this study is that social capital is closely connected to socio-cultural integration, since they both focus on access to social networks, which were part of the study objectives. The social capital was also used to explain the socio-economic and cultural integration among highly-skilled Nigerian migrants. Since it is closely linked to Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital, it also helps to examine the importance of opportunities faced by highly-skilled Nigerian migrants, their skills, and shared interests in building new social relationships. According to Bourdieu (Bourdieu, 1984), by bringing in cultural and human capital, it helps the highly-skilled migrants gain employment and contribute their skills in the host country. Also, social capital is a catalyst towards building socio-cultural relationships by way of bridging social capital. The indicators of socio-cultural integration among participants were friendship with South Africans, forming relationships with colleagues at work, membership of organizations, and other network connections. Intermarriages between highly-skilled Nigerians and South Africans was a strong indicator of socio-cultural integration, which lays credence to the importance of social capital in the stud, because without this, socio-cultural integration may not be possible.

Social capital is a sociological concept with diverse definitions. Despite the multiplicity of definitions by scholars, they all tend to share the same idea that social networks have value (physical capital and human capital). Thus, the level of stock of social capital would depend on the quality of the set of relationships that exists within a community (Szreter, 2000) in any case, it is relational and not necessarily owned by someone. Indeed, social capital refers to generalised trust within a society or network of relations linking individuals for mutual benefit (Putnam, 1995). Social capital exists in communities where shared social behaviour, norms, and strong levels of reciprocity and support prevail (De Silva, Mckenzie, Harpham and Huttly, 2005). These include family relationships, kinship networks, friendships, acquaintances, civic attachments and institutional ties (Stone and Hughes, 2002). Also, Coleman (1988) views social capital in terms of what it does rather than what it is. Here, social capital is defined by

its function of not being a single entity, but made up of different entities, with two elements in common, such that each social structure is complemented by the other within the structure (Coleman, 1988). However, from whichever perspective social capital is viewed, it can be said that the attributes are society-, institutional-, structural- and network-centred.

The application of social capital theory signifies how social capital has emerged in various forms and contexts. The quality of the social relationship is mainly for solidarity building and successful community initiatives, which will entail generalised trust within society or network of relations linking individuals for mutual benefit (Putnam, 1995). These conditional attributes, however, exist in communities where shared social behaviour, norms and strong levels of reciprocity and support prevail (De Silva *et al.*, 2005). In as much as social capital is viewed as a simultaneous cause and effect, it can lead to positive outcomes, such as economic development, less crime, and networking. Its advantages cannot be overemphasised. On the other hand, the same strong ties that bring benefits to members of a community can also bar others from access (Waldinger, 1995). While it might tend to enhance and increase efficiency for some in the community, it might implicitly restrict outsiders and also breed conspiracy against others (Waldinger, 1995).

3.11 The Framework of Social Capital

The theoretical perspectives and extensive literature on social capital suggest that it can be useful in all forms of social context. However, the concept can also be incorrectly applied, for instance, negative networking of criminal acts. Moreover, there has been increasing contention about the direction and degree of causality of social capital. In this regard, there are three contending frameworks in the research on social capital. These are namely, the people-centred perspective, the institutional-centred perspective, and the network perspective.

The people-centred perspective posits that the historical background of the collective action and social organisation plays an important role in laying the foundation for social capital in society. It could be explained that a community where people interact together in various groups and associations will tend to have a higher social capital level, which subsequently improves their psychological, socio-economic and political needs (Putnam *et al.*, 1993).

The institution-centred perspective is the combination of institutional rules which gives rise to social capital (Rothstein and Stolle, 2003). The institutional framework in place thus leads

people to trust each other and interact more, which leads to benefit. Here, the level of social capital is dependent on the institutional environment, while the people-centred social capital is dependent on the interaction among individuals (Rothstein and Stolle, 2003).

The network perspective sees social capital as the network of relations that individuals form and the resources they can derive from these networks (Bourdieu, 1986). In this framework, the size of an individual's network would determine the stock of capital they possess and also "*the quality of the relationships of a social group*" (Szreter, 2000:57). In many countries, social networks have been an integral aspect of social bonds that migrants use to cope within their environment. Networks are increasingly seen as a more convenient structuring pattern of migration (Mbah, 2014). Its analysis is based on connections between the home and destination countries. The network is recognised based on the propositions that not only capital and goods are movable, but workers are also movable. According to Mbah (2014), migration flows can be sustainable if information flows are developed between regions. Furthermore, information can be developed if there are links between migrations systems among nations, invariably there will be an easy interconnectedness of networks among countries over time (Boyle *et al.*, 2014). Massey (1993) also explained that, though economic reasons are important factors for migrating, that the associated costs can be reduced when a network exists in the host country.

3.12 Bourdieu's Concept of Cultural Capital

Generally speaking, migrants come in to their host country with bags and garbage, which is not so true and can be contested. In this research, all the participants were educated with at least a minimum of a tertiary qualification. According to the participants, they all arrived at their destination with one form of human capital and cultural capital, which lends credence to the rationale and use of Pierre Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital as part of the theory used for analysis.

Pierre Bourdieu (1930 – 2002) developed the concept of cultural capital to explain how social inequality was introduced through the education system. For Bourdieu, the concept of habitus is intricately linked to the social structure within a specific field, and it is also an important sociological tool for the analysis of the society (Bourdieu, 1984). Bourdieu (1984:170) explained a habitus as "*structuring structure, which organises practice and the perception of practice*". According to Bourdieu (1984), habitus is the cognitive and mental system of

structure which is embedded within an individual. It consists of our thoughts, tastes, interests and understanding of the world around us, which is created through primary socialisation into the world through family, culture and education. Bourdieu (1984) posited that the ability to reflect upon one habitus is necessary, with the assumption that all fields are interrelated to one another. Bourdieu (1984) also outlined species of power as part of the structuring process of habitus, used by individuals within a specific field as a prerequisite to gain prominence and power. These species of power are gained through social capital, cultural capital, economic capital and symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1984). Here, Bourdieu (1984) explained that cultural capital is closely linked to education and the middle class, given that the majority of university graduates are from middle class educated parents. This explains why the parents from middle class background may have the knowledge and experience of how the institutions operate, that is why they have knowledge of opportunities for higher education and good jobs in other countries and send their children or relatives to countries where those opportunities are. This implies that cultural capital that has been accumulated can be used as a point of entry into the field of academia and other establishments (Bourdieu, 1993).

Bourdieu (1984) further argued that the combination of the amount of capital that an individual has acquired is essential to the individual's status. These forms of capital can be economic capital, social capital and cultural capital. In essence, these forms of capital are often transferred into a symbolic capital when an individual enters into a field. Each field has its own duties and when an individual enters into a field, the fields are analysed and the social group in which the person enters will subsequently evaluate the individual (Bourdieu, 1984).

Cultural capital often serves as a currency which helps us to navigate and alter our experiences and the opportunities available to us (Bourdieu, 1984). These opportunities might not necessarily be about money, but can be exchanged for money and can also help to earn more cultural capital gains.

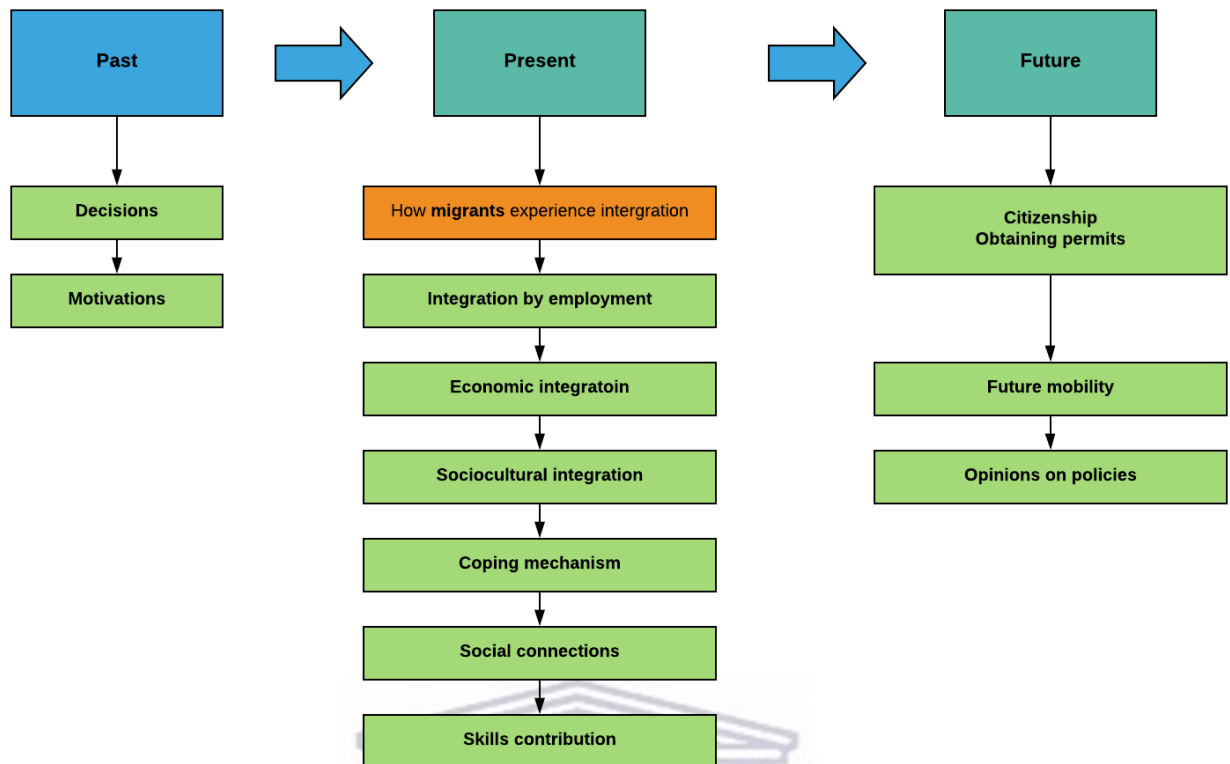
3.13 Conceptual Framework

Even though there is growing research on the theories of migration, there are relatively few published works on conceptual frameworks for understanding migration typologies (Castles, Vasta and Ozkul, 2012; Puentes, Canales, Rodríguez, Delgado-Wise and Castles, 2010) suggested a multilevel conceptual framework, with a specific migration corridor as the unit of analysis. Each migration corridor is characterised by four dimensions: (i) causes of migration;

(ii) impact of migration on countries of origin; (iii) impacts on countries of destination; and (iv) impacts on migrants and their families (Castles *et al.*, 2012). For this study, it is important to outline the key factors and strategic indicators of this migration corridor (Castles *et al.*, 2012). These indicators may be either quantitative or qualitative (Castles *et al.*, 2012). The researcher believes that such a conceptual framework would be useful to apply to the Nigeria-Cape Town migration corridor. However, of the four dimensions, only three will be adopted: causes of migration, the impact of migration on the destination country, and the impact on the migrants and their families. These three factors will be integrated into the framework, because it deals with the motivations to migrate, while the second one deals with the impact of migration on the host country and impact on their families that could take the form of integration and socio-economic development. The other dimensions are deemed superfluous because the researcher is not looking at the impact of migration in the home countries. The conceptual framework of the study will be a micro-level analysis of the motivations, experiences and trajectories of highly-skilled Nigerian migrants in Cape Town (Figure 7), and is adapted from Poswa and Levy (2006). Poswa and Levy (2006) used a simple conceptual structure to analyse qualitative data on migration experience. The justification for adopting the three stages of migration is that it helps to explain some of the objectives in the analysis of the study.

Figure 10 The Three Stages of Migration¹⁵

¹⁵ Author's own illustration



Author's own illustration

Figure 10 divides the migration process into three temporal stages which correspond to some of the objectives of the study. The first stage deals with the decision to migrate from Nigeria to South Africa. The second stage deals with the socio-economic integration experience of Nigerian migrants in Cape Town. The third stage pertains to the migrants' plans for settling in Cape Town temporarily or permanently. The three stages of migration were adopted to help in explaining the phenomenon outlined above.

3.14 The rationale for the Integration Framework

The rationale for the use of the integration framework in this study is to essentially explore the variation in key indicators of integration among highly-skilled Nigerian migrants. In terms of integration by means of education, the integration framework might facilitate the discussion on epistemic potential towards the Africanisation of higher education and migration research in South Africa, and the epistemic challenges faced by highly-skilled African migrants compared to their Western counterparts. It is perhaps important for a proper integration to take place to

put into consideration the importance of special skills and critical skills possessed by highly-skilled migrants. Policies should encourage highly-skilled migrants to properly integrate into society, which this study addressed.

The Integration Framework by Ager and Strang (2008), which was used in this study, captures the key factors in the objectives in terms of socio-economic integration, coping mechanisms, perception on migration policies, skills contribution and decisions pertaining to the sustainability of the stay of highly-skilled Nigerian migrants in South Africa. The framework is also of the premise that most indicators of integration interact and overlap with each other and they can also be a useful tool of analysis on integration

Integration has become an important aspect when considering immigration policies. Though the concept of integration is used and interpreted in different terms, it is a highly contested and contextual term (Robinson, 1998). However, Ager and Strang (2008) recognised what constitutes a successful integration, proposing that some key domains of integration include access to employment, housing, education, and access to health facilities. Castles, Korac, Vasta and Vertovec (2001) also included citizenship and social connections, and language and culture as prerequisites for successful integration.

The definition of integration varies and has a different meaning for different situations at a particular time, as suggested by Robinson (1998). Similarly, Castles, Korac, Vasta and Vertovec (2001:12) also agree that there is no particular “*generally accepted definition*” of integration. However, integration remains an integral aspect of policy goals. According to Magnusson (2014), to integrate means to make whole by bringing all parts together in unity. According to the Cambridge English Dictionary (2018), integration is defined as the process of becoming part of a new society or social group which requires adjustment to their ways of life, habits and customs. Magnusson (2014) argued that, although the definition of integration appears to be succinct and clear, the concept of integration remains ambiguous. Ager and Strang (2008) further argued the different interpretations of integration as a mitigating factor towards developing policies. Sometimes confusion might arise when the term integration is used as an analytical concept in academia and also as a normative notion in national policy making (Phalet and Swyngedouw, 2003).

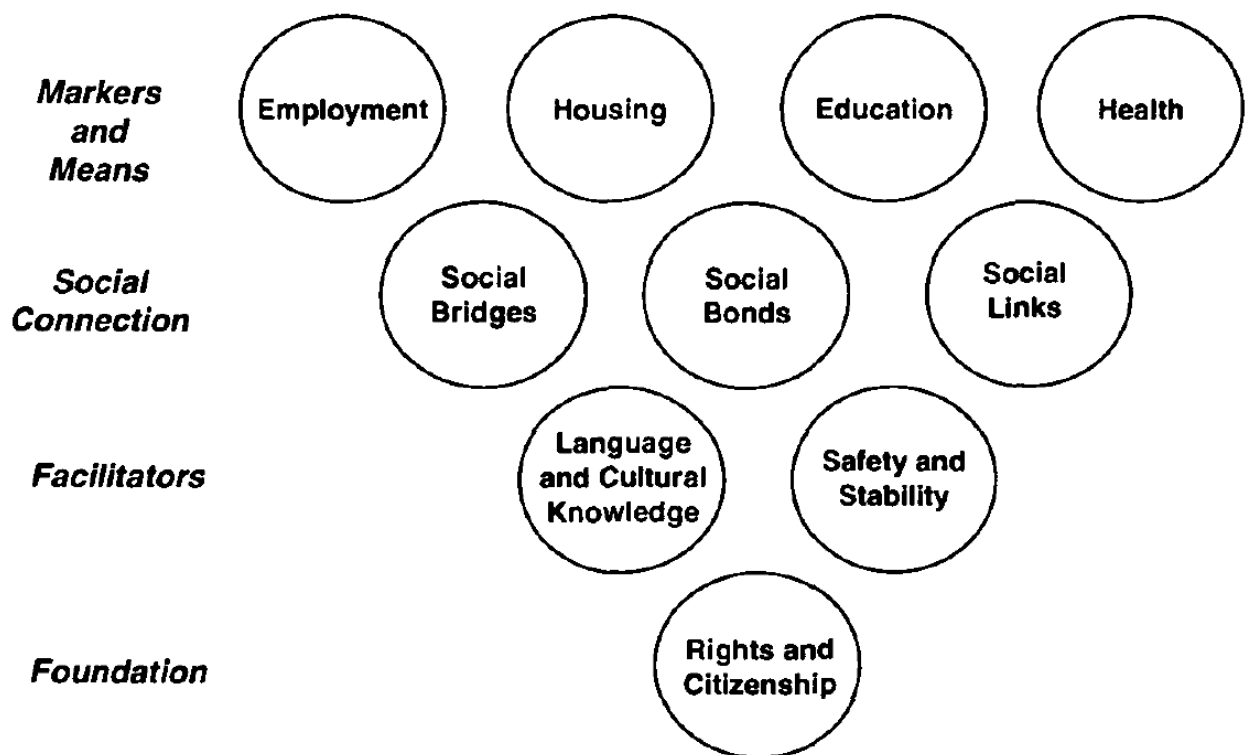
With these discrepancies, Diaz (1993) distinguished assimilation from integration, by describing assimilation as the process of immigrants becoming similar to the local people in language, norms and values of the local population. Popoola (2002) argued that assimilation of

migrants may be an one-sided adoption against the majority’s values and habits. Popoola (2002) further posited that, to complete certain adoption, certain values should not be referred to as integration, but rather as partial assimilation. This would be used to analyse data on how migrants try to adjust and fit in into the system by way of social and cultural integration.

3.15 Domains of Integration

In this proposed conceptual framework, the domains of integration concepts are presented, bearing in mind that the important domains such as employment, education, and housing, among others, are perceived as prerequisites for successful integration to take place (Ager and Strang, 2008).

Figure 11 A Conceptual Framework; Defining the Core Domains of Integration¹⁶



Found in: Ager and Strang (2008:170)

Figure 11 shows the integration framework that is structured around ten key sub-domains which are grouped into four main domains. The four domains are within the **markers and**

¹⁶ Found in: Ager and Strang (2008:170)

means: employment, housing, education and health. Three domains are within the heading **social connections** which comprise of social bridges, social bonds, and social links. Two domains are within the heading **facilitators**, language and cultural knowledge, and safety and stability. Lastly, one domain within the heading **foundation** is rights and citizenship. It is important to note that these domains are not presented in a hierarchical order and there are many pathways linking the domains.

For makers and means, employment, housing, education and health seemed to be closely linked as a potential means that support the achievement of integration. They are important for complete integration to take place.

Employment is among the important aspects of integration (Castles *et al.*, 2001), and it also influences such issues as promoting economic independence, future plans, meeting members of the host society and helps open up opportunities such as learning languages, restoring self-esteem, and self-reliance (Ager and Strang, 2008). Housing would include appropriate housing, favourable environment and financial security of the tenants. Education provides skills and expertise that will help with employment opportunities which will enable people to be more productive and dynamic society members (Ager and Strang, 2008). Although health is not often mentioned as an important factor for integration, an example of a good health well-being is generally seen as an important means for active engagement in a society (Ager and Strang, 2008).

According to Ager and Strang (2008), social connections and social bridges are broken and social links and bonds are subsequently formed. They further explained that, in terms of facilitators, language and cultural knowledge are seen as a part of the integration and it provides the migrant with safety and stability.

The foundation aspect is the rights and process of citizenship, which might come with a length of stay in the country or as a result of skill requirement, for instance, being a medical doctor would help to speed up the process of permanent residence, because it is a scarce and critical skill. In the analysis and discussion, these domains are analysed.

3.16 Conclusion

This chapter identified and discussed the theoretical and conceptual frameworks relevant to the study of the socio-economic integration of highly-skilled migrants. The conceptual framework

sketches the conceptual module for a better understanding of the research analysis. It included the decisions to migrate, socio-economic integration experiences of migrants, and their future plans in the destination country. The terms and concepts were also defined with the rationale of using integration framework. Finally, the domains of integration were defined. The next chapter will discuss the methodology of the study, including the ethical consideration. The approaches that this study will use to interpret the qualitative data, as mention above will be the theories of migration for motivations and reasons to migrate while the integration part will use the conceptual framework for defining the domains of integration, it will also include the social capital theory in order to distil the socio-economic coping aspect of the migrants and networking. The rational for these approaches and justification has been delineated in this chapter.



CHAPTER FOUR: METHODOLOGY

“The validity, meaningfulness and insights generated from qualitative inquiry have more to do with the information richness of the analytical capability of the researcher than with the sample size” (Patton, 1990:185)

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the methodology will be discussed. This entails describing the study design, the interpretative framework used in this study, and its philosophical assumptions, study setting, study population, sample size and procedure, data collection, how the data was processed, analysed and presented, and how the researcher attempted to enhance the rigour of the study. Ethical issues are also discussed in this section.

The study is primarily a qualitative research design, but incorporates some quantitative data analysis and is referred to as a mixed method approach (Creswell, 2009). According to Creswell and Clark (2011:119), *“mixed methods research is a research design (or methodology) in which the researcher collects, analyses, and mixes (integrates or connects) both quantitative and qualitative data in a single study or a multiphase program of inquiry”*. This method was ideal because it enhanced the contextual understanding of the participants’ motives for migration, socio-economic challenges and their experiences of integration in South Africa. The use of both qualitative and quantitative data analysis was to complement each other, and enhance the validity and reliability of the study. The justification for the quantitative path in this study was to highlight the relevant demographic variables. The quantitative method does not form the core of this study.

The study primarily employed a qualitative approach to fulfil the study’s aims and objectives. Qualitative research is *“an inquiry process of understanding based on distinct methodological traditions of inquiry that explores a social or human problem”* (Creswell, 1998:15). In qualitative research, the researcher’s role is to gain a ‘holistic’ overview of the context, and to capture data on the perceptions of local actors ‘from the inside’, through the process of deep attentiveness, understanding and breaking preconceptions (Punch, 2005).

4.2 Philosophical Assumption or Worldview of Qualitative Research

The research was carried out within an interpretivist paradigm that sees social reality as constructed, interpreted, and experienced by individuals in their interactions with each other and with the social environment (Ulin, Robinson and Tolley, 2005). The interpretivist view focuses on social agents' perspectives, interpretations and meanings (Iosifides, 2011). In interpretivist qualitative research, meanings are derived from perceptions, experiences, objective actions and behaviours, and context (Ulin *et al.*, 2005). In discussing the interpretivist paradigm, Creswell (2012) listed several philosophical assumptions which are depicted in the table below:

Table 4 The Philosophical Assumption and Worldview Adapted for this Study¹⁷

Ontology (the nature of reality)	Epistemology (how we know what we know)	Axiology (role of values)
Multiple realities are constructed through our lived experiences and interactions with each other and with wider social systems.	Reality is co-constructed between the researcher and research participants and shaped by individual experiences.	Individual values are honoured and are negotiated among individuals.

Adapted from: Creswell (2012:17)

As mentioned earlier, migration is an important topic, not only for researchers in South Africa, but also for policymakers and the media; it ranks high on the national and international agenda. In the debate on migration and the literature, voices of migrants themselves remain mostly unheard and public perceptions and policy-making are often based on fear, stereotypes and common myths rather than reality. Working on the underlying assumption that participants construct their own accounts of reality as they experience it, the researcher used the interpretivist paradigm to investigate the socio-economic integration of highly-skilled Nigerian migrants in Cape Town, South Africa.

The design included data collection techniques that would enable the researcher to obtain responses from participants through semi-structured interviews, in-depth interviews, and observation. The data generated were analysed using thematic analysis. The data was presented not only in descriptive narrative form but also as diagrams and tables. The researcher used

¹⁷ Adapted from: Creswell (2012:17)

conceptual frameworks and theories in the literature deductively as a framework for the data analysis and interpretation.

4.3 Study Setting

Cape Town, the capital city of the Western Cape Province, is one of the fastest growing cities in South Africa. According to the available data, it is home to 3,740,025 people (City of Cape Town, 2012). The population is predominantly coloured (42%) and black Africans (39%), while Whites (15.7%), Asians (1.4%) and those who identified themselves as belonging to other population groups (1.9%). The city has a high employment rate with 76% of the labour force (aged 15 to 64 years) employed (City of Cape Town, 2012).

Cape Town is a multicultural melting pot and is one of the major destinations of immigrants to South Africa. Nigerians are among the African immigrant population in the city. According to the 2001 South African census, there were 7,172 Nigerian nationals living in South Africa, of whom 566 resided in the Western Cape Province (Statistics South Africa, 2010 as cited in Segatti *et al.*, 2012). Estimates derived from the South African Department of Home Affairs placed the number of annual entries of Nigerian nationals at around 36,000 between 2004 and 2010 respectively. According to Segatti, Adeagbo and Ogunyemi (2012), the number of Nigerian migrants in South Africa was estimated to be around 12,000 to 17,000 in 2012 alone. However, there is a lack of updated information on the number of Nigerians currently in Cape Town. Nigerians living in Cape Town, and South Africa in general, comprise of entrepreneurs, high to medium-skilled workers, students, and dependents (Segatti *et al.*, 2012).

4.4 Study Population

This study's target population are Nigerian migrants living in Cape Town. Following (Segatti *et al.*, 2012) as an example, this target population comprised of individuals affiliated with universities, corporate business, and the locally based Nigerian organisations, as well as those who frequent other places of socialisation such as churches and Nigerian-owned restaurants, bars, barbershops and salons. The rationale for selecting highly-skilled Nigerians was based on the following key reasons: first, the lack of data on this population group; and secondly, the South African media over the years have portrayed Nigerian immigrants as criminals and a threat to South Africans' physical and economic security (Segatti *et al.*, 2012). Therefore, the

researcher aimed to provide insight into the integration experiences faced by another group of migrants, i.e. the highly-skilled Nigerians migrants living in Cape Town.

4.5 Sample Size and Procedure

Non-probability sampling techniques were utilised in the selection of the interview participants. The researcher carried out this sampling technique by deliberately choosing the participants, because the researcher assumed they would be knowledgeable about integration issues and migration policies, and they would provide a range of perspectives based on their length of stay in Cape Town, professional activities and marital status. According to Given (2008), non-probability sampling techniques can be used to select participants because they meet pre-defined criteria. In addition, non-probability sampling techniques do not involve random selection and cannot depend upon the rationale of probability theory (Creswell, 2009). These techniques are suitable for this study given the foreseen resource constraints and difficulties in obtaining a random sample that is representative of the population.

The researcher estimated that a sample size of 30 participants would be selected for interviews. This choice was motivated by i) the objectives of the study; ii) the aforementioned resource constraints; and iii) evidence from a review by Mason (2010) who examined 560 qualitative PhD students using interviews and found a mean sample size of 40 is adequate and justified. Furthermore, the researcher used saturation (for example, “*when the collection of new data does not shed any further light on the issue under investigation*”) as a guide during the data collection to determine the final sample size (Mason, 2010:2). However, data saturation was reached at 23 participant interviews, plus six in-depth interviews. The justification for this was because new information was not found and also due to the limited population of the participants.

4.6 Snowball Sampling

The recruitment of research participants was also aided by the snowball technique. This sampling technique involves the researcher recruiting people who then lead the researcher to other suitable participants (Creswell, 2009). This technique was carried out by identifying and interviewing highly-skilled Nigerian migrants who work at different institutions in Cape Town including academia, health and business. Once interviewed, the participants would then

recommend other potential participants when requested. Also, the researcher approached key contacts at the Nigerian High Commission and locally based Nigerian organisations who then identified potentially eligible study participants. The researcher also recruited participants from numerous other places of socialisation such as churches and Nigerian-owned restaurants, bars, barbershops and salons. Participants were also recruited by referrals from mutual contacts within my work colleagues, friends and family friends and people who know people. As the research involved researching close networks, the snowball sampling technique therefore also appeared to be an appropriate technique to reach the study target population.

4.7 Purposive Sampling

Purposive sampling was also used to identify key informants for in-depth interviews. This sampling technique was used in this research by choosing key informants based on length of stay in Cape Town, professional activity, their knowledge of migration issues, and how the social, economic and migration policies of South Africa work. These key informants were identified from semi-structured interviews initially and were subsequently recruited for the in-depth interviews. The reason why they were chosen was that they seemed to be knowledgeable on the research topic because of their work experience and they were familiar with the social and economic policies of South Africa, as well as their basic knowledge of immigration issues. The justification for using this sampling technique was to ensure that the researcher was able to select participants who, in his judgment, might provide valuable information required to address the research problem (Babbie and Mouton, 2001; Creswell, 2005). The difference between the snow ball and purposive sampling is that the snow ball was able to randomly select people of different categories in different professional capacities, while the purposive sampling was used to identify key informants who are more experience and knowledgeable in the issue.

4.8 Data Collection

Primary data was collected by the researcher directly from the field with the aid of the research instruments. The methods used to gather primary data included the following:

4.9 Semi-structured interviews

According to Flick (2009), the semi-structured interview method was developed for studying everyday knowledge and refers to the fact that participants have a complex stock of knowledge about the topic of the study. In the proposed study, 22 semi-structured interviews were conducted with participants selected through snowball sampling. The selected participants were interviewed using a questionnaire with both closed- and open-ended questions. This semi-structured method was chosen because it is flexible and allows participants to provide information on their experiences of migration and integration in Cape Town.

Contact with each participant was made two weeks prior to the interviews taking place. All the logistics were covered within the two weeks before the actual interview took place, such as time, place, duration of interview and explaining what is expected of them. The interviews took place at the participants' homes, offices, public spaces, and other convenient rendezvous points. At the start of the interview, the consent form was brought and read through from start to finish explaining all the details of the form. The two recording devices were then set up to record everything that was said during the interview. The next step was the start of the questions. Bearing in mind that it was a semi-structured interview, all the questions were open-ended and the opportunity was open for any additional information or comments. No notes were made during the interviews. The average duration for each interview was around 30 minutes to one hour. At the end of each interview, the recording devices were then switched off and packed away.

Apart from churches, Nigerian-owned restaurants, bars, barbershops and salons, participants were recruited by referrals from mutual contacts within my work network, colleagues, friends and family friends and people who know people. Each participant was contacted initially via email, presenting potential participants with the purpose of the study, the time commitment, outlining steps that would ensure their confidentiality and anonymity, and informing them that the interview would be voice recorded for transcription purposes only. Once the participants responded that they do fit the inclusion criteria, and gave written informed consent agreeing to participate in the study, an interview time was arranged that was most convenient to the participant. The semi-structured interview questions were directed "to the participant's experiences, feelings, beliefs, and convictions" (Welman and Kruger, 1999:196, as cited by Groenewald, 2004:47) about their integration and socio-economic experiences. The interviews were recorded and transcribed after the conclusion of the interviews.

Since each interview was digitally recorded, each interviewee was assigned a pseudonym to ensure the participant's anonymity. Directly following each interview, a transcription of key words, phrases and statements was made to ensure the context and voice of the participant was reflected in the transcribed data (Groenewald, 2004:14). A file was opened for hard copy documents including: the informed consent agreement, memos/field notes made after each interview, notes made during data analysis, draft transcripts of interviews along with the analysis which the participant validated, and the written confirmation by the participant of the correctness of the transcript and analysis of their interview (Groenewald, 2004:16). Digital files were also opened for soft copies and stored on two different hard drives.

4.10 In-depth interviews

Six in-depth interviews were carried out with participants purposively selected from the semi-structured interviews. The in-depth interviews were used to collect information from participants with a good stock of knowledge due to their work experiences. These individuals were approached for in-depth interviews that allowed them to provide detailed information and their experiences of integration issues. Interviews were audio-recorded to avoid loss or distortion of information during fieldwork. This is in line with Bourdieu's (1984) cultural capital, where he postulated that migrants come with a sort of cultural capital in the host country and also equipped with some form of knowledge and skills that improve the host country. The participants had some form of knowledge experience and were well informed about their environment. To anonymise the data pseudonyms were assigned to the participants. The data collected were stored in a secure location on the researchers' laptop and the files were password protected. The data were backed up onto an external hard drive that was stored in a locked cupboard.

4.11 Observation

According to Barbie and Mouton (2001), observation in qualitative research enables social researchers to study social actors in their natural setting and is an appropriate method for studying behaviour. Observation also enables social researchers to generate information of suitable complexity and richness from the participant and the environment (Creswell, 1998). In this study, observation was undertaken when socialising with highly-skilled Nigerian migrants at special occasion events (such as birthday and weddings) taking place in Cape Town. The researcher took field notes on the behaviour and activities at these places and

recorded the observations. The researcher was a participant observer watching the participants with their knowledge and immersing themselves in the phenomenon being studied. This helped to understand why and how highly-skilled Nigerian migrants formed social networks and to observe their interaction with friends, family and locals. Therefore, the researcher was able to gain a better insight into the lives of highly-skilled migrants in Cape Town.

4.12 Secondary Data

Secondary data collection entailed examining official legislation and draft policy guidelines relating to migration and the labour market in South Africa. Available statistics on Nigerians nationals residing in South Africa was elicited to provide a basis for the study. This was done to provide a conceptual framework and scholarly background to the study and to furnish the researcher with knowledge and understanding of the integration challenges encountered by highly-skilled Nigerian migrants. The available Statistics South Africa publication on documented migrants, published in 2014, showed that Zimbabwe and Nigeria were the top two sending countries in Africa for temporary residence visas – work, study, and relatives (Statistics South Africa, 2014), though the accurate number of migrants are not determined.

4.13 Data Analysis

Qualitative data generated from secondary and primary sources were processed and analysed using qualitative techniques. In the quantitative data, the demographic representation showed the class and categories of participants was illustrated through tables, bar graphs and pie charts to filter out the themes for analysis. Qualitative analysis refers to “*all forms of analysis of data that was gathered using qualitative techniques regardless of the paradigm used to govern the research*” (Babbie and Mouton, 2001:490). A qualitative procedure entails employing a thematic ordering and systematisation of the information generated using qualitative techniques. In this research, the qualitative approach of thematic analysis was used for analysing textual data collected through semi-structured interviews and in-depth interviews with participants. The procedures used in the analysis was suggested by Braun and Clarke (2006). First, the researcher familiarised with the data, which involved a reading and re-reading process. For example, the audio-recordings of the interviews were listened to several times for their accurate transcription. The transcripts were read and re-read to become familiar with the data. Then, the textual data were manually coded. The coding process was data-driven. The codes were read and re-read to identify potential themes. The themes that emerged were later

reviewed and revised. The themes were linked to the research question. The textual data was presented using verbal descriptions and quotations. In an attempt to enhance the credibility (internal validity) and dependability (reliability) of the study findings, the constant comparative technique was used.

The categorical data collected through semi-structured interviews were entered into a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet for export into STATA version 15 (College Station, Texas, USA) for data analysis. The researcher ran frequency distributions. The data were presented using bar graphs, pie charts and tables. The bar graphs were generated using GraphPad Prism version 3.0 and pie-charts using Microsoft Excel.

4.14 Matching Specific Objectives to Methods

Semi-structured interviews were used to obtain data on objectives for one, two, three, four, five and seven applied the data collection methods discussed in semi-structured interviews.

In-depth interviews were used to obtain data for objectives six and four and it applied the data collection methods discussed under in-depth interviews.

Objective four applied the data collection methods discussed in observation and semi-structured interviews.



4.15 Rigour in Research Design and Data collection

Rigour in qualitative research refers to “...*the means by which we [researchers] demonstrate integrity and competence, a way of demonstrating the legitimacy of the research process. Without using rigour in research design, there might be a possibility that the research may become fictional journalism and might be worthless in contributing to knowledge*” (Tobin and Begley, 2004:390).

Before describing how rigour in research methodology was achieved in this study, it would be interesting to begin by defining the terms commonly used to discuss rigour in qualitative research, i.e. credibility, dependability and transferability (or internal validity, reliability and external validity). Credibility refers to an accurate representation of an account or experience; dependability to consistency in findings following repeated measurements of the same

phenomenon; and transferability to the degree to which the study findings may be generalizable to contexts outside the study (Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Giacomini, Cook and Group, 2000).

The following describes how rigour was maintained in this study:

Theory triangulation – including theories from multiple theorists in the theoretical framework and methodological triangulation (using multiple data collection methods such as semi-structured interviews and in-depth interviews). These approaches enhanced the credibility of the study findings. In addition, the use of multiple sampling techniques when sampling from a population (i.e. snowball and purposive sampling) was a way to enhance both the credibility and transferability of the study findings.

During the analysis phase, the researcher employed the constant comparative method of the various themes arising from the semi-structured interviews and in-depth interviews. This method enhanced the credibility of the study findings.

4.16 Reflexivity

Reflexivity refers to researchers actively acknowledging that their own specific pre-study thoughts, beliefs and values will inadvertently have an impact on the research process—data collection, analysis and interpretation (Malterud, 2001; Mays and Pope, 1995; Horsburgh, 2003). Therefore, by employing reflexivity as a strategy to enhance rigour, researchers prevent their own thoughts, beliefs and values from influencing the research process (Malterud, 2001).

The researcher was a highly-skilled Nigerian migrant and had experienced integration challenges in Cape Town. Therefore, the researcher had a particular expectation not incongruent with some of the literature on migrants in South Africa. The researcher's interest in the study stemmed from these experiences. These preconceptions were both assets and possible impediments. Previous experience as a highly-skilled Nigerian migrant helped to provide insights into interview styles. Potential bias from the preconceptions was mediated through audio-recordings that were made available, as suggested by Malterud (2001).

4.17 Ethical Considerations

There was a list of different ethical principles that was considered for this research. Prior to deciding on who the participants would be, a decision was made regarding their age, sex and

gender. Before contacting the participants to ask if they would be willing to participate in the research, an informed consent form was written up which stipulates all of the ethical considerations the participants were notified about. Thereafter, each participant was contacted one-by-one, and in this first conversation, their right to confidentiality and autonomy was discussed. Each participant agreed to participate in the research and were informed and assured that they also had the right to stop and were free to discontinue at any time.

Participants' homes, offices, public spaces and other rendezvous points were chosen for the venue where the interviews took place. This adds to the principle of autonomy that advocates for the "protection of the individual and institutional confidentiality" (Terre Blanche, Durrheim and Painter, 2006:67). The assurance of non-maleficence was discussed with the participants so that they were informed that the research would not harm them in any way.

Both male and female, young (aged 21 to 30) and older participants (60 years old) were interviewed, with assurances that all participants would be treated equally (Bless *et al.*, 2013:30). Furthermore, the participants were made aware that they were meant to be treated as in a just and respectful way and that if at any moment they were not feeling comfortable, they were allowed to say so. All participants were treated justly and there were no ethical issues regarding justice. In both the informed consent form as well as in conversations the participants were made aware that if they felt their psychological well-being was being compromised due to the research, then appropriate referrals would be made available (Bless, Higson-Smith and Kagee, 2006; Terre Blanche *et al.*, 2006). It was explained that the interview will be recorded and transcribed, and thereafter would be destroyed. The use of pseudonyms such as 'Interviewee 1, Interviewee 2 etc.' was used to protect the participants' identities (Given, 2008). Because this research is qualitative (human beings are involved), using good listening skills, observing both verbal and non-verbal communication as well as being aware of one's language and speech was crucial for every interview so that the research participants felt respected and appreciated.

Ethical clearance to conduct this study was obtained from the Post-graduate Board of Studies and the Senate Higher Degree Committee of the University of the Western Cape (UWC). The researcher adhered to the following ethical rules:

Informed consent was obtained from all participants; they all signed a consent form before the interviews and were also free to withdraw at any time. Participation in the research study was

voluntary, with no form of coercion used against participants. Confidentiality was guaranteed, and the participants reserved the right to withdraw from the research at any stage and for any reason whatsoever.

The researcher took the responsibility in ensuring that all the information gathered was treated sensitively and confidentially as well as protecting the identities and interests of all participants.

The researcher ensured that all information acquired from the interviews were used and treated with confidentiality. Audio-recordings of in-depth interviews were transcribed and destroyed at the end of the study to eliminate the identification of participants. The researcher also ensured that no personal identifiers were contained in the thesis, and fictitious names were used where applicable.

4.18 Conclusion

A qualitative and quantitative (mixed method) research methodology was used in this research, undertaken in Cape Town. In sampling, a combination of purposive and snowball sampling was utilised. Out of the 30 participants the researcher intended to recruit, 23 participants were eventually interviewed because of saturation. Most of the potential participants lived in different suburbs of Cape Town. They maintained an average social life; some people met at churches or social gatherings (i.e. inter-state or cultural meetings); and others socialised in public spaces (such as restaurants, clubs, pubs). Language was not a barrier to communication between the researcher and the potential participants. This is because English is the lingua franca in Nigeria and in most cases, everybody understands English, especially the highly-skilled. Socializing with most of the participants in public spaces helped the researcher to observe their integration, lifestyle and interaction with other people through observation (such as locals and other Nigerians irrespective of their skill differences). Participants were interviewed using a questionnaire with both closed- and open-ended questions. This semi-structured method was chosen because it is flexible and allowed participants to provide information on their experiences of migration and integration in Cape Town. Other participants had a stock of knowledge due to their work experiences. These individuals were approached for in-depth interviews that allowed them to provide detailed information on their experiences of integration. Interviews were audio-recorded to avoid loss or distortion of information during fieldwork.

The following aspects were discussed in this chapter: study design, the interpretative framework used in this research and its philosophical assumptions, study setting, study population, sample size and procedure, data collection, data analysis, rigour in the research design, and ethics. Chapter five will present the analysis and discussion of the quantitative data.



CHAPTER FIVE: QUANTITATIVE DATA PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION

“Every interview is an interpersonal drama with a developing plot”

(Pool, 1957: 193 as cited in Holstein and Gubrium, 1995)

5.1 Introduction

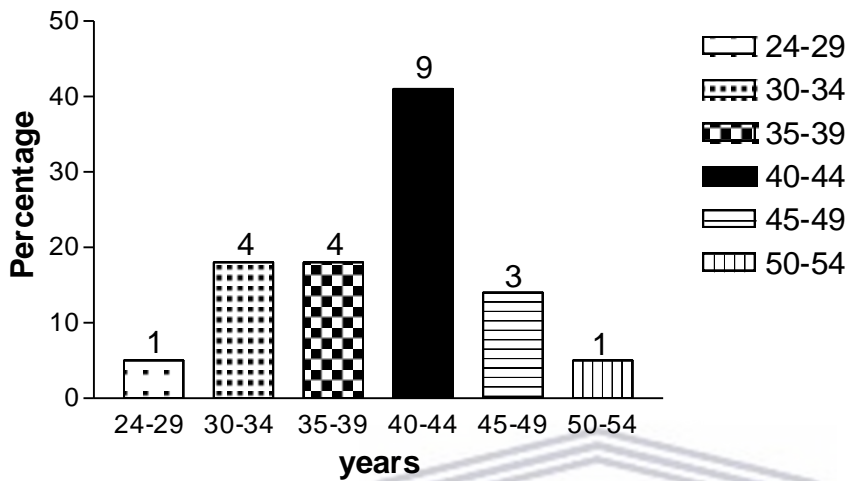
The data that emerged from this mixed method study are both quantitative and qualitative. The quantitative data consists of numbers and the qualitative data are words. This section reports on the analysis of quantitative data using descriptive statistics. The descriptive statistics will be in the form of tables, graphs and figures of the demographic variables. The quantitative data described the socio-demographic characteristics, addressed key indicators of socio-economic integration of highly-skilled Nigerian migrants and other key variables which could be quantified. The justification, therefore, is that the quantitative data helped to enrich the description of the study participants (Creswell, 2009) and helped to filter out themes for qualitative data analysis. The advantages of using quantitative data in this mixed method study is that the researcher can gain a different perspective from this type of data than that gained from qualitative data (Creswell 2008). A limitation of the qualitative data is that it provides a narrow analysis and numerical descriptions compared to qualitative data, which gives elaborate insights into the lived experiences of highly-skilled Nigerian migrants in Cape Town (Creswell, 2009).

5.2 Socio-Demographic Characteristics

An overall sample of 30 highly-skilled Nigerians consented to be interviewed. The sample was dominated by those in the 40-44 age group (41%), followed by the 30-34 age group (18%), the 35-39 age group,; and those between 45 and 49 years old. Only a small proportion (5% each) were in the 24-25 age group and 50-54 age group. Married participants comprised 82% of the participants. Of these, 36% have either Nigerian or South African spouses, 9% have spouses of other nationalities, and 18% had no response. In terms of gender, 82% of the participants were men while only 18% were women. The reason why there are fewer female participants than males may be attributed to the fact that most males tend to migrate first in search for better

jobs and then they are joined by the females. Also, this factor can be attributed to the fact that men between 30 to 49 years old tend to migrate more than women in that age bracket.

Figure 12 Age distribution of Participants

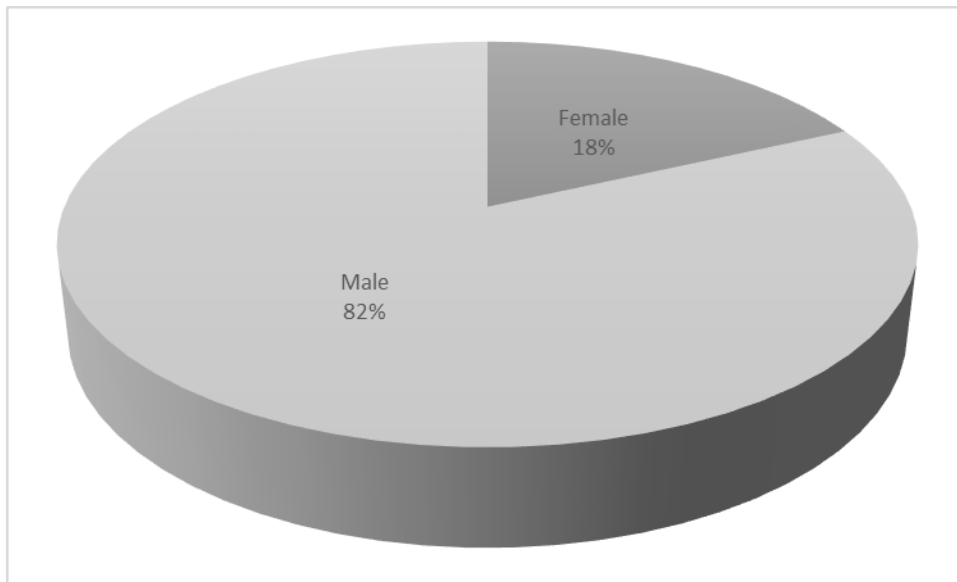


Source: Field Survey (2018)

Figure 12 shows the age distribution of the participants used in this study. The x-axis represents the age groups and the y-axis shows the proportion of subjects. Data labels above columns represent the number of subjects. A different design for each age group is indicated in the legend. Please note that percentages may not add up to 100%, as they are rounded to the nearest per cent.

The age distribution of participants within the age bracket of 30-45 years shows a high frequency of participants that migrate to South Africa. This age distribution is significant because it shows that some of the participants must have been established or have acquired basic tertiary education before migrating. This supports the evidence in the study for the decision of participants to migrate and that their motivations to migrate may have been influenced by factors such as an improvement of education, career improvement, transfer of skills and, for some women, to join their spouses.

Figure 13 Distribution of Participants by Gender¹⁸



Source: Field Survey (2018)

Figure 13 shows the distribution of participants by gender; 82% of the participants were men and 18% were women. The reason why more men than women migrate is given above.

The distribution of participants by gender shows relatively low levels of female participants. This is because a low number of women migrate than men. The most prominent motivating factor for Nigerian women to migrate is to join their spouses in this context. In most cases, the decision to migrate is largely dependent on their male spouses who usually migrate first and when the conditions are right, are joined by their female counterparts. Most of the female participants in this study stated that their reason for migrating to South Africa was to join their spouse, while the remaining reasons were mainly for studies and for business. The relatively low percentage of female study participants confirms part of the Ravenstein laws of migration, which states that men comprise the majority of international migrations compared to women (King, 2012). Other aspects for the low percentage turnout of women for this study are the fact the the main motivating factor for Nigerian women is to join their husbands, invariably they are limited by cultural and parental duties in terms of participation in the study. The network perspective sees social capital as the network of relations that individuals form and the resources they can derive from these networks (Bourdieu, 1986). In this framework, the size of

¹⁸ Percentages may not add up to 100%, as they are rounded to the nearest per cent.

an individual’s network determines the stock of capital they possess and also “*the quality of the relationships of a social group*” (Szreter, 2000:57). In this case, men tend to have more networks than women and a pre-disposition to migrate.

Figure 14 Marital Status of Participants¹⁹

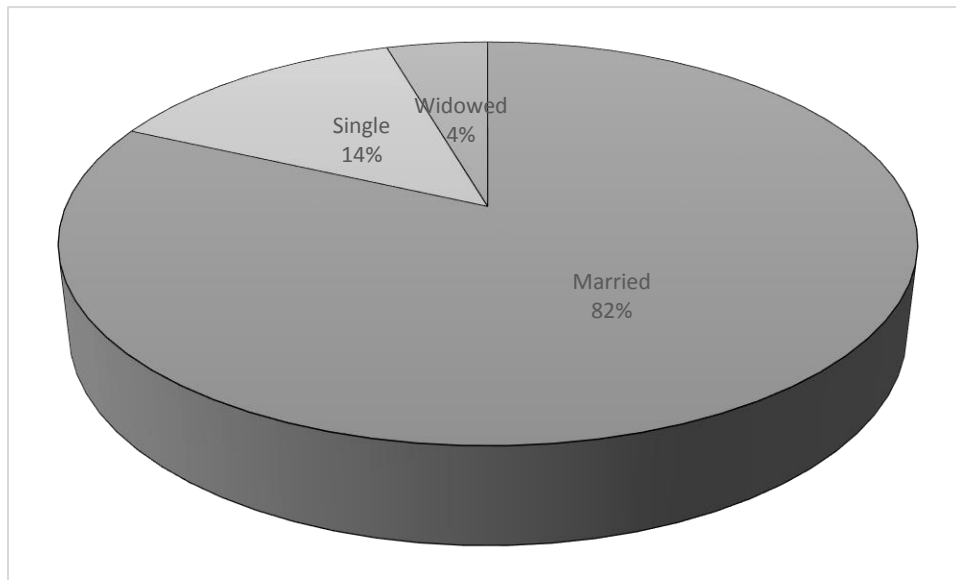


Figure 14 indicates the marital status of participants. Of the participants, 82% were married, 14% single and 4% widowed.

Table 5 Nationality of Spouse among Married Participants²⁰

	Frequency (Per cent)
Nigerian	8 (36%)
South African	8 (36%)
Other	2 (9%)
No response	4 (18%)

Source: Field Survey (2018)

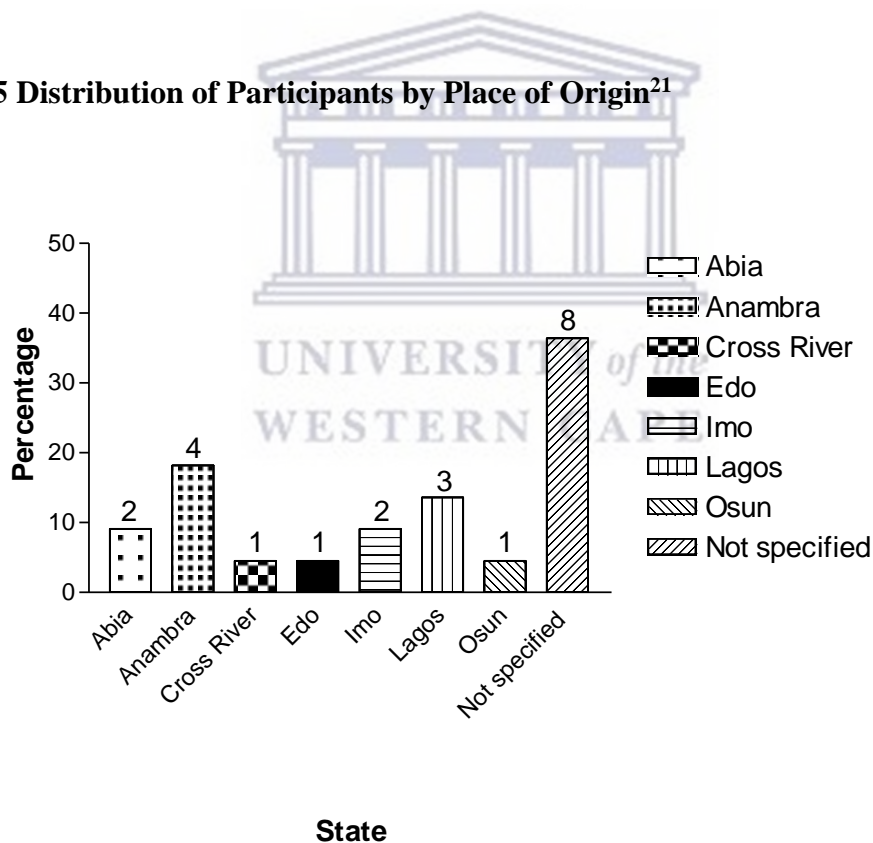
¹⁹ Percentages may not add up to 100%, as they are rounded to the nearest per cent.

²⁰ Percentages may not add up to 100%, as they are rounded to the nearest per cent.

Table 5 indicates the distribution of married participants' responses regarding the nationality of their spouse. Thirty-six per cent the participants have either Nigerian or South African spouses, 9% have spouses of other nationalities, and 18% had no response.

From Figure 11 and Table 5 it can be seen that a greater percentage of participants are married and about 36% of them are married to South African women, which is a strong indicator of cultural connections that lead to possible integration, interacting with the locals and raising children who have multiple nationalities. This is similar to the findings of Diaz (1996, as cited in Magnusson, 2014) who posited that indicators for social integration are contacts with the locals, family friendships and intermarriages. Also, socio-cultural integration is seen as an important aspect of integration which was also posited in the “**facilitators**” domain in the integration framework of Ager and Strang (2008), which was used to analyse the indicators of integration in this study.

Figure 15 Distribution of Participants by Place of Origin²¹



Source: Field Survey (2018)

²¹ Percentages may not add up to 100%, as they are rounded to the nearest per cent.

Figure 15 indicates the distribution of participants by place of origin in Nigeria. The x-axis represents the different states within Nigeria and the y-axis shows the proportion of subjects. The data labels above represent the number of subjects. A different design for selected states in Nigeria is indicated in the legend. Some participants (36%) did not specify the place of origin in Nigeria, although no reason was given why the information was not supplied. The next common places of origin reported by participants were Anambra (18%), Lagos (14%), Abia (9%), Imo (9%), Cross River (5%), Edo (5%) and Osun (5%). Since Nigeria is divided into several states, it becomes imperative to know the movement of people from different origins and their frequency of migration as compared to other states in Nigeria.

Table 6 Distribution of Participants by Language Spoken in Nigeria²²

	Frequency (Percent)
Igbo	12 (55%)
Yoruba	5 (23%)
English	1 (5%)
Other Nigerians.	4 (18%)

Source: Field Survey (2018)

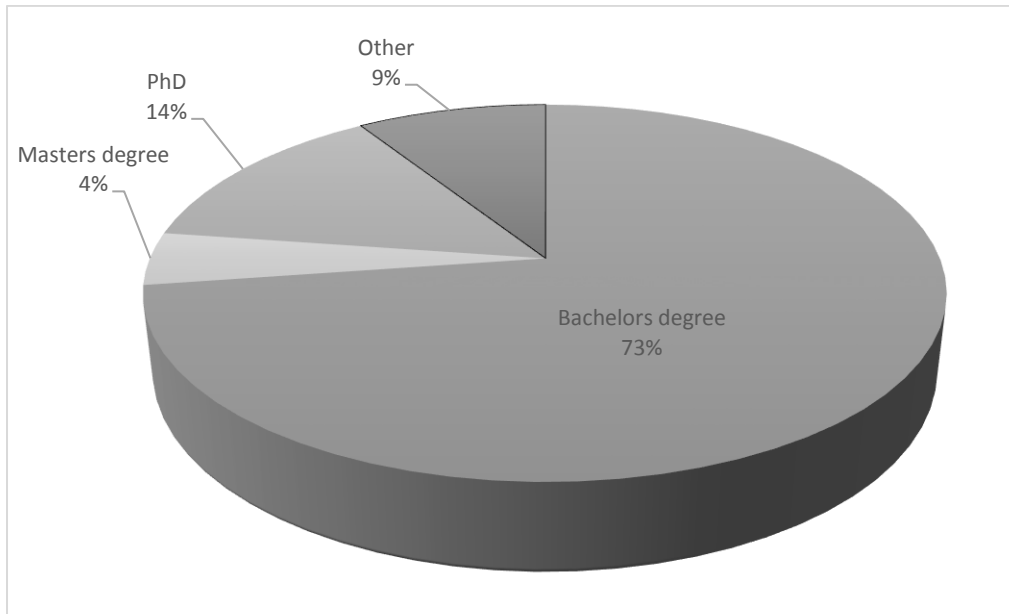
Table 6 indicates the distribution of participants by language spoken in Nigeria. Igbo was the highest percentage of language spoken by some participants than other Nigerian languages (18%) and English (5%). As was depicted in the table above, the Igbos migrate more to South Africa compared to other people who speak other languages. English here might be relative since almost all the participants speak English, irrespective of their local dialect.

The distribution of participants by place of origin and language spoken demonstrates the demographics and patterns of migration among people from different origins and states in Nigeria. The greater number of participants are from Anambra state, followed by Lagos state and then Abia state. This trend of migration shows or gives an indication that people from these origins have perhaps built more networks abroad and use social capital to navigate, which reinforces the network theory on the reasons to migrate. The distribution of language showed that most of the participants are inter-connected by languages, which create a better bond and often family reunions. As evidenced in the study, some of the participants are connected to each other, family relations and friends that come together to South Africa for a common

²² Percentages may not add up to 100%, as they are rounded to the nearest per cent.

purpose. However, there were some participants who expressed that they did not have anybody to help them migrate because they had no family ties and other network connections²³.

Figure 16 Education Status of Participants Prior to First Entry into South Africa²⁴



Source: Field Survey (2018)

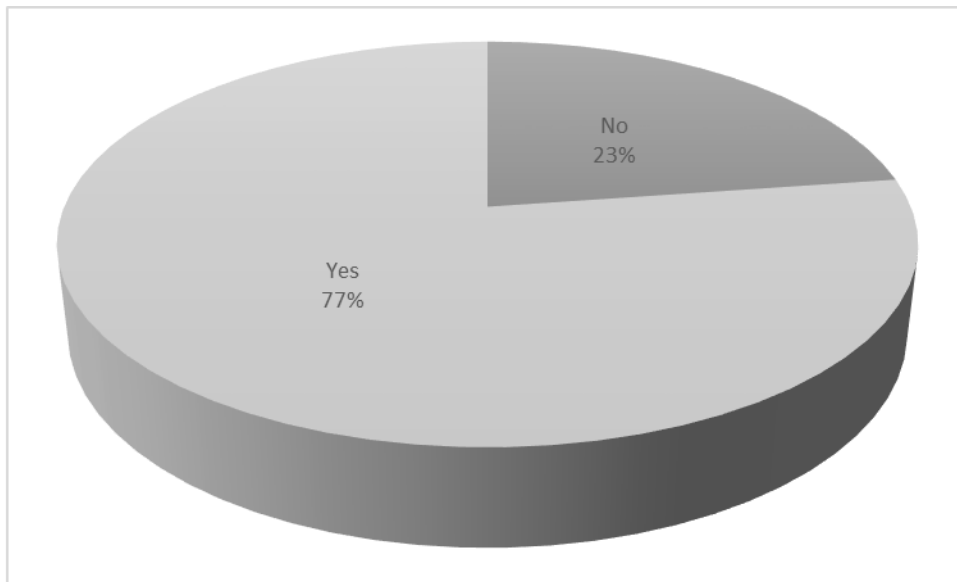
Figure 16 indicates the education status of participants prior to entry into South Africa. Seventy-three per cent of participants had a Bachelor's degree, 14% had a Doctoral degree, 9% had other qualifications, and 4% of the participants had a Master's degree.

Both Figures 23 and 16 are interrelated based on education before entry and education after entry into South Africa. The vast majority of participants had already acquired a basic tertiary education and skill sets before migrating, which is aligned with Bourdieu's theory on cultural and human capital (Bourdieu, 1984). This theory assumes that highly-skilled migrants come into the host country with skills sets and cultural capital which enables them to integrate into the society faster than other migrants (Bourdieu, 1984).

²³ There are no available date and comparable studies on the distribution of participants by language spoken in Nigeria. The date was analysed based on the responses of the participants.

²⁴ Percentages may not add up to 100%, as they are rounded to the nearest per cent.

Figure 17 Educational Attainment of Participants After Entry into South Africa²⁵



Source: Field Survey (2018)

Figure 17 indicates the educational attainment of participants after entry into South Africa. Seventy-seven per cent of participants obtained further education after entry into South Africa, while 23% did not. Most participants were able to have tertiary education as basic qualification before migrating to seek higher degrees and other opportunities. After entering South Africa, 77% of participants were able to further their education, while 23% were not able to improve on their basic tertiary education that they had before coming to South Africa.

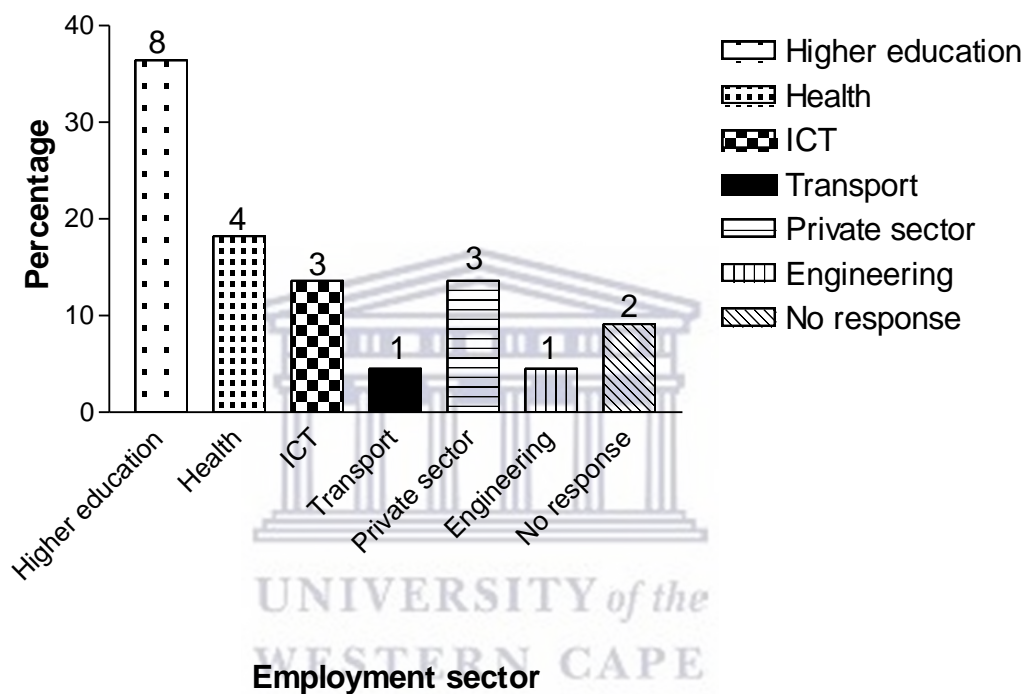
As was deduced in the study, the motivating factors to migrate were mainly the improvement of education, taking advantage of the relatively cheaper education in South Africa and acquiring new skills. To some participants, such as medical professionals and certain academics, their motivations were to take advantage of the migration policies which favour critical and scarce skills of migrants. The implication of improvement of education is that it improves the ability to integrate more into the society and acquiring new skills helps in the skills contribution to the host country. As was evidenced in the study, some participants took advantage of the cheap education in South Africa to further their education, which might not have been possible in Nigeria due to high cost of education, socio-economic problems and political factors. This is similar to Ager and Strang (2008) who posited that education clearly provides skills and

²⁵ Percentages may not add up to 100%, as they are rounded to the nearest per cent.

competencies in subsequent employment which enables people to become more constructive and active members of society and also in terms of integration prerequisites.

This is in line with Mbah (2017) who explained that education in Nigeria is seen as taking an individual one step closer to the overall reason for migration, and that formal education is one of the fascilitators of migration.

Figure 18 Distribution of Participants in the Employment Sector²⁶



Source: Field Survey (2018)

Figure 18 shows the distribution of participants in the employment sector. The x-axis represents the various employment sectors and the y-axis shows the proportion of subjects. Data labels above columns represent the number of subjects. A different design for each of the responses given is indicated in the legend. The biggest percentage of participants are employed in higher education (36%), which might include private and government institutions of learning; 18% in health, both in private and public hospitals; 14% in information and communication technologies (ICT) sector and private sector; 9% had no response and did not give any reason; and 5% in engineering, mostly as a private enterprise.

²⁶ Percentages may not add up to 100%, as they are rounded to the nearest per cent.

Table 7 Current Job Situation of Participants and Matching of Skills²⁷

Variable	Frequency(Percent)
Current job situation	
Permanent	7 (32%)
Contract	7 (32%)
Entrepreneurs	8 (36%)
Current job matching skills	
No	5 (23%)
Yes	16 (73%)
No response	1 (5%)

Source: Field Survey (2018)

Table 7 shows the current job situation of participants and whether or not their current job matched their skills. In this table, 36% were entrepreneurs and 32% had either a contract or permanent job. The majority of participants (73%) responded that their current job matched their skills. This could be an indication that they are contributing their skills to the host country at full potential. Furthermore, 23% responded that their current job did not match their skills, and 5% gave no response.

The distribution of participants by employment sectors shows the various sectors in which the study participants are employed. Most are employed in the higher education sector. This distribution of employment gives an indication that the participants are integrated into the society to some extent. This is similar to the finding of Castles *et al.* (2001), where they observed that employment is perhaps the most researched area of integration and has always been identified as a factor influencing many relevant issues such as promoting economic independence, planning for the future, interacting with members of the host society, encouraging self-reliance, vocational training and improvement of education. From the theory, it is found that employment and education are correlated and the improvement of education is a catalyst to obtaining employment and fosters integration (Ager and Strang, 2008). Having employment can also be positively linked to having cultural integration, since it allows the individual to interact and establish friendships with the host society (Hosseini-Kaladjahi, 1997).

²⁷ Percentages may not add up to 100%, as they are rounded to the nearest per cent.

In addition, the study findings of the employment of participants in the higher education sector is likely due to the Africanisation of higher education institutions in South Africa as a consequence of the Africanisation policy introduced by the Thabo Mbeki government (Thaver and Thaver, in press).

As was eluded earlier in Figure 13 and Figure 14, highly-skilled migrants tend to enter a host country with a stock of cultural and human capital. They also seek to improve their skills by training and gaining education in the host country which is a prerequisite to being employed, where their skills are matched with their qualifications and experience. Though most participants tend to be in jobs that match their skills, the participants explained that sometimes it is not always easy to find such positions. The participants explained that they go through rigorous processes to secure these jobs and restrictive policies, such as critical and scarce skills, make it challenging to find work which matches their skills. Furthermore, the study’s findings indicate that there is little brain waste, but rather brain gain, in this context.



Figure 19 Salary Distribution of Participants²⁸



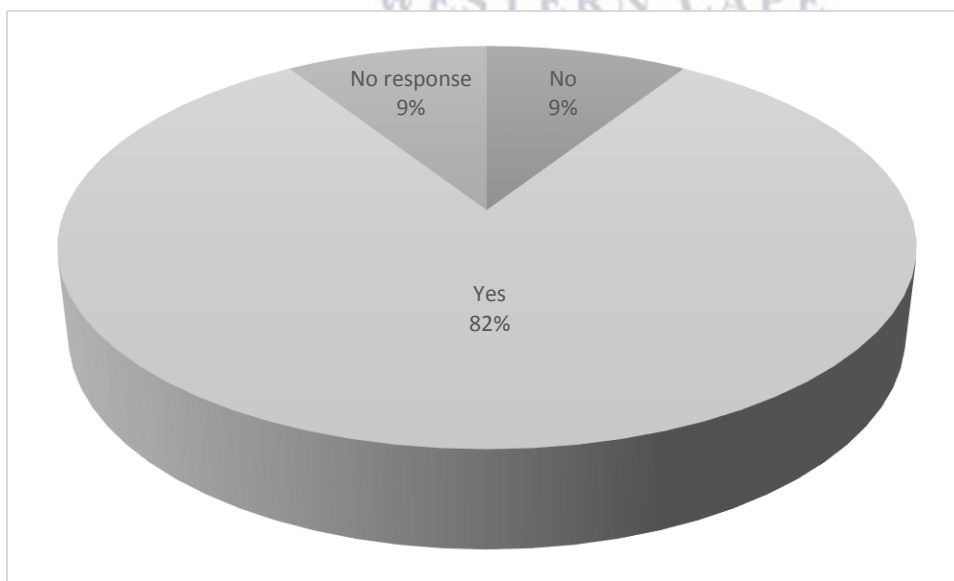
Source: Field Survey (2018)

²⁸ Percentages may not add up to 100%, as they are rounded to the nearest per cent.

Figure 19 shows the salary distribution of participants. The x-axis represents the salary range and the y-axis shows the proportion of subjects. Data labels above columns represent the number of subjects. A different design for each salary range is indicated in the legend. Most of the participants (41%) received a salary of R30,001 or more, followed by 18% in the R8,001 to R11,000 range, 18% refused to disclose their salary, 9% had no response, 5% received a salary of R8,000 or less, and 5% received a salary in the R11,001 to R16,000 range. About 9% chose the 'don't know' option. The reason for choosing the 'don't know' option might be that participants were sensitive to disclosing their salary range and they had the right not to respond. Please note that percentages may not add up to 100%, as they are rounded to the nearest per cent.

Salaries are related to employment and the amount of salary earned depend on the level of skills and position, according to the participants. As was depicted in the salary distribution of participants, they are mostly on the high end of earnings which is R30,001 or more. In Figure 19, it is inferred that a relatively high salary helps to provide the basic amenities of life, cope with cost of living and also acts as a catalyst to securing accommodation and having medical aid.

Figure 20 Participants Willingness to Vote in a General Election if they had the Right to Do So²⁹



Source: Field Survey (2018)

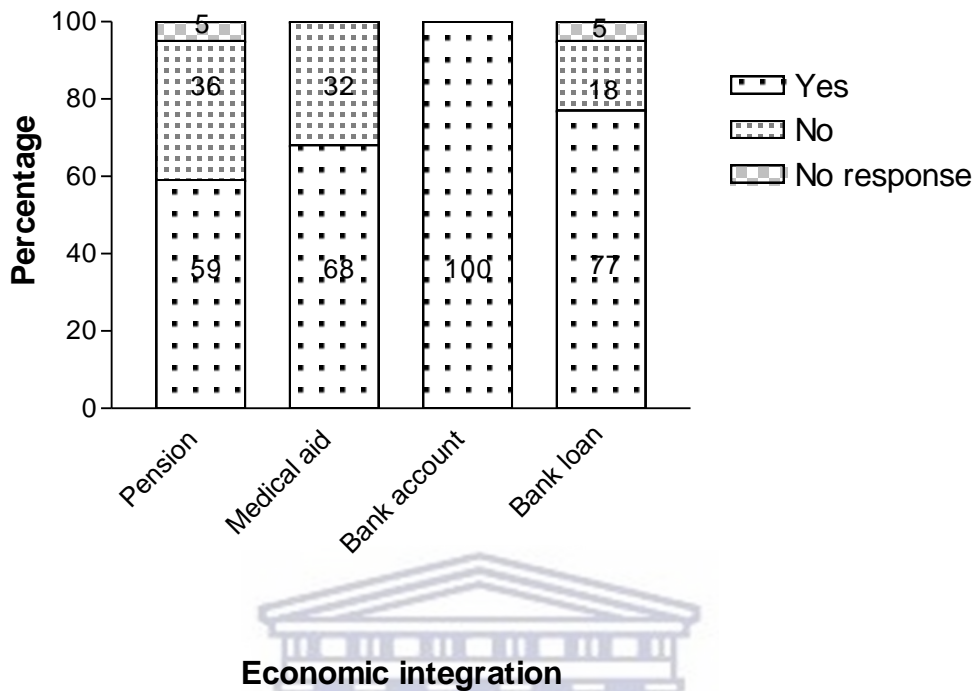
²⁹ Percentages may not add up to 100%, as they are rounded to the nearest per cent.

Figure 20 indicates the distribution of participants' responses regarding their willingness to vote in a general election if they had the right to do so. Eighty-two per cent responded that they would vote in a general election if they had the right to do so, and 9% stated that they would not vote, and another 9% had no response.

The participants expressed a willingness to have civic engagements if they had the right to do so. According to the Integration Framework by Ager and Strang (2008) used in this study, the "foundation" domain aspect explains the rights and processes of citizenships which might come with a prolonged length of stay in society. According to the United Nations, a long term international migrant is a person who moves to a country other than their usual residence for at least one year or more so that the destination country becomes a place of usual residence (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 1986). However, in South Africa, the requirements of having permanent residency is marriage, possessing critical or scarce skills, or having stayed in the country for five years or more.



Figure 21 Participants' Response Regarding their Economic Integration³⁰



Source: Field Survey (2018)

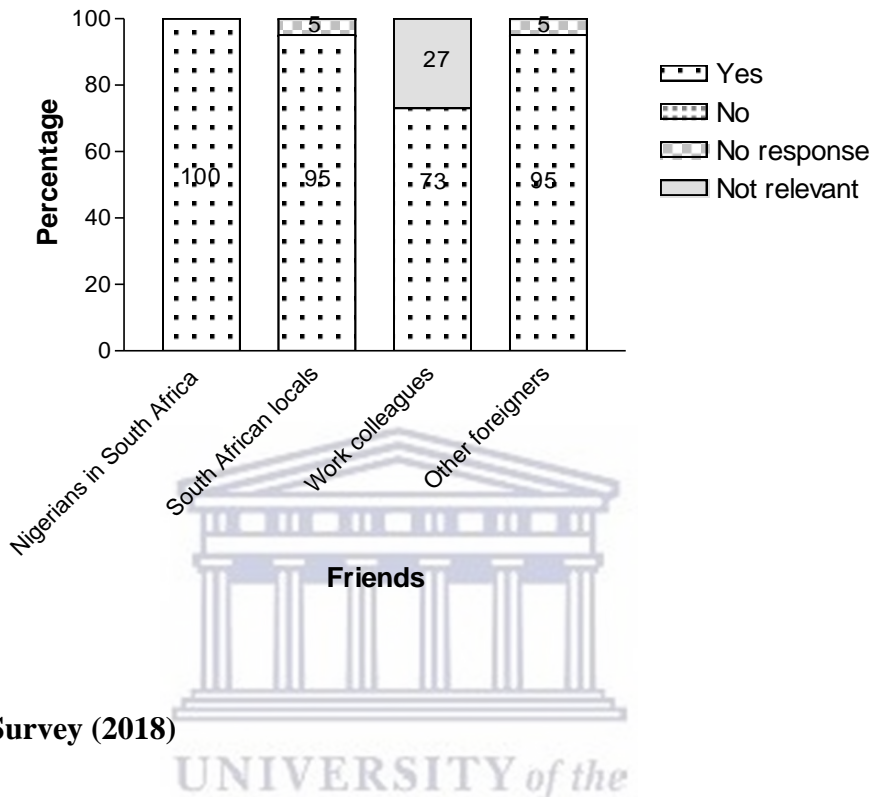
Figure 21 above indicates the distribution of participants' responses regarding their economic integration. The x-axis represents the different indicators of economic integration and the y-axis shows the proportion of subjects. A different design for each of the responses given is indicated in the legend. All of the participants (100%) had a bank account, which is an indication that the participants have a valid permit which is a criteria for opening an account with the bank. About 77% of participants have acquired a bank loan, which indicates job stability because verifications are made by the bank before issuing a loan. Some participants (68%) had a medical aid, and 59% a contributed to an insurance or pension scheme.

Most participants reported that their motivation for migrating to South Africa was based on economic advancement. These participants identified the possibilities of obtaining a higher earning in South Africa based on their current skills and level of education. This corroborates with the classical theories of migration that emphasize the economic reasons as one of the main reasons for international migration. Most of the participants agreed that they foresee the possibility of better economic advancement in South Africa with the skills which they possess

³⁰Percentages may not add up to 100%, as they are rounded to the nearest per cent.

in terms of economic integration, which in turn helps them to have pension funds, bank accounts and being able to obtain bank loans.

Figure 22 Distribution of Networks³¹



Source: Field Survey (2018)

Figure 22 indicates the distribution of friendship networks. The x-axis represents the different people they are friends with and the y-axis shows the proportion of subjects. A different design for each of the responses given is indicated in the legend. All of the participants (100%) responded that they are friends with other Nigerians living in South Africa, 95% with South African locals and other foreigners, and 73% with work colleagues. Work colleagues comprise people of different nationalities and will be discussed further in the observation analysis and discussion section of this chapter.

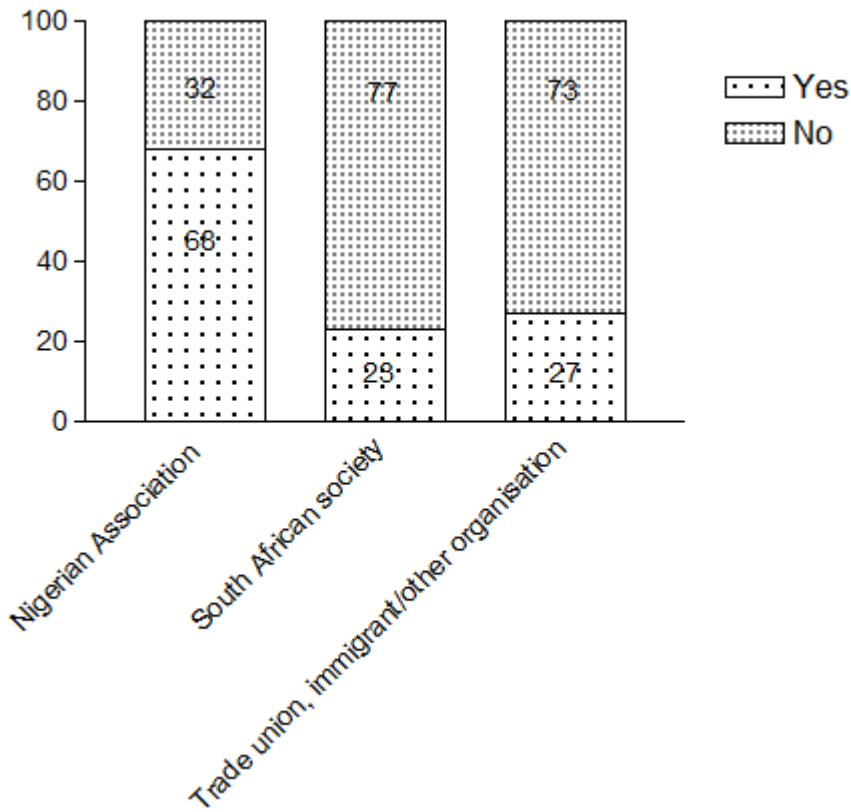
As was explained under network theory, network ties are part of the motivating factors that are important in the decision to migrate. Most participants emphasised the importance of existing networks in South Africa that attracted them to the country, such as friendship networks and family networks. In the case of female participants, they mentioned that spousal networks were part of the network factors influencing migration to South Africa. Some participants stated that

³¹ Percentages may not add up to 100%, as they are rounded to the nearest percent.

they live with fellow Nigerians in South Africa, some live in isolation while others live in communities which include other foreign nationals. The people-centred perspective posits that the historical background of the collective action and social organisation plays an important role in laying the foundation for social capital in society (Putnam *et al.*, 1993). The study findings showed that most study participants possessed social capital. This social capital was in the form of bonding social capital in which the participant had ties with co-nationals because they have shared norms, values and culture. It was also in the form of bridging social capital in which the participants had ties with South African locals outside work which possibly correlates with mutual benefit and superficial trust. Also, this can be seen in the form of linking social capital in which participants formed trusting relationships with work colleagues. According to Putnam *et al.* (1993), social capital increases co-operation, mutual support, trust and institutional effectiveness which is seen from the type of network these participants form as migrants in the host country.



Figure 23 Distribution of Membership in an Organisation³²



Source: Field Survey (2018)



Figure 23 indicates the distribution of membership in different organisations. The x-axis represents the different organisations and the y-axis shows the proportion of subjects. A different design for each of the responses given is indicated in the legend.

The specific Nigerian associations and South African societies including trade unions that were mentioned by the participants are listed below (Field Survey (2018)³³:

³² Percentages may not add up to 100%, as they are rounded to the nearest per cent.

³³ Information supplied by the participants

List of Nigerian Associations

- Nkpor Development Union (NDU) and Nigerian association
- Nigerian Union of South Africa
- Urhobo Progressive Union (UPU)
- Akwa-Cross River Indigenes Cape Town, Nigeria

List of South African Societies including trade unions

- National Education, Health and Allied Workers' Union (NEHAWU)
- South African Municipal Workers' Union (SAMWU), Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and African National Congress (ANC)
- South African Medical Association (SAMA)

The study finds that 68% of participants reported that they are members of a Nigerian association, 22% members of a South African society and 27% were members of a trade union, pension scheme, immigrant society and other organisations. This suggests that the participants possess a higher level of social capital as a result of these interactions which may mitigate their psychosocial, socio-economic, and political needs (Putnam *et al.*, 1993). For instance, membership in pension schemes will help participants once they retire in the case of those who intend to stay long-term and therefore they can benefit from South Africa's social protection services.

5.3 Conclusion

In this section, the quantitative data from the semi-structured interviews was presented. Here, each table and figure was analysed and linked to literature and theory. The descriptive statistics was in the form of tables, graphs and figures of the demographic variables. The quantitative data described the socio-demographic characteristics, and addressed key indicators of socio-economic integration of highly-skilled Nigerian migrants and other key variables which was quantified.

In the following chapter, the presentation of the narrative analysis and discussion of the semi-structured interviews and in-depth interviews will be presented, with a section on observation.



CHAPTER SIX: QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

6.1 Analysis and Discussion of Semi-structured Interviews

6.2 Introduction

There are different aims of qualitative data analysis. It could be a description of the phenomenon, which could be subjective experiences of a specific individual or group. The analysis can also focus on comparisons, and identify differences and conditions on which such differences are based. The researcher employed all the necessary aims that assisted with the analysis. There is no definite definition of qualitative data analysis, but in this study, a general qualitative data analysis is defined as that which emphasises the move from data to meanings and representations. Qualitative research aims to reduce the big data sets to core elements, or expanding small pieces of data by adding extensive interpretations (Flick, 2013).

The technique for selecting participants for the semi-structured interview was snowball sampling, with a purposive sampling method adopted to ensure a sufficient range of key demographics categories. The use of this method in the research was expatiated in chapter 4. The reason for the use of these techniques is that it focused on a particular population, which are the highly-skilled migrants in Cape Town. The rationale for selection was the assumption that their skills, vocation and knowledge in the subject matter were reasonable and sufficient enough to help in addressing the research question. The rationale for the use of this method is that it is convenient, time saving and minimal wastage of resources. However, the selection of the participants was based on the subjective judgment of the researcher that this group of people were best suited to answer the research questions.

The following sections will present the analysis and discussion of the semi-structured interviews. It will present, analyse and discuss the main points that were identified in the semi-structured interviews. These cover selected topics such as the motivation for migration, integration, social networks, coping mechanisms and future mobility.

6.3 Motivation for Migration

The attraction of more economically developed countries has always provided the incentive for people to migrate. Research has shown that people migrate sometimes in search of

employment, a better quality of life, advancement in education, and for social and political reasons. The following sections will also follow the three stages of migration adapted from Poswa and Levy (2006), which was discussed in Chapter three. These three stages include the past, which includes the motivation for migrating; the present, which includes how migrants experience integration; and the future, which poses the question, are migrants' stay temporary or permanent?

There are many reasons that participants gave for the motivation of migration. The motivation for coming to South Africa is associated with career advancement, and the development of new skills such as information technology, medical specialisation and research skills.

Some participants came **in pursuit of education** to attain a Master's degree, because South Africa has highly-ranked academic institutions. Others explained the cost-effectiveness and quality of education in South Africa: a participant stated how it is cheaper to do post-graduate studies which are less expensive than Europe. Others were also in agreement that South Africa had more affordable tuition fees as compared to European countries. Another participant stated the cheap cost of education:

...it is quite cost-effective to study in South Africa, besides one's study can be funded. (Participant 3, Academic and PhD student).

This assertion is in line with Cooke (2007), and Ryan and Mulholland (2014b) on how migration decisions are shaped by certain considerations. Among these considerations that affect future mobility are career opportunities, further education and transferring skills to other countries.

Better socio-economic conditions and quality of life in South Africa was one of the key motivations why participants migrated: of better earnings and standard of living within South Africa; specialising in different vocations given that South Africa has a stable economy compared to other African countries. It was noted that some participants already had existing jobs and decided to migrate **to take up employment** in South Africa, as was stated by the following participant: "*Was offered a job in South Africa with a relocation package*" (Participant 16, Software Developer).

To take up employment in South Africa was one of the common reasons or motivations for migrating. One of the participants explained that he grew tired of moving about and being in

Nigeria. He was a high-ranking academic. At some point, he needed to do something different. After his interview in South Africa, he was told during the interview that they have been looking for somebody for six years who had the kind of profile he possessed (Participant 4, Academic). This also similar to Mulholland and Ryan's (2011) findings that some reasons for migration are based on obtaining a new job which will involve relocation from one country to another where the logistics of moving and attaining a permit would be arranged by the institution employing the person.

Others primarily came **to join their spouses** in South Africa. These participants stated that their primary aim for migrating was to join their husbands in South Africa; another participant noted **the search for greener pastures** as a motive for migrating, and an urge to have a change of environment. Another participant had **accompanied their relatives** who migrated to South Africa so that they had no other option than to join their relatives. This participant stated that:

My father...migrated to Southern African hemisphere with his family for work-related purposes working for the United Nations, World Health Organisation, University and private Medical companies as a Researcher, Biochemist, Lecturer, head of department and Manager African Regions – Botswana, Zambia and South Africa. Reason being for migrating to South Africa, in particular, was because it was seen as a hub of opportunity for ethnic black South Africans and Africans in general. (Participant 8, Academic).

Some came **in search of a new career and professional development**: they explained their reasons which required them to settle in South Africa to be able to practise their profession as a medical doctor at international standards. Others came to expand their career while others came to acquire international experience based on their career and vocation. For some participants, the reasons for **migrating were purely for economic gain**: they migrated in search of better earnings in order to improve their standard of living and that of the family back home. Another participant's reason for migrating was for business opportunities and investments. This was also supported by the findings of Mulholland and Ryan (2011), where it was observed that motivations for migrating is not only financial, but can be associated with other factors such as career advancement, developing new skills, exposure to international markets, family priorities and reunion. It is argued that migration is mostly driven by economic motives, but it might include other complex aspirations and expectations (Ryan and Mulholland, 2014b).

By linking the responses of the participants to literature and theories, the participants were able to echo the neoclassical theory of migration on the motivation for migration, which was discussed in Chapter three. People's motivations to migrate is brought about by differentials in wages and employment conditions between countries (Enigbokan, Edkins and Ogundele, 2015). According to Arango (2000), potential migrants usually estimate the cost-benefit for migrating before making up their minds to migrate. In essence, each decision to migrate is considered differently and some factors and potential causes of action are weighted differently by individuals. Other factors for migration mentioned by participants ranged from professional attainment to university education, personal goals, joining families, labour market conditions, network and financial reasons. Most of these motivations for migrating explain the push-pull factor forces that can drive migrants out of their home countries or induce them to move to a destination country, as posited by Zimmerman (1996, as cited in Dzvimbo, 2003).

The new economics school of migration, however, contrasts with some of the theoretical assumptions and inferences of the neoclassical theory with regards to the motivations for migration (Massey *et al.*, 1993). The new economics school of migration proposed that the decision to migrate is not made ultimately by individuals, but by the family and households. This confirms the study of (Enigbokan *et al.*, 2015) that joining family is regarded as a motive for migrating.

6.4 Integration

Integration is viewed as one of the most important aspects of migration. The important prerequisites for integration include education, employment, housing, income and social connections, to mention but a few. With regards to highly-skilled migrants, the process of integration is often an open and unbiased process which occurs in different parts of society and proceeds with different degrees of intensity. Regardless of the kind of permit that they have, they have the disposition to stay longer or live in the destination country permanently (Föbker *et al.*, 2016). In most cases, the migrants strive to adjust to the new society by fulfilling the integration policy goals proposed by the International Organisation for Migration (2004). These international policy goals are two-way integrations of adjustment by way of assimilation and multiculturalism which involves less adjustment by society and uniform values and practices, and more adjustment by individuals with diverse values and practices respectively, as illustrated in Figure 1 in Chapter two. Also, the domains of integration (Ager and Strang,

(2008) are considered in the analysis of integration by means of education, socio-economic, employment and cultural integration.

With regards to integration through **education**, most of the participants agreed that education is one of the important aspects of integration and it falls under the category of **markers and means** in the domains of integration. Studies have shown that as a highly-skilled migrant, if you equip yourself with education as a stock of capital, it equips you with future employment challenges and even makes it much easier to obtain relevant permits and a South African identity document.

Being educated expedites the processes of integration, as explained by the participants below.

Makes it easier to get a house loan and get a car loan, you know. It makes it like everywhere else just like the bottleneck I would say of getting an ID. Sometimes you do not know why your application is pending for six months or one year. Nobody can give you a reason why, so it makes it difficult. But for me I have settled, I own my house, and paying my bond... (Participant 2, Academic).

It is often said that a better quality of life and attainment of post-graduate qualification goes hand in hand. One of the participants sees education as a way to escape a vicious cycle of poverty. He stated that he migrated to seek admission into a school and also in search for a better life (Participant 21, Academic). The search for better earnings and standard of living within Africa was a common theme that emerged from the participants.

Similar to the motivations of the previous participants, another participant took advantage of the cheaper education in South Africa after joining her husband who helped them to integrate much better into South African society.

Primarily, my aim was to join my husband who came to study in SA. I took the opportunity to pursue my Master's and PhD since doing so in Nigeria will take longer than necessary with no funding. More so, in terms of research, South Africa is way ahead of Nigeria and can compete with the Western world, with better facilities and being more organised. (Participant 3, Academic and PhD student)

According to the literature that was reviewed in this study, it is evident that the higher the skill, the higher the integration. For instance, the more educated people are, the more likely they are

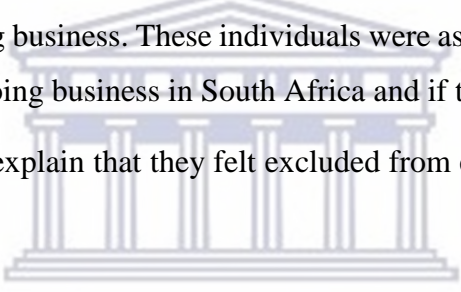
to integrate (Mbah, 2014; Mbah, 2015). In terms of education as an integral part of integration, Pierre Bourdieu (1930–2002) explained the role of the education system in the reproduction of social and cultural inequalities. For Bourdieu, the concept of habitus is intricately linked with the social structure within a specific field, and it also deals with sociological analysis with regard to the society (Bourdieu, 1984). Bourdieu explained that the cultural capital is closely linked with education and the middle class given that the majority of the university graduates are of middle class educated parents with experience of how the institutions operate. This implies that economic and cultural capital that has been accumulated can be used as a point of entry into the field of academia or another professional opportunity (Bourdieu, 1984, 1993). Conversely, while it is partly correct that poverty, inequality and the pursuit for a better life may induce migration. Akinrinade and Olukoya (2011:75) noted that the majority of Nigerian migrants are not among the poorest and that some of them are from relatively educated and privileged backgrounds. This is in line with the study findings that most of the highly-skilled migrants came from well-off families and were also educated before migrating, consequently bringing their stock of social and cultural capital into the host country.

6.5 Integration by employment

Employment, according to (Ager and Strang, 2008:170), is “promoting economic independence, planning for the future, meeting members of the host society, providing an opportunity to develop language skills, restoring self-esteem and encouraging self-reliance.” Employment is also one of the sub-domains in the category of **markers and means** in the domains of integration. Furthermore, according to Hosseini-Kaladjahi (1997), having employment is linked to cultural integration since it allows someone to interact with the host society. This proposition shows that those who are in the labour market tend to be more integrated than those who are not. Subsequently, being employed helps with integration and allows people to create networks by engaging in social events (Magnusson, 2014). As depicted in Figure 15, in the data presentation section, some of the participants are employed in different sectors including health, higher education, information, communication and technologies, transport, and private sectors. The highest employment area of the participants was in higher education. For those who did not respond, no reasons were given by the participants why they did not respond. In Table 7, most of the participants agreed that their current job matched their skills, indicating that there is little ‘brain waste’ in this group of participants. The current job

situation ranges from permanent or contract jobs to entrepreneurs. In Figure 19, salary distribution falls under the bracket of R30,000 and above, indicating that they are well paid, which implies that they are relatively comfortable and tend to have economic security.

Based on the responses of the participants, there is a correlation between employment and integration. Most of the participants are employed in various sectors ranging from medical, academia and the private sector, which is in line with Magnusson (2014) that the people who are employed are in a better position to be integrated. Very few of the participants were employed in the government sector which was implied but not really expressed, and could not be better interpreted in the semi-structured interviews. This government employment issue could be attributed to the migrant's length of stay and employer preference of locals to foreigners. Working in government also requires one to be a permanent residence and citizen. In most cases, the process of acquiring permanent residence and citizenships from the Department of Home Affairs is tedious. Apart from those who were employed, there were highly-skilled migrants doing business. These individuals were asked questions regarding their thoughts on the climate of doing business in South Africa and if they foresaw any constraints. One participant was able to explain that they felt excluded from employment in the field they specialised in.



Industrial maintenance, oil industry, automotive industry, transport and military are all areas where I fit in but can't be taken. And this has impacted in my standard of living (Participant 1, Businessman specialising in mechanical engineering).

Other participants suggested that being a foreigner was the reason for exclusion from the public sector, which reiterates the fact that foreigners are excluded from certain professional jobs. The majority of participants with this perception were employed in academia working as lecturers or research officers. The participants stated that they were being excluded from the public sector because they are foreigners. Others explained that they are being excluded from jobs that require national security i.e. police and military. They are only included in sales and other professional jobs. Also, migrants are largely excluded from healthcare jobs due to employment regulations giving preference to South Africans, and also from government works and contracts.

A participant, employed in the Information, Communication and Technology industry as a telecommunications officer, explained that being a foreigner prevented him from obtaining permanent employment, because foreigners are not given permanent employment in most organisations in South Africa of which the effects impacts on their socio-and economic well-being. On the other hand, a participant employed as a medical doctor mentioned that they were excluded from working in the private sector. The participant stated:

I cannot work in the private health sector. I think South Africa needs medical personnel in public sector which does not attract many South Africans (Participant 15, Medical doctor).

Other participants saw xenophobia as a hindrance to peace, security and development.

The only constraint I foresee here is xenophobia (Participant 1, Businessman specialising in mechanical engineering).

Linking the findings to the literature reviewed in this thesis, the participants' responses regarding the employment environment reveal that there is still the manifestation of xenophobia or institutionalised xenophobia and discrimination due to the quota system which has racial undertone and the particular gender and colour that are accepted in certain jobs. Valji (2003) argued that this development might be a result of socio-economic frustration stemming from the country's history of racial division and its inherent culture of violence which contributes to xenophobia in South Africa. On the other hand, Adeogbo (2013) also argued that some South Africans could indeed be xenophobic to migrants and having disdain for foreign citizens.

Most participants were generally critical of South African work and social environment; participants expressed the general hostility from some of the locals in the form of xenophobia. This is in contrast with Spencer (2011), who proposed that integration should mean the interaction of migrants with individuals and institutions within the society, also that integration should facilitate economic, social, cultural and civic participation. The issue of xenophobia was constantly mentioned by the participants, which reinforces the fact that most of the locals perhaps might still be xenophobic. There have been many reasons propagated for the anti-migrant sentiment. According to Tevera (2013), the reasons were mostly blamed on the

contestation of scarce resources, poor service delivery and the involvement of community leaders to escalate the conflicts for political and economic reasons.

Despite the stringent measures put on the employment conditions of migrants, Segatti *et al.*(2012), and Akinrinade and Olukya (2011) explained that some higher education institutions still manage to recruit Nigerian students as part-time employees and at the end of their studies these student might discover opportunities that motivate them to stay in the country.

Similar to education, employment is among the important aspects of integration (Castles *et al.*, 2001) and it also influences such issues as promoting economic independence, future plans, and meeting members of the host society. Employment may provide opportunities such as learning the local language, restoring self-esteem, and self-reliance (Ager and Strang, 2008). In addition, employment enables participants to afford appropriate housing in favourable environments and financial security. Here, education provides skills and expertise, which helps in finding employment opportunities that enable people to be more productive and dynamic society members (Ager and Strang, 2008). Although health is not often mentioned as an important factor for integration, good health is generally seen as an important means for active engagement in society, and for securing permanent employment which enables one to afford a medical aid scheme. Although the research did not directly focus on health specifically, the research showed that acquiring education and having employment is synonymous with well-being and acquiring private medical aid.

6.6 Economic integration

It is generally assumed that in economic migration the economic interest outweighs other considerations when migrating from one country to another. However, in this research, very different motives were established which were influential to the professional integration of migrants.

According to Ager and Strang (2008), the education, employment and economic domains are the factors that were pointed out as **markers and means** in the conceptual framework defining the core of integration. Ager and Strang (2008) further explained that education clearly provides skills and competencies, which supports employment. When people are employed, they become more constructive and active members of society and subsequently their standard of living will improve, e.g. being able to afford housing. The higher the earning bracket, the more they are able to afford medical aid, housing, maintain a good standard of living, and other

economic gains, of which all these factors mentioned are prerequisites for economic integration. Similarly, Van Tubergen (2006) explained that economic integration involves economic equality between immigrants and indigenes and that economic integration relates to employment, occupational status, self-employment and income. In this study, the economic integration indicator was part of the semi-structured interview and it was asked using a closed-ended question. In Figure 21, on the question of economic integration, the bar chart showing the participants' responses and the percentage distribution, the indicators of economic integration were seen as having a medical aid, bank account and being eligible for finance at the bank, and being members of pension schemes.

The questions for economic integration in the initial interview were close-ended questions, which did not allow for responses, therefore, these issues were expanded on in the in-depth interviews where participants gave a more detailed account.

6.7 Socio-Cultural integration

Socio-cultural integration is the social interaction between immigrants and indigenous people, while cultural integration is the level at which migrants and locals share cultural values (Van Tubergen, 2006). These are part of the domains of integration which fall under the **social connection and facilitators**. Indicators for socio-cultural integration may include contact with the local population such as forming friendships, while for cultural integration, the indicator could be the understanding of a local language (Diaz, 1996 as cited in Magnusson, 2014). Similarly, Van Tubergen (2006) further explained that inter-ethnic contacts, friendships and marriages are common when migrants are able to speak the destination language well.

There were mixed feelings among the participants of this study regarding cultural integration. While some participants felt socially excluded, others were able to explain their limited social contact, social bonds and social links in their environment. Most of the participants had reservations about cultural integration based on the stereotyping of Nigerians and xenophobia.

The most outstanding cultural integration for this study was intermarriages between Nigerians and South Africans. A participant gave an account of how he married and gave a brief account of the advantages and disadvantages, and how he was able to face the challenges. He explained that he met his wife while they were both students at the University of the Western Cape. They had a problem in communication because of the language barrier. The problems arose from her family who was against her dating a foreigner, especially a Nigerian, because of the negative

reputation that Nigerians have in South Africa (Participant 9, Academic). He went on to explain some of the issues that came up and how it was handled:

From the South African perspective, they think if you are dating or marrying them to get your papers. Whereas from us the Nigerian perspective, they think she is dating you because you have money and things like that so, in that essence you know (Participant 9, Academic).

The impression from the participants and reaction on certain issues concerning Nigerians is that there should be a counter-narrative, away from the South African perspective which will come from the migrants themselves. If you listen to the popular stories of South Africa, migrants are blamed for drug peddling, and the high level of crime. This narrative is deemed necessary because of the growing anti-Nigerian sentiments among locals (Adelaja, 2001).

One of the participants still maintains faith in spite of the uncertainties that come from the xenophobic attacks and stereotypes:

What I know now, I do not think there are options. South Africa to me still remains a viable option apart from the crime, the hate speech, and the obvious xenophobia; this is a great place to live. I have been travelled a lot to Europe and America and they have their own challenges too. But, I think for me breaking into the South African labour market, is easier for me, which I've done, unlike going to Europe and America that is how I see it. (Participant 16, Software Developer)

Another participant responded to the stereotyped perceptions and its implications. The participant explained how bad news sells. Some instances were given that when a Nigerian doctor had excelled in his practice the society is not going to acknowledge his efforts, but rather what makes news is how Nigerian might be engaging in criminal activities. According to the participant, there are about over hundreds of foreign doctors, mostly Nigerian doctors and Nigerian professionals doing well and working professionally in South Africa, but it is not a news item. According to this particular participant, he explained that the head of the college of family physicians in South Africa is a Nigerian and these achievements are not recognised by the society. Some Nigerians are also in many institutions as lecturers, and head of departments. Another participant reiterated the importance of conduct in the society. He stated that

Keep your activities within the law and you should be able to enjoy the country you are in, you know. I would like to say that the South Africa you know even with all the challenges has lots of opportunities for everybody and truly according to the black and white legal framework everybody is allowed to give their best to society. (Participant 7).

Some participants had limited social networks. This is consistent with a study by Koelet *et al.* (2017) which found that some migrants are less sociable while others have extensive social networks. Koelet *et al.* (2017) attributed this to differences in the personality traits of individuals. In this research, intermarriages with locals were common, possibly due to Nigerians being able to speak English. This is in keeping with Van Tubergen (2006) who explained that marriages are common when migrants are able to speak the destination language well. This study also revealed that marriage helped some participants integrate into the host community, despite prejudice, and also their marriages were seen as positive in terms of integration, children and being accepted into the wife's family.

Similarly, Koelet *et al.* (2017), as was alluded in the literature, showed that children play a critical role in establishing local social networks and maintain contact with local family and spatially dispersed extended family among European migrants with a native partner in Belgium and the Netherlands. The authors also showed that in-laws played a critical role in establishing extensive local social networks (Koelet *et al.*, 2017). In contrast, Adeagbo (2011) had found that marriage alone among Nigerian migrants with a South African partner, did not bring about social integration. Other factors such as legal status and employment play important roles in the integration process in the South African context, where prejudice against Nigerians pervades everyday lives. On comments on stereotyping, the participants' responses is consistent with evidence from Adeagbo (2011), that the socio-cultural integration of highly-skilled Nigerian migrants is mitigated by migrant stereotyping in South Africa. However, participants were optimistic of the future despite the prejudice against Nigerians and the fear of xenophobia. A participant reported the importance of a migrant's comportment in the South African society. This indicates that the behaviour and comportment of highly-skilled Nigerian migrants enhances the socio-cultural integration process in the South African society.

6.8 Coping Mechanism

Research on stress and coping has been mainly the mainstay of psychological inquiry given the number of publications from social, clinical and health research over the last three decades (Folkman and Moskowitz, 2004; Aldwin, 2007; Kuo, 2014). Lazarus and Folkman (1984:41) defined coping as “*the constantly changing cognitive behavioural efforts to manage specific and/or internal stress that are appraised as taxing or exceeding the resources of the person*”. Therefore, the importance of studying individual coping mechanisms is attributed to the role that coping plays as a mediator between the stressor and adversity. Nevertheless, this study is only concerned with the individual-level, household-level, and community-level coping mechanisms of highly-skilled migrants in the destination country.

Coping on an individual and household-level might refer to how migrants cope in the face of xenophobia, how they manage their finances and family demands back home, personal challenges, and the struggle to maintain the status quo. For the community level, it is how they manage to fit in with the locals, the challenges of being a foreigner in the community, stereotypes, and the cultural and language barriers. According to Donnelly (2002), coping is relative to people and its views depend on the individual’s personal and social resources.

6.9 Individual and household coping mechanism

As earlier eluded to in the literature review on xenophobia, the participants tried to cope with individual fears and uncertainties in the face of xenophobia as described below.

One participant gave the reason for his fears:

Fear of xenophobia and not being able to know what would happen the next day and how the locals around you would react. Because these xenophobic attacks start without a warning, probably after a much-premeditated plan by the locals to carry out destruction of life and looting of property (Participant 1, Businessman specializing in mechanical engineering).

During the interview periods there was a wave of xenophobic attacks that occurred in certain areas of South Africa. One of the participants managed to cope by trying to understand the history and the perceived course of xenophobia. He explained that, though some South Africans are inherently xenophobic, other countries are not that different to migrants, there are also poor,

hungry, people and inequalities in every country, and the participant still maintained that South Africa is still one of the few countries where a refugee has access to free open-heart surgery.

Another participant opined that some of the problems of xenophobia are caused by unemployment; with such high levels of youth unemployment and high levels of inequality, it is not surprising that there is much discontent and anger. Immigrants, particularly those from other African countries, present an unfortunately attractive target: they often trade and live in townships where the problem of unemployment is likely to be the most grave. Since migrants are rarely a random sample, they tend to do better, at least economically, than the locals. Some of the police personnel in South Africa are seen by migrants as extremely corrupt and possibly compromised. Some participants forecast that attacks on foreigners will continue because the government made promises it has failed to keep. The attacks against migrants in South Africa they predicted will continue as the gap between the haves and have not's keep rising. Some said that even if every immigrant leaves South Africa, it is anticipated that the blacks might not fare any better because the whites and Indians still control the economy. This, in their opinion, might be because some black South Africans, who may still be suffering from post-traumatic apartheid syndrome, might not be inclined to take the fight to certain groups of people who have a stranglehold on the entire economy.

This incidents and developments of stringent and controversial migration laws in South Africa are in accordance with what Ellis and Segatti (2011) explained that, after apartheid, there was a dramatic policy change in migration law, reforms that enable highly-skilled individuals to work in South Africa. With the new policy changes more work permits were granted to migrants to work in South Africa. BEE did not bring about proper economic prosperity to the common man, rather, it was hijacked by privileged politicians, hence the disgruntlement from locals towards migrants who they saw as taking jobs that belonged to South African citizens (Ellis and Segatti, 2011).

Another participant also explained with mixed feelings on the volatile situation in terms of fear of foreigners and on what to expect when one try to integrate and interact with the locals.

Being a foreigner generally isolates you somewhat from the society. People are reserved here and there is a general level of mistrust among locals about foreigners, but it all depends on who you associate with to some extent (Participant 16, Software Developer).

Some of the participants explained how they coped by keeping in contact with friends and family through networking. Most of the participants coped at the individual and household level by keeping in touch by using social media and building social capital.

Some of the participants coped mainly through social media like Facebook, WhatsApp and BBM. Others used telephones (landlines) and cell phones, emails, and meeting each other during vacations. On the household level, some participants used, video chats, and giving financial assistance whenever they could.

We, Nigerians-Biafra Igbos, generally don't forget where we come from and our family. However, there has been a fall in this nature with the younger generation. But, I call and use social media as well as travel back home when possible
(Participant 8, Academic).

Social embeddedness and social networks were also a means of coping by participants. Korinek, Entwisle and Jampaklay (2005) described social embeddedness as a form of relationship that fosters a sense of rootedness and integration. Similarly, some other authors such as Koelet *et al.* (2017), Korinek *et al.* (2005), and Granovetter (1992), have maintained that the social relationships that individuals engage in conforms to practical resources. Social embeddedness is often considered a prerequisite for individual personal development, social development, socio-economic integration, and political participation in a country. Conversely, Portes and Sensenbrenner (1993) explained a possible negative effect that might be linked to social pressure and social control which might arise from mistrust and suspicion from the locals on migrants.

Another participant explained that his relationships mainly exist in the workplace and with colleagues. In terms of the workspace, the participant deals with professionals, and has not experienced any discrimination from colleagues in the department, all the employees are on the same page, and probably share the same aspirations, understand academia and what it entails. The participant presumed that, within the academia, it is more comfortable and not really bad in terms of victimization.

Though some participants referred to politeness in the office environment, but there were still tendencies by colleagues who were less and “two-faced”, which was also similar to the findings of Mulholland and Ryan (2011).

An emerging pocket of information from the perceptions of the participants on individual coping shows that, despite the uncertainties and volatile situations as a result of xenophobia,

some participants still maintain that South Africa is a conducive place to live, more so, it is one of the countries in the world where migrants can have access to a free healthcare. Other participants speculated that the wave of xenophobia and disdain for foreigners might have stemmed from high levels of youth employment and persistent inequality in the society and the reinforcement that Nigerian migrants, in particular, are perceived as “criminals” by South Africans, which was echoed by Segatti *et al.*(2012).

Some participants were of the opinion that individual migrants can cope by being law abiding, paying taxes and other forms of comportment. Some participants also suggested that, in order to reduce the violence, the government should come up with policies to reduce inequality and to address the problem of unemployment among youths. Another participant argued that, irrespective of the reasons given by the locals inciting violence, it is not enough reason for certain groups of people to take the law into their own hands. Anti-Nigerian sentiments grow further in the media and newspapers, perpetuating perceptions that Nigerians are criminals, marry South African women to obtain residence, and that they take job opportunities away from locals (Morris, 1998).

Other participants expressed their mistrust of locals; some think that associating with locals should be selective because of misconceptions that might be formed. The accounts presented by the participants here revealed the relatively unknown socio-economic integration challenges faced by the migrants. This is supported by Adepoju (2004), noting a lack of literature on the coping mechanisms of the highly-skilled migrants in South Africa.

6.10 Community-level coping mechanisms

In terms of community-level coping mechanisms, most of the participants tried to build bridging relationships across the community. This is in line with the theory of social capital, which was discussed in section 3.1.6 of Chapter three, where the level of stock of social capital will depend on the quality of the set of relationships that exist within a community (Szreter, 2000). Putman (1995) further explained that social capital exists in communities where shared social behaviour, norms and strong levels of reciprocity and support exists. In addition, De Silva, McKenzie, Harpham and Huttly (2005) added that this includes family relationships, networks, friendships, acquaintances, civil attachments and institutional ties.

Some participants also saw the need of communicating in the local language. Some also made attempts to speak the local language. This is in line with Figure 1 on the two-way integration

based on the assimilation approach, where migrants make more adjustments than locals that lead to common values and practice.

Although highly-skilled Nigerian migrants speak English and use this to communicate professionally, one of the participants explained that her reaction to people would depend on her impression of whether people are welcoming by observing them first. She explained:

I observe them to see how they behave; their likes/dislikes... It helps me relate to them without offending them... I also try to learn the language in order to communicate with those that cannot speak English or with those speaking their language will make me easily get along with them even though they can speak English (Participant 3, Academic and PhD student).

Another participant explained that she found it easy to relate to people because of the language advantage. She stated that

I find it easy to integrate with people. I have travelled extensively and lived outside of Nigeria with different nationals for many years. I speak six languages including two South African vernacular languages (Participant 8, Academic).

Another participant stated that

I speak a little Afrikaans and Xhosa. People are more open when you speak the local language (Participant 14, Academic).

Other participants mentioned that they socialise to meet new people as well as network. They explained that they try to cope by networking, and some say networking with professional colleagues and school classmates helps a lot. Some say they engage in social events, while some participants mentioned that they endeavour to be good, law-abiding, and keep to the rules of being an immigrant. One participant mentioned that he travelled locally. He stated: “*I enjoy the local culture and travel locally when I can*” (Participant 15, Medical doctor).

The formation of new networks in a new environment is an important function. According to (Kennedy, 2004), migration can strengthen social ties. For migrants, the existing networks do not necessarily stop at some point but rather, it is preserved and modified as time goes on. The participants became more involved socially after they had spent more years in the country, they also tried to learn the language and familiarize themselves with the local culture. This is in line with assertion of Mollenhorst *et al.* (2014) that the longer a migrant stays in a country, the more

likely the migrant will establish social networks that transcends into heterogeneous relationships with the local population. In essence, increasing relationships with the locals might be attributed to frequent contact and understanding the local language.

In Figure 23, the bar graph depicts the distribution of membership in organisations by some of the participants such as Nigerian associations which cater for Nigerians in terms of the renewal of passports and liaising with the embassy. These were other aspects that Nigerians used to cope by providing services for themselves instead of waiting for the government. Others who interacted with South African societies tended to join the stokvel, churches, trade unions and professional bodies. The latter two are working representations.

6.11 Coping with the process of obtaining permits

The process of acquiring permits through the Department of Home Affairs is perhaps one of the areas that pose serious challenges for migrants. In many countries, the granting of residency to foreigners is taken seriously and is conducted in line with national values, responsibility, developmental goals and nation-building (Republic of South Africa, 2016).

Dealing with the Department of Home Affairs is cumbersome for many participants. Some participants stated that Home affairs was a very difficult experience, but required a lot of patience. Some participants coped well by being patient and keeping abreast of the necessary requirements. Others strategically secured initial study permits through an application with Home Affairs and upgraded to permanent residence with time, though such applications can be a long process and very tedious.

Some of the participants expressed their frustration with the rigorous and tedious process of obtaining permits from the Department of Home Affairs.

Some of the participants agreed on the difficulties encountered with the Department of Home Affairs. One participant stated that “*none of the issues of accommodation, home affairs, and legal issues has been easy really*” (Participant 1, Businessman specialising in mechanical engineering). The majority of the participants believed that the Home Affairs conditions are quite cumbersome and discouraging for immigrants who want to settle down with their families. On the contrary, some of the participants explained that they did not have difficulties with the Department of Home Affairs: “*...I do not have issues with home affairs and legal issues*” (Participant 3, Academic and a PhD student). Another participant affirmed that “*Most of the immigration issues have been sorted and I am a permanent resident*” (Participant 22,

Academic). Although some of the participants have obtained their permits, they still have issues in terms of family permits. One participant stated that “.....I got my critical skills permit, but I am still battling with my wife’s accompanying spouse permit. I have no legal protection here because it is very expensive” (Participant 20, Telecommunications officer).

Some of the factors that are taken into consideration when granting permits include the ability of the migrant to function appropriately in the host society and the sound assessment of actual potential risk and benefit (Republic of South Africa, 2016). According to the Department of Home Affairs, the national development plan predicts that migration in future will be attractive to skilled people rather than those responding to economic and political instability, given that skilled workers are a critical resource for an industrialised based economy (Republic of South Africa, 2016). That is why South Africa should have an effective policy for granting visas to those with critical skills according to the national development plan strategy (Republic of South Africa, 2016).

6.12 Future Mobility

In future mobility, there seems to be a correlation between the length of stay and the integration of migrants. The relationship is a straightforward one, which is in line with Diaz’s (1993) explanation that, when people spend a longer time in the destination country, the length of stay allows migrants to integrate structurally, socially, residentially and individually. This assertion is in line with the participants’ reasons for why they want to stay in South Africa. Although the future migration plans of most of the participants were unclear, many expressed uncertainty about the future while a few expressed the possibility of future migration to places such as Canada. Europe was less preferred by the participants because of the view that the South African environment offers a cheaper standard of living. In all, most participants expressed the desire to remain in South Africa.

Most of the participants were in agreement that their length of residency has impacted on their decision to stay, based on the fact that they have established social and cultural integration by way of marriage, employment and investment. This claim is similar to the conclusion that Hossein-Kaladjhi (1997) reached in his study on Iranians in Sweden who has stayed long in the country.

Most participants planned to stay in South Africa for the long-term. Family responsibility, job and business interests were the main reasons mentioned by the participants. One of the

participants explained that, in terms of future mobility, he would not leave South Africa due to his marriage to a South African. He has acclimatised as a citizen and regards South Africa as his home. He stated that “*I have been here for seven years already and married to a South African woman for four years now, living together throughout, Here’s my home now*” (Participant 1, Businessman specialising in mechanical engineering). Some of the participants also had no plans to leave South Africa based on business and family affiliations. They stated:

I have a family now since I migrated. I have a thriving business (Participant 7, Businessman specializing in transportation).

My wife is South African. My children are Nigerian but should also embrace their mother’s homeland and take advantage of other South African. I have found a footing in South Africa and I believe a lot of business can be done between the two countries (Participant 8, Academic).

My job and business interests are here, and my family is settled in (Participant 16, software developer).

One of the participants remarked that his reason for staying was as a result of “*A good regulatory environment. Excellent financial sector and lovely weather*” (Participant 9, Academic).

Another participant wanted to stay because South Africa has a good infrastructure and access to the global market:

Given the sector that my business is in, and the facilities that provided for that, I am more able to access most of the global market at a cheaper overhead from here (Participant 12, Telecommunications, media and communications officer).

Some participants had uncertain future migration plans. For example, an academic indicated that it depended on where the opportunities presented themselves. Family responsibilities and the socio-economic environment in South Africa may shape future migration plans.

The advantage of being settled may begin to outweigh the gains of future mobility. A point that was articulated by some participants was that future decisions keep changing, and for a while, some seriously consider settling permanently, but then they are also observing the current

political and socio-economic environment in South Africa and how it will turn out in the near future. On the other hand, some participants are seriously contemplating migrating to Europe. They explained that It is much easier when is a single migrant , unlike when they have a family which would requires a lot more careful planning and consideration. Some participants, having attained a certain level in their careers in South Africa, are also looking for other options in a country where the political system is stable and economics seem to be stable enough. The consideration will also involve children in terms of attaining citizenship and the possibility of making it in the new environment. This might be contrary to certain aspirations, because, according to Boyd (1989), the duration of a migrant's stay in a country influences the composition of networks in the host country, and the longer they stay, the likelier the tendency to start forming large families which might make it difficult to move to another country because other policies and logistics need to be considered.

The findings of this study are similar to other studies, which found that family responsibilities have an impact on future migration plans among highly-skilled migrants (Ho, 2011; Ryan and Mulholland, 2014a). Those who wanted to remain back were in agreement of the reasons why they wish to remain, which includes that their family is staying in South Africa, they have business in South Africa, they are well employed in South Africa, and South Africa has a good financial market. Other studies have attempted to explain the connection between length of stay and integration and have also tried to explain how a longer stay can promote integration (Magnusson, 2014). Magnusson (2014) continued to explain that the length of stay enables migrants to gain more knowledge on different fields and employment. Similarly, Dustman (1999) is also in agreement that the length of stay of migrants is closely connected to the acquisition of knowledge and experience in the country in the form of human capital. Furthermore, as the participants explained, there is a paucity of research on highly-skilled Nigerian migrants in South Africa, with regards to the sustainability or reversibility of their stay, their integration into the South African society, labour market, skills contribution, and their socio-economic integration over time (Segatti *et al.*, 2012).

6.13 Conclusion

This chapter discussed some of the basic themes that emerged from the semi-structured interviews. The prevalent motive for migrating was the search for better employment

opportunities. Some participants also stated that improving on their education was an important motivating factor.

For integration, the prerequisites included education, employment, income, and social connections. Having a basic tertiary education helps to expedite integration of migrants in the host society, because it is assumed that highly-skilled migrants enter their host country with a stock of cultural and human capital that enables them to adjust into the system as well as their skills contribution to the host country.

Economic integration is generally regarded as an important consideration when migrating; education was clearly correlated with influencing the professional integration of migrants.

Social cultural integration included contacts with the locals, having knowledge of the language and intermarriages between migrants and locals.

There were a lot of issues addressed under coping mechanisms, issues on how the migrants manage to find peace and cope in the mist of violence, xenophobia and hostile discrimination. The coping mechanisms also involved the individual and household coping mechanisms and how they used social networking to keep abreast of their environment and information.

The next chapter is the analysis and discussion of the in-depth interviews that were conducted for this research. It also discusses the motivations for migration, integration challenges faced by migrants, skills contributions of highly-skilled migrants, and views on migration policies.

The choice and style of structure was chosen by the researcher given relative and subjective of social science. Given that this is a mixed method study and by separating the chapters it brings out the strength of the quantitative and qualitative data drawn from the semi-structured interviews, in-depth interviews and observation. For instance, a descriptive summary was given of the quantitative data from the semi-structured interviews. More importantly, the separation of the different chapters was intended to improve the rigor of the study through methodological triangulation which will make the data internally valid but it may not be external valid and generalizable

CHAPTER SEVEN: ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS

7.1 Introduction

Intensive in-depth interviews were conducted with six participants to explore their perspectives on their motivations for migration, integration issues, skills contribution to knowledge and development and policy views on migration. The participants were pharmacists, business professionals, medical doctors and professors in academia. The justification for choosing the participants was that they were knowledgeable in current affairs and familiar with South African immigration policies. Some have experienced the intricacies of the process of migration in South Africa. Other participants have stayed in South Africa for over 15 years and even have citizenship, while others are married to South Africans. In essence, the knowledge of the participants are of immense importance to this study and have implications for further research.

The participants were selected purposively based on their perceived knowledge in certain fields, experience and expertise. The interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed. Fictitious names were also used and the recording was destroyed after the study. The in-depth interviews were conducted over five months given the logistics of time and convenience of the participants who were hard to track down, especially the female participants. The data are divided into various themes (i.e. motivations for migration, integration challenges and contributing their quota towards development and views on migration).

7.2 Motivations for Migration

There is no single factor that is responsible for the choice of international migration. It is a combination of a myriad of push and pull factors that initiate international migration. Martin (1993:4) explained that “migration occurs because of demand pull factors that draw migrants into industrial countries, supply push factors that push them out of their own countries and networks of friends and relatives already in industrial societies who serve as anchor communities for newcomers”. The motivation for migration might not simply be for financial reasons but may be associated with career advancement, acquiring new skills and exposure to a wider international market. Sometimes decisions are shaped by family considerations, and some blend both personal and professional reasons (Recchi and Favell, 2009).

Chike stated that

Basically, I moved to South Africa to improve my medical knowledge, do some courses in accident and emergency medicine and basically to live a better life and have to practice medicine to international standards, which I believe is available here.

Some of the participants found the South African education was relatively cheaper in comparison to European countries. For example, some universities in South Africa subsidise fees for international students and allows them to pay the same fees as the locals. Some of the participants explained that their motives for migration was studying in South Africa was a first choice, but the motivation to come to South Africa was a combination of a good education system, in terms of having the ability of facilities and resources and relatively cheap, educational system for Master's and PhD as opposed to going to Europe or going to North America.

Obi explained that he came for post-graduate studies:

I ended up here for my Master's and initially my plan was just to do my Master's and then move on to Canada to do my PhD, I think after doing my Master's, also looking at resources you know for my PhD it turned out that I didn't get the funding that I needed for PhD in Canada, and so I decided instead of not doing anything I might as well do the PhD here while I could get access to..

Femi explained that his motivation for migrating was for a job opportunity and a chance to further his education:

I decided to migrate to South Africa to seek better opportunities. When I came here at first, it was rough at the beginning, but later things worked out just fine because I went on to further my education by taking advantage of the moderate fees paid by international students. After studying, I started working. Compared to Nigeria this place has a more enabling work environment and a better infrastructure in place.

Some migrate for a family reunion and finally find the environment attractive for education and professional advancement. One of the participants stated that he is aware that South Africa

possesses a great potential amongst Southern African nations. Coming from Nigeria, he thinks that there are limited opportunities for professionals there. Initially, he sent his family and wife first to South Africa to do a post-graduate programme in South Africa. The opportunities, especially in terms of the evident lack of skill sets in South Africa, served as encouragement to migrate. He perceived that South Africa would be a good place to showcase his skills by seeking employment.

Jane gave an account of her motives for coming to South Africa:

My husband came to South Africa first. After a year, he visited home at that point I fell pregnant, so he started making arrangements for me to join him. It took long to process the papers. I think it was because I was pregnant and my husband was just on work permit then. Eventually, I joined him shortly before I had my baby in South Africa.

Some participants were tired of being in one place in a particular job and were looking for new challenges in their careers. Tobi stated

Well, to be honest with you, I got tired of being in one place back in Nigeria, because before I came here, I was a high-ranking academic in Nigeria. At the same point it was like I needed to do something different.

Tobi explained that he and his family had to choose between migrating to the United States or South Africa:

So I had two options, I either was going to go back to the US, you know, because I was in the US for a one year period. So, but the point was, I had to take a decision for the family you know, so for one reason or the other, my wife never liked the US anyway.

Quality of life has become a priority for Nigerians because of the political instability, poor infrastructure and unstable working conditions with relative absence of labour unions in Nigeria. Findlay and Rogerson (1993) stated that the migration decision is influenced by the personal context of an individual, the family situation, as well as social and cultural norms. Similarly, Hatton (1995), and Dinbabo and Nyasulu (2015) explained that the decision to

migrate is relative and depends on several factors, such social and political reasons, and the search for better opportunities. Recchi and Favell (2009), and Ryan and Mulholland (2014b) explained that some personal and professional motives of migration by highly-skilled migrants tend to contradict the notion that highly-skilled migrants are solely motivated by economic opportunities.

Participants migrate to improve their education and they end up extending their stay and obtaining jobs. This is in line with Scott (2006) who illustrated the dynamism of the migration process, where the motives at first are for a specific situation and short-term, but become extended over time as migrants become emplaced in the society. Equally important is the migratory trajectory of women, who migrate to join their husbands. Kofman, Phizacklea, Raghuram and Sales (2000) explained that women often transcend from trailing wives to professionals in the country where they have migrated to.

The implication, therefore, of the participants leaving Nigeria is a corresponding ‘brain drain’ in Nigeria. Alternatively, South Africa, which is the receiving country, becomes a preferred hub for migrants because of the above-mentioned reasons. Further implications are that highly-skilled migrants come with their special skills and knowledge which could possibly help in terms of skills contributions in the receiving country. Mercandalli and Losch (2017) stated that though migration might be challenging in the short run, but it might open windows of opportunities and may in fact be beneficial to the host country in the long run.

7.3 Integration Challenges Faced by Participants

Although some participants are generally critical and have mixed feelings of the form of integration in South Africa, most of the participants recognised the importance of successful integration, as was explained in the domains of integration in chapter three. These include employment, housing, education, social connections, language, culture, etc.

With regards to challenges on employment, Chike explained in detail the intricacies and rigorous process one has to go through as a professional before obtaining employment in South Africa. Participants explained that the big problem is attaining work in South Africa, because there is a policy that works against foreign migrants from working in the country, especially qualified medical personnel. The participant explained that to work in South Africa as a doctor, the system requires that one should go through bodies, of health profession council, which

regulates doctors to pass their board exam and then you have to get permission for the foreign workforce to help in the public sector.

So, it is a matter of which comes first, the chicken or the egg? To get clearance to do the exams is a big problem and then to do the exams without foreign workforce clearance is a big problem (Chike).

Jane's narrative focused on the challenges of raising her children in South Africa and other rigorous processes to obtain a permit. She explained that raising children in South Africa is an expensive venture especially when they are still toddlers. She also explained that crèches overcharge a lot of money given the racial divide in the country which often puts some migrants in a state of dilemma on which school that is conducive to enrol their children. A case in point was when her child was rejected at a crèche with the excuse that they were full, but only to find out that they were still admitting other children, even in front of her. Another problem that she highlighted was the rigorous procedures at Home Affairs for obtaining permits for her children irrespective of the fact that they were born in South Africa.

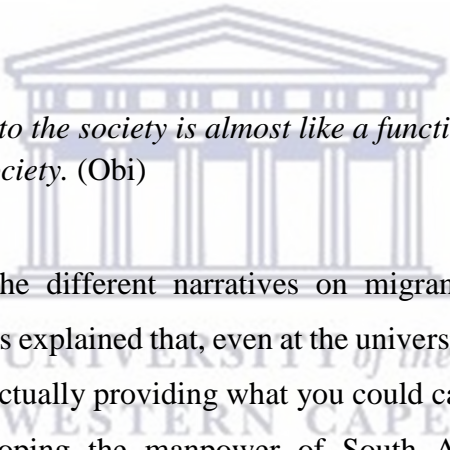
Chike expressed the challenges that he encounters in the South African work environment. The participant described South Africa as having the best and also the worst of Africa. Some hospitals have state-of-the-art medical equipment, like Groote Schuur Hospital, Tygerberg, Karl Bremer and certain other hospitals. While some of the population has a gross inequality in accessing medical facility in the rural areas, the same problems are also experienced in Nigeria. These two scenarios might be demotivating. In one area, there are unprofessional staff, a scarcity of medication, and poor work ethics. In another hospital, you have the best equipment and facilities.

For me, I have worked in the Western Cape a lot. Healthcare here seems to be more advanced than what appears in predominant in the other parts of South Africa, especially the more rural areas.

Femi explained that his challenges were mainly socio-cultural challenges.

I try to blend, but somehow I find Afrikaans and Xhosa a bit hectic to comprehend even after spending so many years in South Africa. It puts me at a disadvantage when I go out with friends; the language barrier becomes a problem, which limits me from socialising more with the locals.

Living in South Africa, as noted by the participants, has its social integration challenges; according to the participant, it is a mixture of different narratives of social exclusion depending on where one lives. Some of the participants explained that the integration issue is an interesting question, because they cannot really say that they are well integrated into the South African society. Given that South Africa is quite cosmopolitan, it might be possible for a migrant to live in isolation. Some explained that most migrants in South Africa live in isolation of the locals and, if you are not living or working in an environment where it forces you to integrate, it is very possible for one to live there without necessarily integrating, for example living in a location.



So really integrating into the society is almost like a functional type of integration within South African society. (Obi)

Tobi attempted to correct the different narratives on migrants and their usefulness and stereotypes. Some participants explained that, even at the university where some of them work, they see foreigners who are actually providing what you could call very essential, high skilled services, in terms of developing the manpower of South Africa. Some of these skills contribution is something migrants themselves need to talk about.

Every time where there is case of a migrant being involved in criminal activity, it's like published all over the world, all over the place and migrants keep quiet. Because it looks like migrants do not have a voice, the narratives are coming from the South Africans. And that is not fair. For me one way of tackling this is of course to start this whole process of counter-narratives. (Tobi)

Further integration challenges come from being a foreigner and the intricacies of obtaining a permit from the Department of Home Affairs. Ade explained the challenges:

Of course, there are challenges being a foreigner in this place. However, I have a resident permit, which makes things a bit easy, but processing it, getting the relevant documentation from home affairs it is quite challenging, and it is a big drawback and it is a big incentive to people who want to come over here to do something.

Tobi emphasised specifically the hostility of locals towards foreigners, he insists that the locals are usually very unfriendly and that he did not perceive any form of integration although other people have other different opinion on their perception. So the two sides of opinion might be informed by difference experiences encountered by other migrants. Tobi went on to explain that he had both family and personal challenges in the process of finding his feet in South Africa. He explained as follows:

So then I could not start my PhD in 1995, because there was a delay, something to do with my transcript even though I was applying to the same university ironically. But by March 1996, I started it. Then I finished in 1999.

Jane explained that she still needs to be conservative in most of her actions. She was able to put culture and religion into perspective as a way of coping: culture, by allowing the husband to lead in most issues, and by religion, abiding by the moral obligations of a woman to the husband. She stated that most Nigerian women are not forward about issues. They tend to be more family-oriented than participating in issues. Most of the time, they leave their husbands to deal with such issues. They are criticised for not being forward, yet there is the argument of not following the Western world, because their women are forward and tend to have more advantages and rights than their non-Western counterparts. While some female Nigerians tend to be submissive, it does not necessarily mean weakness. Even in the Muslim world and Christianity women are expected to be submissive to their husbands. This does not necessarily mean that they are being taken advantage of.

The rules are simple two captains cannot steer one ship. Meanwhile, there is a popular saying that behind every successful man there is a woman behind him. I can bet you that women exercise more influence behind the scenes than you can ever imagine. Despite the fact that my husband is the household head does not necessarily mean that he is the one who makes the decisions. We have our way around when we are determined to have our way. You can see that my husband

accompanied me for this interview and he has his own duty of looking after the children while you are conducting this interview. (Jane)

It is evident that most participants have different views and perceptions on integration. Some are challenges employment, the rigorous process of obtaining permit from Home Affairs, hostilities experienced in the community, stereotypes, social exclusion, discrimination in workplaces, and the challenge of raising children in South Africa. This is similar to Butcher (2009) and Ryan and Mulholland (2014b). The authors explained that highly-skilled professionals do not live in isolation, and they have to adjust to the local culture, climate, language and social norms of the country they migrated to. The participants also mentioned how they go about assimilating themselves into the society. This way of assimilation is supported by Ryan, Sales, Tilki and Siara (2008), where integration support is provided by different people in various ways, such as establishing expensive bridging relationships to provide useful information (Granovetter, 1983), and close and trusting relationships among close people in terms of bonding with relatives and friends (Coleman, 1988). Butcher (2009) pointed out the obstacles that migrants face in building relationships with the local population. Similarly, Bourdieu (1986) also revealed the obstacles encountered by migrants when attempting to access various kinds of resources through particular social relationships.

Some of the participants used for this study are married to South Africans, while others were joined by their wives. This is supported by Wellman (1984), who posited that marriage and motherhood impact on the range or extent of the composition of women network ties. Within the migration literature, housewives also play a key role in building local networks, especially around children and schooling (Beaverstock, 2005; Ryan and Mulholland, 2014a). In carving out relationships, one has to put into consideration the prevailing situation and structural context (Ryan, 2011).

The manifestations of xenophobia revealed that foreigners have become a site for violence and a host of unresolved social tensions in the South African environment. Valji (2003) argues that this problem is as a result of socio-economic frustration and a history of racial division and an inherent culture of which violence might be among the factors that continue to contribute to violent xenophobia in South Africa. South Africans could indeed be xenophobic, as posited by Adeagbo (2013), and are opposed to immigration.

In the challenges of securing work as professionals, most participants go through many processes and regulations. Sometimes some of these conditions attached to finding work are so

stringent that it becomes practically impossible to meet up with the requirements that were stipulated. Despite the problems encountered by migrants due to these restrictive policies, Ellis and Segatti (2011) noted that the private sector and some government departments are in favour of enacting immigration policy reforms to enable individuals with skills to work in South Africa more easily. In addition, some participants with families found that raising children was very expensive and also the rigorous process the family goes through at the Department of Home Affairs to update their permits. Another challenge was in the form of employment. The participants expressed a lack of motivation and incentive by their employees. They explained that they only receive a basic contract without benefits. Despite the migration restrictions, the migration of doctors from other African countries has been on the rise in South Africa and also other parts of the world. A case in point is in USA and Canada where almost a quarter of licensed physicians are migrants who graduated from Third World countries (Eckhert, 2002).

Another notable observation was the inequality in working environments and establishments. For example, as a doctor working at Groote Schuur Hospital as compared to working at a day hospital in Mitchell's Plain. Inequality in terms of working conditions, equipment and other considerations. However, some challenges are socio-cultural, as some participants stated that they had difficulty in socialising with the locals even after spending many years in the country. In some cases, participants felt socially excluded. Some participants still maintain that stereotyping of migrants is prevalent in South African society, which was echoed by Adeagbo (2013). Also within the spaces of the community where migrants live, they do not have a voice and most of the narratives about them is from the South African perspective, which may be somewhat biased.

7.4 Skills Contribution to South Africa

Development is a multifaceted term with no clear-cut definition as it carries different meanings depending upon the context in which it is used. The term, however, may refer to the processes involving major changes in social structures, popular attitudes, the reduction of inequality and the eradication of poverty. Development involves a move away from a condition of life that is perceived as unsatisfactory to a condition of life that enhances their well-being (Todaro and Smith, 2009).

Skills contribution in itself is not all about economic development. It encompasses human development and welfare. Most participants were able to explain how they contribute their

quota to the economy, rendering services to the society, academia, health, business and other sectors.

Some participants in academia also explained how they contribute their own services to society through teaching and research, by contributing towards human development through teaching, training, research and mentoring students. Though as they said, it was not an easy task to combine teaching and research and at the same time graduate students every year. Obi explained that he is currently a senior lecturer in pharmacy.

Jane added that having an international business opens a way for international relations and development between countries:

I recently opened up a private business helping Nigerians who need medical treatment to come to South Africa through procurement of visa, securing medical appointments, accommodating and providing catering for me including transport. This business has changed the way some Nigerians see medical treatment abroad at least I am contributing by fostering medical relationships and bringing profits to private medical practitioners in South Africa. As well as helping Nigerians get the desired and good medical attention needed.

Tobi, however, spoke about the unstable economic and political situation in South Africa in terms of socio-economic problems. The participant stated that the big public issue is in terms of economy and the political system. Some participants think that the problem with the policy issues is that South Africa is suffering from crisis of bad leadership. Even when the economic environment is good, sometimes the leadership in certain sectors are not well managed.

The participants were able to give their accounts of their skills contributions in their various vocations and professional capacities. Some of them have established businesses of their own. This is supported by Weenink (2008), who suggested that transnational mobility is associated with the accumulation of cultural capital, and these migrants also accumulate new experiences from the host country (Scott, 2006).

The concept of human development shifts the focus of development activities from production to people and the enhancement of their well-being. It represents a direct departure from economic growth, espoused by theories of modernization to emphasize agency, and people's ability to develop their potentials and lead productive lives in accordance with their needs and aspirations. Development is seen as a way of giving individuals freedom to live the lives they

value (Sen, 1999). Consequently, apart from basic skills, the participants also have other forms of capital which add to their contributions to development. Some of the participants have actually departed from the conventional employment trend and managed to establish their own businesses. This is in agreement with Tseng (2011), who explained that the majority of highly-skilled migrants are actually independent and not averse to self-initiated projects.

According to Mahbub ul Haq (1995:14), the basic purpose of development is to enlarge people's choices. In principle, these choices can be infinite and can change over time. People often value achievements that do not show up at all, or not immediately, in income or growth figures: greater access to knowledge, better nutrition and health services, more secure livelihoods, security against crime and physical violence, satisfying leisure hours, political and cultural freedoms and sense of participation in community activities. The objective of development is to create an enabling environment for people to enjoy long, healthy and creative lives (Ul Haq, 1995:14).

Foley and Kerr (2012) suggested that skilled migrants working in multi-national establishments help these firms expand in the receiving country. The same applies to people working in academia and other establishments. They contribute their skills and services through education, as doctors, and conducting research in public health, business and economics. Working with a panel of United States cities, Nathan (2013) concluded that an increase in migrant scientists and engineers lead to increased wages for the United States educated workers. This development was interpreted as a result of migrant labour productivity shifts (Nathan, 2014). Also, descriptive studies suggest that skilled migrants, especially those from Asia, make important contributions to science and technology in their host country (Nathan, 2014). This proposition might be linked to the highly-skilled migrants in South Africa in terms of their services in science and technology, business, academia, medicine and other fields.

7.5 Views on Migration Policies

Migration policies are significant and shape the form of international interaction in a country. In South Africa, there have been discrepancies in semantics and interpretations regarding migration issues and policies. Some of the participants' views on migration policies are provided below.

Chike spoke of his perceptions of the policies on critical skills, as he tried to compare the policy in South Africa to Europe. Chike's opinion on the South African policy on critical skills was

that there is one thing setting up policy and another thing implementing it. He suggested that the people who run the country should sit down and make policies that work for them and can implement migration favourable migration without much problem. Some participants argue that sometimes South Africa takes these policies from Europe, such as the change from a work permit called special skills to critical skills. This implies that a doctor may need a critical medical skill in KwaZulu Natal, but might not need the same skill in the Western Cape with the same job opportunity. According to Chike,

This critical skills policy should be implement to the latter, so that when somebody leaves his country to come work in South Africa. They will be aware of the critically skill needed in the Eastern Cape, as against the one needed in Western cape., like how it happens in Australia, Canada and the U.S. Not when you come here and then you get to the foreign workforce and they can't really help you. Do you know, what, what you saw for example, on the website of the foreign workforce, is not what you will see on ground...

Chike identified the advantages of having a South African identity document (ID):

Some doctors have been working here for six years now; they still don't have their ID. Some people have submitted their documents but nobody gives them feedback. So but the thing is once you have your ID, then it makes it more it easier to get a house loan, get and a car loan. Sometimes you do not know why your application is pending for six months; one year nobody can give you a reason why it is like that so it makes it difficult.

Some of the participants had concerns with the way that the Department of Home Affairs handles the policy issue on foreign women and children. The participant suggested that the government should look into adjusting these policies. Jane, one of the participants in this study, mentioned that her two children were born in South Africa, yet they are still regarded as foreigners because their mother is a foreigner. They go through the rigorous process of processing their legal papers and nationality issues which impacts the children's access to education. The question that came up was why they marginalise women from other countries given the types of policies the country has in place with regards to foreign nationals.

Most of the participants were able to shed more light on policy shifts and their views on what the South African environment and migration policies can do to attract highly-skilled migrants.

The participant thinks that the policy shift should not be towards integrating the highly-skilled immigrants, but it should be in terms of how the highly-skilled immigrants are welcomed into a society. Given certain interpretations of policy of South Africa one might be inclined to call some of these policies dichotomy, where officially policy does not look at one from that perspective of professionalism, rather the experience of the participants in the society does not indicate that they are seen for the value that they bring for the society which makes them less inclined to integrate themselves within the society.

This negative and discriminatory treatment against migrants that are highly skilled is in contrast to post-apartheid labour market policies which has undergone some structural shifts in recent times. According to Borat (2004), the structural changes have been to increase the demand for highly-skilled workers, combined with the large-scale attrition at the bottom-end of the labour market. The implication of this is that in order to achieve a balance in the special and critical skills policy, there should be a balance in both the supply and demand for skilled labour and this should be a critical factor in a policy framework that aims to attract expatriates in different fields (Bhorat, 2004).

Similarly, Obi also emphasised that the dichotomy is perhaps only one of the problems encountered at Home Affairs. Obi pointed out the difficulty and rigorous process foreigners have to endure due to the complicated policies of the country which make it difficult for businesses to employ a highly-skilled migrant. He explained that even as a highly-skilled migrant, one might have to jump through hoops to get employed despite the fact that the migrant is skilled. With all these obstacles as was explained by Obi, it puts one off in terms of integrating into society. He emphasised the need for the South African government to have a procedure in terms of following through on policies or have a policy attracting and integrating highly-skilled individuals. The policy has to trickle down to the local level of the people, and the provinces where there is Home Affairs.

I need to be treated differently from the person who comes with a refugee permit or something like that, because that is where the rubber meets the roller, and that is where you get the feeling of whether you are appreciated as a highly-skilled individual or whether they just see you as one more foreigner whose taking our jobs. (Obi)

Chike wondered if there was any particular policy in place to combat xenophobia. Some participants have lived in the country long enough to witness the incessant waves of xenophobia

and accounts of people who have been brutally displaced or murdered. Others have lost their loved ones and some people's properties were looted. According to him In all these uncertainties the government has not come out with a decisive policy against xenophobia. Rather, unconfirmed information and rumours keep spreading that xenophobia is alleged to be fuelled by some traditional rulers and certain politicians which makes it challenging to live in South Africa because of all these uncertainties. The xenophobia evidence, as mentioned by some participants, is proof of the locals' attitude towards migrants. Klotz (2000) explained that foreigners are still portrayed as threats to security, and that anti-immigrant attitudes still persist in the form of xenophobia. Migration policies are usually based on legal measures to control the flow of people across a country's borders (Klotz, 2000).

Tobi expressed his perceptions and cautions on certain adverse restrictive policies that South Africa advocates and how it might not be progressive:

Well, I think it is something that you have to be careful about. However, that is their sense of the law to take care of things. So in terms of foreigners coming, I think South Africa should be careful with this policy, and I see in the next ten years how the rainbow nation will actually be relevant. Because if you see the influence of Chinese, Russians, Jews, Brazilians into the system, it's sending a signal that in ten to fifteen years from now, families are being raised, that is, that are mixed, there are foreigners with a South African mother or South African dad. (Tobi)

This claim of sporadic xenophobic attacks is supported by Klotz (2000), who referred to the improved February 2000 draft immigration bill that retains control and the enforcement of the 1998 Refugee Act that was passed in order to mitigate abuse of asylum claims. Some interest groups and certain politicians are still advocating for tougher measures to keep migrants out of South Africa, while others take the law into their hands by physically attacking foreigners in the form of protests and xenophobic attacks. The assumptions that foreign workers compete with South Africans is somehow unfounded, as supported by Wöcke and Klein (2002), who explained that, contrary to the assumptions, migrants actually play a complimentary role in balancing the labour market with the locals. In reality, there is no particular limit because the more skills there are the better the economy.

Ade went on to suggest that the kind of migration policy that might be appropriate for highly-skilled migrants would be to give the highly-skilled migrants an opportunity to contribute and being integrated faster into the system so that their socio-economic life could be balanced.

Don't keep them in the loop for too long, because you are not sure today, you change the policy tomorrow you change the policy all the time. If it is a five-year thing from permanent residence to become citizens allow them to be, you do not keep arguing the goal post, when they get to the point, it is, a bit incentive and the truth on the matter is that South Africa enquires skilled labour sets to push on.
(Ade)

Ade went on to elaborate what a skilled labour set is in comparison to critical skills and exceptional skills. There was relatively a general agreement among the participants that skilled labour sets are those that contribute to the growing of the economy, and if you look at the universities across South Africa, he explained that foreigners are actually doing the job that South Africans are not knowledgeable on and also doing it very well, in the Universities most South African do graduate and leave and look job opportunities. While the foreigners stay back on the university because outside sector is almost closed to them, given that the university academia seems to be the only option to them as skilled foreigners.

I do not see the difference between critical skills and special skills. Both are important. These are just semantics which will become problematic in terms of professionalising difference and concept. What are critical and special skills? They are skills sets that required moving the economy.

One participant had this to say about critical skills: they say that skills interpretation is a matter of semantics. If a skill is exceptional, it is exceptional, and if a skill is critical, it is critical. Skill might be exceptional, and not critical, and a skill might be critical, but not exceptional. However, in both cases, there are also things that both sets of skill are needed in any economy, so what happens is a partial evaluation process which is either a critical skill or an exceptional skill.

As an added opinion, some participants went on to make international comparisons of skill sets and how they think it should work: some of them explained that in every country in this world, even in the US, no country has all these skills set. Even in the US, as developed as it is, UK, and in Canada, there are special categories for people who have exceptional critical skills. So, there is a need for South Africa to see the fact relative to other countries and deal with it. Irrespective of stringent migration, there will always be foreigners who would come in. And,

then these foreigners being of value to the economy, and bring added value in the form of skills contribution.

Tobi explained that

The government of South Africa is not doing enough to fill in gap of inequality even their uprising sometimes motivate xenophobic attacks which motivated by lack of service delivery protest. There is a high level of crudity in policies in South Africa. And, I think there is a need for that to be sensitised and that there is a need for civilisation to go right down to the line, you know. People need to be told and public enlightenment that they cannot engage in vast discrimination. It is unfortunate that a country that went through apartheid like South Africa will also be a country that will be hostile to people who are not South Africans, I mean it is a contradiction.

A considerable gap and discrepancies were identified by the participants in terms of South Africa's migration policies. The participants identified implementation gaps such as inconsistencies and administrative inefficiencies at the Department of Home Affairs. The participants stressed the roles that local authorities can play in maximising the development payoffs of migration, integrating migrants in host communities, and reducing social tensions between migrants and host communities (Landau *et al.*, (2011).

Some participants were of the opinion that the current policy does not have sufficient conditions for attracting highly-skilled migrants to the country. A broader criticism from international experience demonstrates that value is gained by granting visas to highly-skilled migrants or those with professional qualifications, regardless of their field, but unfortunately, in South Africa, there are still a bureaucratic problem and dichotomy issues in the migration policy. Although the Department of Home Affairs publishes a list of exceptional or critical skills from time to time after consultation with key government departments, the study findings highlight the implementation gaps in terms of interpretation and the processes by the Department of Home Affairs officers. For example, South Africa could consult with other countries in terms of immigration policies and migration flow (Massey *et al.*, 1993). This was supported by Wöcke and Klein (2002), who that immigration does not negatively affect job opportunities in a country, but rather brings important benefits in form of job opportunities for the entrepreneurs in the country.

Though it is generally understood that there is no great country in the world without immigrants, immigrants will always be there. According to most participants it would be best

to advocate a policy that will support immigrants that have something to put on the table. The policy would be geared to assimilate those who are in the country, because of war, because of other problems, these will lead to greater opportunities, and a greater environment where people contribute honestly. In some cases as the participants implied, if you have a policy that disenfranchises people, the implication is that you are growing an underground economy and the government will lose a lot. This is evident in certain laws enacted by the government after the apartheid regime, such cases were when laws on skilled immigration seems to have taken a more protectionist approach to the labour market as opposed to the approaches taken by the previous administrations (Ellis and Segatti, 2011).

Laws on skilled migration introduced stricter immigration controls through the 2011 Immigration Amendment Act that was opposed by businesses and the human rights sector. However, when you formalise people and put them into formal settings, the government would make a lot of money. In any case, there are arguments on both sides. In South Africa, there is a narrative that criminals are coming into the country, migrants are taking South African women and the job opportunities of the locals (Morris, 1998). This argument is supported by Wöcke and Klein (2002), who explained that the effectiveness of a country policy can be assessed as successful if the country's labour policies satisfy the needs of both labour market demands and the needs of the foreign workers. It was further revealed that migration policies are mainly based on the premise that migration has both negative and positive effects in the host country. Therefore, the successes of the migration policy are determined by their direct impact on the economies of the host country (Wöcke and Klein, 2002).

7.6 Conclusion

The general motivation to migrate to South Africa is that the South African education is relatively cheaper when compared to European countries. Also the knowledge that the earlier migrants had that helped them to adopt in Cape Town have had a direct influence in their motivation and choice of choosing to stay in South Africa. Basically, the study gave an indication of the vocation and industry these migrants are involved with. The study also interrogated their length of stay and it was found that the more years they spend the more integrated they become in the country

Some participants were generally critical of, and had mixed feelings of the form of integration in South Africa. Most of the participants recognised the importance of successful integration which includes employment, housing, education, social connections, language, and culture.

Most participants gave accounts on how they contribute their quota of skills to the economy by rendering services to society, academia, health, business and other sectors. The general understanding is that development is not just about economic progress, but transcends to a human's right to choose, their capabilities, and their well-being.

Participants were able to identify a considerable gap and discrepancies in South African migration policies. The participants were able to identify implementation gaps such as inconsistencies and administrative inefficiencies in terms of policy implementation.

The next chapter gives an account of the researcher's observations and reflective journal of the pre-perceptions, challenges and lessons learned during the research process.



CHAPTER EIGHT: OBSERVATION AND REFLEXIVITY

8.1 Introduction

During the research, it was not possible to observe how the participants integrate and socialise in the society that they lived in. Subsequently, the researcher took the liberty to go and observe how they integrated and interacted at social gatherings where many of the participants were present. Participant observation is usually done in the interview setting as field site; the study observation was done when the researcher was included to participate. This offered the opportunity to observe the interactions of the participants and their socio-cultural integration.

Observation is an integral part of data collection and a challenging one in qualitative data collection. It connects the observer to human experiences through emersion, by participating and discovering the how and why of human behaviour in a particular context. According to Guest, Namey and Mitchell (2013:76), "*observation at a field site is an important rite of passage*" into the sociological discipline. The researcher understands that even when used on a limited basis, the observation technique produces insight and a highly contextual understanding. Since the study tried to elicit the setting in which people have complicated relationships with each other, their physical environment was examined through observation. Given that the researcher should be embedded in the action and context of social settings, this study considered the element of observation as the location of whatever human aspect to be studied, building support with the participants, and spending enough time interacting to attain the needed or required data. The justification therefore for observation is that many aspects of the social milieu are only visible to the insiders and some specific or designated people. The subjective and personal aspects of observation are central to the argument of enabling a viewpoint that will be captured in a particular way or skewing the viewpoint so that the findings are in question.

8.2 Marriage Ceremony Observed (Socio-cultural Integration)

Observation was possible at the marriage ceremony of one of the participants in the study and a South African woman. The groom extended the invitation of the marriage to his circle of friends and other people from other walks of life and profession. The location of marriage was in Gugulethu, a popular township in Cape Town. The marriage ceremony was celebrated with

pomp and pageantry and different cultural groups were all represented. The guests arrived early; among them were professionals, Nigerians from all walks of life who made up different social statuses, socio-economic classes and different religions and ethnicities. All were gathered together in support of the wedding ceremony which involved another nationality and culture. The attire of the guests was very flamboyant, cutting across different styles and designs of traditional dressing. The mood was a happy one; in fact, most people had not seen each other for a long time, so this was a forum for more interaction and catching up while they were waiting to be ushered in by the host community.

The next step was ushering in the visitors into a tent that was erected for the ceremony. As the guests approached the venue, a loud noise was heard and ululating³⁴ as well as happy dance took place. One of the noticeable things observed was the different categories of crowds that attended the ceremony from different neighbouring communities such as Langa, Nyanga and Delft to witness this unique trans-cultural wedding ceremony. The ceremony was performed according to traditional Xhosa marriage rites. All the protocols were observed, and people from different families and other representatives were given the opportunity to make speeches. An outstanding aspect that day was that the mother of the bride was showered with a lot of respect and praises and honoured for raising her child by the community. The speeches that were made by people were based on the need for unity. According to the speakers, most of them noted that despite our differences, we are all one people and the call of the dignity of mankind irrespective of nationality and culture. Emphasis was laid on the need for South Africans to try and accommodate other people, that foreigners were also part and parcel of the community, and that they should not be looked down on as common strangers, popularly addressed as *Kwerekwere*³⁵. The ceremony was officiated over by a priest who prayed and joined the partners together for better or worse. Afterwards came the reception, which served both Nigerian and South African cuisines. Both foods were palatable, and the drinks flowed freely. Then everyone was entertained by different traditional groups who were invited to perform.

An important observation was the similarities in culture and ethnic identity formation. According to the literature reviewed for this study, Glick-Schiller and Fouran (1990:331) pointed out that “*ethnicity or the sense of belonging to a particular group, thus implies the existence of a cultural or sub-culture in which group members have shared beliefs, values and*

³⁴ The ululating is a traditional echo of welcome to the visitors. It is usually done at South African traditional marriage ceremonies such as in Xhosa and Zulu traditions.

³⁵ *Kwerekwere* is a derogatory name for foreign black African nationals.

attitudes and behaviours”. In this case, the groom’s family and everyone affiliated with his family treated their Nigerian counterparts as part of their community.

Here, culture is an essential aspect of integration. Spencer (2011) proposed that, as a concept, integration means the interactions of migrants and individuals as well as institutions within the host society. This interaction facilitates social, cultural and civic participation and an inclusive sense of belonging, which comes from the union of marriage between different ethnic groups (Spencer and Charsley, 2016). This proposition is also similar to the literature on intermarriages of Nigerian men and South African women (Adeagbo, 2011, 2013).

The implication therefore of a marriage is that it has become an essential tool for socio-cultural integration and because trust is easily built in marriage relationships and establishing bonds and interdependency. In most cases, mutual respect is accorded to individual differences. Another critical factor is that children born within these marriages become a bridge in the gap of nationality between both parents. They have the advantage of understanding both languages, which is a tool for cultural assimilation. In a marriage between different nationalities, there is also less prejudice and more acceptance, which minimises stereotypes and xenophobia. Here, people find out their similarities in culture and the realisation that there is so much that binds people together than what tears them apart.

8.3 Socialising at a Birthday Celebration

Network ties are also an important category of integration. The observation cuts across a friendly gathering of friends, well-wishers and discussing basic things ranging from politics, professions and family issues, to church activities like christening. These gatherings are well attended by family, friends and church members. The arrangement of a child’s birthday party is often a complex one, as observed. The family goes through rigorous procedures to invite family and friends. There is also a procedure to invite other children to the birthday party. First, the school has to be informed together with the class teacher. Then the teacher will issue out the invitations to the classmates of the celebrant, then the children, in turn, will extend the invitation to their parents who will accompany them to the birthday party. It was observed that most often the children’s class is a mixture of different nationalities and races, so if their parents are invited along it represents divergences and differences in nationality. On this particular occasion, the parents of the children were from different countries ranging from England, the Netherlands, other African countries and South Africans, represented by whites,

blacks, Africans, Indians, and coloureds. While the children were distracted with enough foods, drinks and games, people were getting to know each other. The interaction was amazing because it was a common ground for people to interact with one another and learn about different cultures and lifestyles. People were able to find common ground in professional ties and other similar discourses such as sports and work. In all, it seemed as though friendships were formed and contact and network ties were established.

This form of interaction is very important for socio-economic integration because this gathering comprised of people from different professional backgrounds and experiences and others with a wealth of cultural capital. Dustmann and Frattini (2011) agree that the extent to which migrants integrate into a country and perform in its economic environment may be measured along two dimensions - economic and social. According to findings by Mulholland and Ryan (2011), highly-skilled French migrants living in London made friends easily with work colleagues, international migrants, and people they met at parties.

The current study shows that this is also the case among this small group of highly-skilled Nigerian migrants living in South Africa. In more recent times, South Africa has become a destination for many migrants (Mukonza, 2011). According to Adepoju (2004), more highly-skilled Nigerian migrants have found the booming economy of South Africa more attractive than going to European countries. Significantly, Nigerians have had an increasing tendency to migrate towards permanent residency in South Africa because of the good network ties (Akinrinade and Olukoya, 2011). With such wealth of cultural capital that highly-skilled migrants bring into the country, together with the good education of the host country, they cannot be overlooked. In this study, the highly-skilled Nigerians' integration challenges into the South African society and labour market and their contribution to the skills transfer were considered (Segatti *et al.*, 2012). More scholarly research and discourse on the contribution of highly-skilled migrants in the host country is needed. In addition, Akinrinnade and Olukoya (2011) reiterated that Nigerian migrants tend to have social ties to institutions and organisations that help them to migrate, get a job and adjust to South African society quickly.

8.4 Reflexivity

“Like the choreographer, the researcher must find the most effective way to tell the story and to convince the audience of the meaning of the study. Staying

*close to the data is most powerful means of telling the story. Just as the dance
the story is told through the body itself'* (Janesick, 2000:389)

This part of the study captures the pre-study thoughts, beliefs and values that may have impacted the process of the research. By using reflexivity as a strategy, it enhances rigour and tries to prevent the researcher's thoughts and values from integrating into the research process (Malterud, 2001).

Before the researcher set out to undertake the research, there was a preconceived notion of migration and a lot of apprehension about the possible outcomes and process of the research. Since the researcher is a Nigerian migrant, there was a predisposition of being biased, given the preconceived notion that highly-skilled migrants find it difficult to assimilate into the labour market in South Africa. The researcher, who obtained a Bachelor of Science degree in Economics before migrating to South Africa, the optimism was high because of the possibility of continuing education and getting a job. In this case, the main motive of the decision to migrate was to continue education and to obtain a better job, although there was no concrete plan. This was in line with the argument of King (2000) that most migrants do not have a concrete plan for migration, but rather justify their decision with the possibility that awaits them in the target country.

The decision therefore was based on other factors such as having a cultural capital which would aid entry into the field of academia. This was also posited by Bourdieu (1984, 1993). Some of the challenges faced also include the uncertainties of people's reactions to the study and the task of acquiring people to participate using purposive sampling. The initial assumption is that most highly-skilled individuals are very individualistic and they hardly make time to engage and participate in a forum where their voices can be heard in such research as this. Contrary to the researcher's preconceptions, the research was received with overwhelming support from participants and their general willingness to participate.

For the first time, highly-skilled Nigerian migrants who participated in this research were optimistic that their voices would be heard and their concerns about the migration policy would be included in policy discourse, and also the hope that this research will stimulate more academic research on highly-skilled African migrants. One of the most difficult challenges was the bias and also how objectivity could be achieved in this research, but in the process, it was

found out that most of the highly-skilled Nigerian migrants had a balanced discourse over issues and matters arising from the society.

One of the interesting revelations of this research was how it brought out the uniqueness of Cape Town. Previously, most of the information about Cape Town is its role as an important tourist destination, without a mention of its importance as a migration hub. This research was able to project the uniqueness of Cape Town as one of the fastest growing urban migration hubs in the world. It also captures how migrants built Cape Town and how, up until today, the migrants still contribute to its development. It is interesting to note that Cape Town has a sophisticated property market and that the provincial administration, together with the City of Cape Town, is still making spirited efforts to build more housing and infrastructure, especially in the townships. Cape Town is known to attract people because it offers better access to health services. In employment, it provides job opportunities to highly-skilled migrants in the areas of health, academia, engineering, information technology and a host of other opportunities. Cape Town has good road networks and transport system. It also has a good disaster risk management plan and standard integration and social cohesion.

8.4.1 Themes and patterns during the fieldwork

As I take a step back and look at my entire journey of this research, I have been able to identify and draw together some recurring themes and patterns of the roles I navigated most. In doing this and upon reflecting on them, I have further been able to name my strengths and weaknesses regarding my work and role in this field.

These repeated themes and patterns were roles that involved relationship building, story-telling, group engagement, vulnerability and transparency. In the majority of my journal reflections, I felt as if I was flourishing and learning the most when I participated in the above-mentioned themes. I not only had the chance to become a participant, but I also had the chance to work alongside other highly-skilled migrants with much more experience and wisdom than I have. Something I really thrived on was the rich and intentional conversations about the roles, contributions and influences the migrants have on people in the community where they live.

This is where relationship building became something that was crucial for highly-skilled Nigerian migrants' integration. I was grateful of what I obtained out of this research experience, having many more intentional relationships built as a result of our shared desires and passions about the same goals. A lot of my journal reflections were filled with stories and narratives that

I were told by the participants during the course of the research. There were a few skills I learnt when trying to process everything I had heard from the participants. One was the extreme importance of listening. I realised that I was not an expert and that I had a lot to learn regarding working and understanding these groups of people better that would result in positive and sustainable change.

As much as talking with participants was insightful, my learnings and growth happened most in the in-depth interviews, watching how each participant was passionate in their narratives about motivations and migration experiences. These narratives reminded me of the African Renaissance Theory, where the theory pictures African life as one where the community lives and moves with a shared purpose. Their objectives would be to encourage the community members to engage with the issues happening right in front of them (Matunhu, 2011). This practical example is what Matunhu (2011) described as a group or organization coming up with solutions as a community, therefore, resulting in community-based action plans.

8.4.2 Conclusion

The experience of reflecting on journal entries brings a sense of peace and accomplishment to me. Peace, because knowing the experience is over and I have actually completed it. It is a great feeling knowing what you wanted to accomplish has come into fulfilment, some of the major learnings I will definitely keep with me for a very long time. The experience has stretched me and inspired me to never give up and to always remember my reason for doing what I do. There were some tough times and I am thankful to have come out of them, and still going strong. In this paper, I attempted to reflect on a few summarised journal entries as well as thoughts, feelings, frustrations, experiences and major learnings from my fieldwork journey. Included and integrated were sections on theoretical issues within community development that has challenged and changed my perspective on a few things. Throughout the flow of this paper, I included some of my practical learnings as a result of the fieldwork practical.

The next chapter will discuss the conclusions, the thesis contribution to knowledge, and recommendations for further study.

CHAPTER NINE: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

9.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the summary of the findings are highlighted, the significance of the study, as well as the study limitations. This chapter will also mention the contributions of this study to the new knowledge generated. It also discusses possible recommendations and suggests areas for further research and conclusion.

9.2 Summary of Findings

The research was able to address the research aims and objectives posed at the beginning of the research. The objectives were matched and articulated with the study methods. The research also shed light on the reasons and motivations of migration with a detailed account of integration experiences, participants' policy views, social networks, coping mechanisms and exploration of the possible skills contribution of highly-skilled migrants in the host country. Although the process of migration from the home country to the final destination was not fully explored, nevertheless, the study was able to identify the pitfalls, cracks and inconsistencies of the migration policy of South Africa. In comparison with the experiences of highly skilled in other countries, it was found that most of the experiences of highly-skilled migrants in other parts of the world are similar in terms of integration experiences and socio-economic challenges faced by migrants. These are challenges with immigration laws and policy, and the cumbersome process of visa or work permit applications. Other similar challenges, according to Adewunmi (2015), are culture shock experienced by migrants, career setbacks, and financial challenges at the beginning before obtaining employment.

Despite all the challenges faced by the migrants, life in the destination country of the migrant tends to be better than the one back home. This generalisation of opinion still applies to the migrants living in South Africa; participants confirmed that the standard of living in South Africa is much better than the one back home. Other similar comparisons are migrants using social networks as a means of unification and building relationships. An interesting revelation was how highly-skilled migrants accumulated cultural capital before entering the destination countries of which this is similar and applicable to other migrants across the world. This is in agreement with Bourdieu (1984), who explained that cultural capital is closely linked to

education and the middle class, given that the majority of university graduates are from middle class educated parents and most have acquired a good education in their home country. This implies that cultural capital that has been accumulated can be used as a point of entry into the field of academia and other establishments in the receiving country (Bourdieu, 1993).

Based on a thorough literature review, the thesis was able to derive a convincing theoretical, conceptual framework and select appropriate research methods. Each main section of the thesis begins with a heading with academic writing structure. In general, a useful balance has been made between the various sections of the headings. The research topic reflects the core issues of the research problem and draws conclusions from collected and analysed data. The conclusion drawn from the research might have wider relevance and application. Below are summary of the findings.

9.2.1 Motivations

With regards to **motivations**, the study found that migration decisions are very individual, and migrants have different motives to migrate, therefore, making each context different from one another. Some of the motives that were found ranged from education, a search for a better life, career enhancement or a change in career, and joining family. The findings for motivations to migrate are similar to (King, 2000), who explained that family relationships and responsibilities also affect the decision, as well as the process of migration. It was also found that, in most cases, some migrants may not have a concrete plan for migration, but rather justify their decision with the possibilities that await them in the receiving country. The motivation of most female Nigerians to migrate, especially those within the age bracket of 25 to 45 years, is often influenced by the reason to join their spouses. When they arrive in the host country, apart from raising children, they also seek to improve their level of education. It is also found that religion and culture play a huge part in the way in which migrants interact with the outside world. These findings are similar to other studies such as (Dzvimbo, 2003) who explained that the motives for highly-skilled migration have been to seek a conducive environment that promotes professional independence in institutions in potential destination countries; motivations also included personal goals and their personal history.

Other common factors for reasons for the migration of the highly skilled included family ties, labour market conditions, migration laws and policies in both the country of origin and destination country, network effects, and financial constraints, which is also similar to the

findings of (Dzvimbo, 2003; Schoorl *et al.*, 2000). Also, apart from other reasons expounded, some participants did not have a concrete reason for migrating but were motivated by economic gains. Based on the responses of some participants who gave economic reasons as motivation to migrate, this is similar to the study findings by King (2000), who also noted that in migration decisions, the attraction of more economically developed places provides incentives for some people to move to that area.

9.2.2 Integration

The research was able to describe and illuminate some important aspects of the usefulness and the impact of highly-skilled migrants regarding their integration experiences and their contribution to the socio-economics of the host country. This integration process was analysed using the domains of integration adopted from (Ager and Strang, 2008). The integration was analysed using the following sub-domains: **markers and means**, which was comprised of education, employment, housing and health; **social connections**, which included social bridges, social bonds and social links; **facilitators**, which included language and cultural knowledge, safety, and stability; and **foundation**, which refers to the rights of citizenship.

Education, employment, housing, culture (intermarriage), and health were recognised as important aspects of integration. The importance of health in this research was indicated by the predominant need for membership to private health insurance (medical aid). Intermarriage was an important means for socio-cultural. Having access to education was a means to comfortable integration which trickled down to economic gain. Most of the participants mentioned that having education made them acquire the basic comforts of living in a foreign country as migrants. With economic integration, most of them have bank accounts, medical aid, and access to bank loans and contribution to pension funds.

Employment was also recognised as a catalyst to the promotion of economic independence, planning for the future and encouraging self-reliance. This finding was in line with the framework of domains of integration (Ager and Strang, 2008), where employment was a requirement for complete migrant integration. However, there was a major conceptual challenge in the reflection of integration with regards to housing, education, employment and health. This is as a result of the wide variations in income, employment, housing status and level of educational among the migrants.

The **markers and means** are correlated and complimentary to each other. Having education among the participants transcends to obtaining a good and secured employment, and having employment leads to economic stability, like having a bank account, being able to contribute to pension scheme and affording private medical aid scheme which gives access to private healthcare, medical savings and other forms of benefits. Being economically stable helps one to acquire good housing in a conducive environment.

9.2.3 Social connections

Social connections involve building of social capital by way of personal and bridging relationships. This was done by participants by making friends and establishing social connections with people from different origins and from different parts of the world. It was also found that social bonds existed between families and friends, especially with constant communication and connection with people back home. Most participants explained that they maintained social links through social media, Facebook, email, Whatsapp groups and remittances. The use of social media to maintain strong bonds with family corroborate with findings from Dekker and Engbersen (2014), who found that using social media helps migrants to maintain strong relationships with family and friends and to facilitate migration.

9.2.4 Coping mechanisms

In terms of **coping mechanisms**, it was found from the participants that withdrawals into ethnic enclaves became an attractive option when they experienced discrimination such as xenophobia and stereotyping. This was also noted by Van Oudenhoven, Ward and Masgoret (2006). They described how transmigration provided immigrants with alternatives to life in the host country (Van Oudenhoven *et al.*, 2006). It also creates “*opportunities for immigrants to distance themselves from the host country*” (Van Oudenhoven *et al.*, 2006:648). This is in line with the findings where most participants expressed a feeling of social exclusion and, consequently, a way of dealing with this that sought cohesion within themselves and contact back home. In terms of social ties, the study found that highly-skilled Nigerian migrants interacted with South African locals, work colleagues, Nigerian nationals and other foreign nationals. However, they sometimes experienced challenges such as xenophobia and feelings of mistrust for foreigners among some locals that prevented them from making expansive social networks in South Africa. For such challenges to be counteracted, there is a need for more discourse of the skills

contribution of migrants to the host country. Also, the media can play a critical role to change the public opinion and promote social interaction and integration. One of the important means by which some migrants cope with everyday life was by way of networking through telephone, emails, Facebook, WhatsApp and other social media. This seems to help in individual coping, keeping in touch with family and bridging relationships.

9.2.5 Skills contribution

The participants of this study suggested that local authorities at the municipal level play a critical role in maximising the skills payoff of migration, by integrating migrants and reducing social tensions between migrants and host communities (Landau *et al.*, 2011). In line with Bourdieu's (1984, 1993) theory of cultural capital, it was found that, while highly-skilled migrants were coming to South Africa, they came in with cultural, economic, and social capital. Bourdieu (1984) further explained that the cultural capital is closely linked to education and the middle class, given that the majority of university graduates are from middle class educated parents with experience of how the institutions operate. This implies that economic and cultural capital that has been accumulated by migrants can be used as a point of entry into the field of academia and other institutions (Bourdieu, 1993). Similar to this, Akinrinade and Olukoya (2011) asserted that the majority of highly-skilled Nigerians come from a relatively privileged and educated background and consequently bring their stock of social and cultural capital into the host country. The question of how participants contribute their services to different sectors in South Africa is important to the study and a stimulant for further academic discourse. Ellis and Segatti (2011) posited that the private sector and some government departments are actually in favour of enacting immigration policy reforms to enable migrants to work in South Africa more easily. The question is, why are highly-skilled migrants needed in South Africa, while South Africa has a lot qualified skilled workers? The answer is as a consequence of 'brain drain'. Ellis and Segatti (2011) explained that, after apartheid, a large number of skilled South Africans left to go abroad and it created a severe skills shortage which was exacerbated by the poor education system for South Africans.

9.2.6 Policy Views

The participants were of the view that it was not only the responsibility of the national government to implement and manage policies, but rather that local provinces and

municipalities still have a role to play to maximize the skill sets and stock of human capital that highly-skilled migrants brings into the country. The participants' views were similar to Landau, Segatti and Misago (2011), who explained that it is the municipalities that bear the brunt of delivery issues. It did not go unnoticed that more is needed to be done at the local level, because it is where the responsibility of service delivery trickles down to the population, including migrants. However, some of the difficulties found in integration planning for migrants, as explained by Landau, Segatti and Misago (2011), is that the forums and incentives for government planning and budgetary on migration are often mitigated by bureaucracy and a poor chain of communication. Some of the problems of the immigration policy, which was noted by the participants, were also similar to Landau, Segatti and Misago (2011). These problems with immigration policies are summarised below.

Local government structures, in most cases, are not consulted in the national migration policy: the participants noted that the provinces are not consulted by the government in enacting migration policies, which makes it confusing and rigorous to implement these policies. The role of the different levels of government are not clear across sectors: most departments have a problem in defining these roles and what is expected of them, which makes it difficult to process permits because of not understanding the basic responsibilities and roles each department and sections should play. The local government is excluded from planning and budgetary processes: some participants argue that, if the local government and municipals are excluded from the budget planning, this invariably affects their departments, and that it would be difficult for them to function as a unit independent of the central government. Some participants explained, based on the pockets of information obtained from policy documents, that most policies change without due consultation, and also a lack of communication and limited information on the current policy. According to (Landau *et al.*, 2011), that most changes on immigration policies are done without consultations with local authorities, which is similar to the views of the participants. The participants felt that there is the need to address these gaps in planning migration policies.

Ellis and Segatti (2011) also discussed the inconsistencies in the migration policy. They argued that one of the problems in the implementation of immigration law in South Africa is the lack of support from key sectors of the political and administrative structures of the government. This fact is in line with the findings that the majority of the participants expressed about the lack of articulation and direction on the migration policy especially with the Department of Home Affairs. The participants suggested that some adjustment to the policy would help the

South African migration policy to be in line with migration policies of other developed countries such as the United States and Europe.

9.2.7 Socio Cultural Integration

In the **facilitators** section, it was found that speaking a local language is an advantage that helps in integration. The participants explained that their cultural knowledge came from interactions with the locals. Cultural integration brings about more adjustment by the migrant, which leads to shared values, practices and becoming accustomed to the system of the host country. One of the important aspects of cultural integration was intermarriages between Nigerians and South African women. Some of the participants revealed that they are married to South Africans, and raising children together. The participants noted that, apart from intermarriage, which is a catalyst to cultural integration, having children was an important cultural link to both families. Children with dual identities have the advantage of connecting with both families and imbibing the separate cultures of their parents, languages and other forms of socialisation and integration.

The process of residency was found to be haphazard, compliant-based and not strategised, which mitigates its contribution to nation building. The process of obtaining permits in South Africa undermines the value of the status of being resident or a citizen (Republic of South Africa, 2016). Thus, the ineffective management and irregularities in the processes of issuing permits to migrants invariably creates an opportunity for the abuse of the system.

9.3 Contribution to the study of Knowledge

This study contributes much needed scholarly discourse on highly-skilled migrants and their possible skills contributions in the host country. This is because much attention has been focussed on migration in the northern and western countries while research on the south has been neglected. Furthermore, insufficient attention has been paid to highly-skilled Nigerian migrants, subsequently, this research was able to reveal how they are able to contribute their skills and also learning and acquiring more skills in the process in the host country.

The research is timely and relevant to the current issues on international migration. It is timely given the global migration crisis in Europe, the United States, and also in South Africa. Examples of the highly skilled in other countries can be replicated in the South African context.

One of the striking facts about international migration is the superior education of Africans, especially Nigerians, which is brought to the south. According to (Cowen, 2018), in the United States, the education level of Nigerian migrants is considered the highest of all the immigrants, above those of Asians, and they also have a higher labour force participation. Because most of the population in the United States speak English, highly-skilled Nigerian migrants communicate well. The participants mentioned the importance of comporting themselves by being good citizens, paying tax regularly, and staying out of trouble. Because of their participation in the labour force, highly-skilled Nigerian migrants are less likely to commit a crime, which is similar to (Cowen, 2018), who explained that when people have jobs, they tend to live a more responsible life and are less likely to commit crime and other such vices.

Also, the research was able to point out the lack of research on international skilled and professional migrants in the South and sub-Saharan Africa, both from the experimental point of migrants, and in terms of more structural analysis, demographics and politics. Therefore, more research is needed on the theory and process of migration.

The study tried to point out the issue of inconsistencies in the migration policies in South Africa and provided an alternative narrative to a possible improvement of the migration policy, including the rigorous process of the Department of Home Affairs. Therefore, it is important to include a broader and richer understanding of the interactions between socio-economic transformations, shifting global patterns, and policy processes of migration.

Integration is a long and dynamic process which requires understanding from both the host country and the migrants. Voices of migrants in the discourse of migration and integration are generally unheard. The study provided highly-skilled Nigerian migrants a voice to share their experiences of socio-economic integration, their perceived quota in skills contribution, as well as recommendations to policy regarding migration.

Most migration literature and research are done in the global north, such as Europe, Canada and the United States. Not much information is known about the sub-Sahara and the South, especially about highly-skilled migrants. This study acted as a platform for highly-skilled Nigerian migrants to add their voices regarding their experiences. This study revealed that, although highly-skilled migrants are given preferential treatment by the host country as opposed to those who are less skilled, they also face challenges and other forms of discrimination.

9.4 Limitation of the Study

The study took place in Cape Town and was mixed method in nature. The research is limited to highly-skilled Nigerians in Cape Town. However, this research recognized that some of the issues raised on highly-skilled migration are not new and has been mentioned in other research (Mulholland and Ryan, 2011; Imani *et al.*, 2014; Magnusson, 2014; Mbah, 2014; Ryan and Mulholland, 2014a, 2014b, 2014c; Plöger and Becker, 2015; Föbker *et al.*, 2016; Mbah, 2017).

What is new in this study is the attempt to integrate the migration theories into a coherent and dynamic framework that will contribute to an overall understanding of highly-skilled migration. It should also be stressed that this study has been primarily concerned with the motivation, challenges, and socio-economic integration of highly-skilled Nigerian migrants together with their skills contribution to the host country. Although this is just one way of examining the problems and the study of highly-skilled migrants, there might be other approaches to the study on the integration of highly-skilled migrants.

Another limitation is the disjointed and scattered theories of migration. Although the newer approaches to migration research try to fill the gaps in the existing theories, it still lacks an explanatory power in terms of their theoretical clarification; this research is not an exception to this shortcoming. Similarly, scholars like Wickramasinghe and Wimalaratana (2016) have noted that both newer and classical theories of migration have certain limitations due to the complex nature of the global phenomenon of migration. Consequently, more advanced research on the appropriate theories and models for migration studies and analyses are needed.

The researcher observed that there was a low participation rate of women in this study. This did not come as a surprise. While it was difficult to locate and fix a time to interview male participants, finding women to agree and making time was even more difficult. The reasons were that they spend more time looking after the children and family after work. Most Nigerian women who come to join their husbands in the diaspora still maintain their religious and cultural affiliations or norms, which puts the husband first as the head of the household and he represents the family most of the time, except on the few occasions where there is a need for the woman to present themselves. In most cases, women shy away from public participation. Some of the reasons on the low participation rate of women is similar to Ravenstein's laws of migration, which was stated in Chapter three (Table 3). One of the laws states that men comprise majority of the international migrants. According to King (2012), this trend is not an exception to highly-skilled migration. This was also depicted in Figure 10.

Despite the gaps and shortfalls, this research provides a favourable view of highly-skilled migration and its impact on the destination country. This can be deduced from the participants' responses in terms of skills contribution, motivations for migrating, coping mechanisms, policy perceptions, integration experiences, and skills contributions of highly-skilled Nigerians. The research suggests that more attention should be paid by policymakers to this positive impact of highly-skilled migrants and their skills contribution. The more formal and institutionalised the flow of highly-skilled international migration becomes, the higher the benefit of economic integration. Therefore, more scholarly discourse and further academic research is needed on the impact of the skills contribution of highly-skilled in the South African context. . Most of the results were based on the perspectives of the respondents which is all part of the limitations of the study given the non-generalisation. However, the thesis was able to give direction, voices and explore the opinions of these set of migrants and perhaps would contribute further to academic discourse and further research in this group. More importantly, it has raised issues and questions for future and further study for highly-skilled migrants.

9.5 Areas for Further Research

Some specific questions on migration were not addressed in this study, for instance, lives in transit, which would include exploring the experiences of migration at the level of individual households and communities. The migration transition was not analysed, nor the changing patterns of migration from country to country within Africa. Also, migration and transformation were not fully explored. There were no analyses on the interactions between migration, socio-economic and political transformation at the local, national, regional and global levels. This gap necessitates further research and more academic discourse on migration and transformation.

The broader implication of literature for this research is important. This conforms with Kerr (2013) who observed that there are substantial gaps in migration studies even in the United States. Therefore, the process of migration needs to be researched.

Furthermore, future studies should analyse data on migration at the local level. For instance, only a few studies look at the roles that receiving cities might play, for example, the role of Cape Town as a city will play in the lives of highly-skilled Nigerian migrants. Therefore, more research is needed on the role of receiving cities.

Also, the distributional impact of highly-skilled migrants needs to be better theorised and empirically addressed as an important research field. The quality and impact of skilled migrants is an untouched research space. The broader measures of highly-skilled migrants' societal value have not been adequately explored, so more research is needed (Nathan, 2013).

Subsequently, addressing the knowledge gaps in migration studies will not only improve researchers' understanding of the wider economic impacts of migration, but it will also help migration policymakers to design a better-grounded migration policy and to help identify the wider impacts of highly-skilled Nigerian migrants. Van Oudenhoven, Ward and Masgoret (2006) propose that future research should investigate which aspects of culture are essential for migrants to maintain their cultural identity. Also, in the global arena, religion is likely to be one area that deserves particular attention. Therefore, it is essential that the issue of national identity in a multicultural society receive attention in future research.

9.6 Recommendations

Following the analysis of the data, several recommendations are suggested in this study. Research agendas should include a broader and richer understanding of the interaction between socio-economic transformations and shifting global patterns. There is the need to adopt a more comprehensive approach to analysing the evolution of the entire migration system across space and time, which will involve integrating sending, transitional and receiving contexts that will allow us to achieve a better understanding of past and present integration dynamics and their interactions with broader global transformation processes.

Since the highly-skilled migrants come with skills, knowledge and a wealth of cultural capital which helps them to contribute to skills development in the receiving country, it is pertinent that there should be a coherent structure in policy implementations and a better interpretation of the skills required and how these skills can be utilised. Also, the private sector and some government departments should be involved in enacting immigration policy reforms to help highly-skilled migrants to work in a conducive environment in South Africa.

The findings established that there are some well-meaning Nigerians who are concerned about the image portrayed of migrants and the notion that migrants are a problem. The study recommends that migrants find a voice through the media, Department of Home Affairs, academic environments, and professional establishments to correct such notions. In addition, local authorities at the municipal level can play a critical role in maximising the developmental

payoffs of migration, integrating migrants into host communities, and reducing social tensions between migrants and host communities.

The findings of this research might be used to improve a theoretical underpinning in highly-skilled migration studies. Like other migration studies, this research tends to focus more on migration decisions and integration issues than the process of migration itself. Consequently, there is the tendency to analyse migration at a single point in time rather than attempting to understand the dynamic process of migration. Analytical capacity is insufficient to understand the past, present and future migration dynamics (International Migration Institute, 2006).

The participants recommended the clear interpretation of skills in South Africa. Others, like Landau, Segatti and Misago (2011), recommended that the migration policy should be geared towards attracting highly-skilled migrants and that policies should be well defined and interpreted in terms of exceptional and critical skills, which was also suggested by some of the participants. In addition, the South African Research and Development Strategy, published in 2002, highlight the importance of attracting highly-skilled migrants to South Africa to participate in the process of creating human capital. The plan further states that it is *“...necessary to have very effective processes to ensure that highly-skilled migrants are able to secure the necessary permission to work in South Africa. This will require specific joint planning between the Department of Science and Technology, Department of Home Affairs and Department of Education to ensure that effective measures are in place”* (Republic of South Africa, 2002:59). This plan will help to attract highly-skilled migrants to South Africa, and will also foster skills contribution by migrants in the country.

One of the implications of migration is a corresponding brain drain in Nigeria. Alternatively, South Africa, which is the receiving country of migrants, will become a preferred hub for migrants because of reasons such as cheap education, enabling work environment, good infrastructure and career opportunities. These skills complement the spaces that the nationals cannot fill due to skill sets required for such jobs. Therefore, it is important that immigration policies should be more conducive to cater for the highly-skilled migrants.

One of the most significant problems of migrants in South Africa is xenophobia, and the feelings of mistrust for foreigners among some locals that may prevent foreigners from making extensive social networks in South Africa. For such challenges to be addressed, there is a need for more discourse about the contribution of migrants to the host country. The media can play

a critical role to change the public opinion and promote social interaction and, ultimately, integration.

It is also important for the government to include in the migration policy social protection and improved financial services which would include the transfer of funds to become an integral part of the migration policy. The importance of this is that the contribution of immigrants through remittances is also vital to the advancement and development of the destination country. Nevertheless, the success of remittances back home by migrants will depend on how the conducive and enabling environment is in the host country. Based on the irregularities and discrepancies of the migration policies identified by participants, some policies suggested are policies of inclusiveness of migrants and the clear interpretation of critical skills as opposed to special skills by Home Affairs.

The participants suggested a public awareness campaign to educate the locals about migrants, similar to Allport (1954) his contact hypothesis, that intergroup contact helps to break down stereotypes and prejudice that will guarantee tolerance and understanding (Allport, 1954). It is also pertinent that Nigerians living in South Africa pursue a public enlightenment to curb the anti-Nigerian sentiments and xenophobia. Also, the media plays a significant role in shaping public and political opinion about migration and therefore have the power to curb or promote the integration process. The media should have well-balanced reports on migrants.

On the contrary, Gidley (2016) argued that contact can only take place if a member of a group of people engaged in activities are pursuing the same goal. In the case of the highly skilled, this can be achieved in workplaces. Subsequently, work relationships need to be encouraged and taken to the next level, together with community enlightenment on why people of different races should exist together.

The bases to integration of this group of highly-skilled Nigerians were based on education, employment and culture, which are prerequisites for the integration of these migrants. Furthermore, there is a need for municipal and national level support for the placement of highly-skilled migrants in the labour market, by matching skills with needs and providing them with training opportunities.

It is important for the government and municipality to acknowledge the contribution that highly-skilled Nigerian migrants make to the economy, society and culture of South Africa as a whole. Migrants as active agents, and need to be included in communal, institutional and

national efforts for integration. For this to happen, migrants need to enjoy a sense of belonging in the host country.

The Nigerian government needs to foster a good relationship with the South African government and the maintenance of regular ties between migrants and Nigeria by strengthening existing organisations such as the Nigerians in Diaspora Organisations (NIDO) and Nigerian Associations in South Africa.

Institutional structures need to be developed at national and local level that will facilitate migrant integration and partnerships with civil society. It is important that the policymakers should take note of the factors that encourage or hinder the effective implementation of migration laws and policy. These factors may be important to the South African context in terms of implementation of migration laws.

9.7 Conclusion

This research attempted to adequately engage with the research questions set out at the beginning of the study. This research was able to answer questions such as the motivations of highly-skilled migrants to migrate, their integration challenges, coping mechanisms, network ties, policy issues and socio-economic integration, and their decision to stay or leave. Although this study has its limitations, the study of highly-skilled migrants is a very relevant study that adds to the academic discourse on the importance of highly-skilled migrants in the host country. The research was able to suggest possible recommendations for current migration policies and suggested areas for further research. More importantly, since this research area is relatively new and under-researched, it is important to have more scholarly discourse and research on highly-skilled migrants based on the recommendations from this research.

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APPENDICES

9.8 Appendix A: Information Sheet





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South Africa
Secretary: Sonia Stroud
Tel: +27 (0) 21 959 2137
Fax: +27 (0) 21 959 3659

FACULTY OF ARTS

INFORMATION SHEET

PROJECT TITLE: A study of the socio-economic integration of highly-skilled Nigerian migrants in Cape Town

PRINCIPAL RESEARCHER: Gordon Chukwuemeka Igbokwe

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH (Interview)

BACKGROUND:

Nigerians play a key role in African migration by increasingly migrating to other parts of the world including South Africa. Some highly-skilled Nigerian migrants have found the booming economy of South Africa more attractive than going to European countries. Despite South Africa receiving some highly-skilled Nigerian immigrants, there is a paucity of research on highly-skilled Nigerian migrants particularly with regard to their integration in the South African labour market, as well as their contribution to skills transfer within South Africa

THE PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

This is a research project being conducted by a student in partial fulfilment of the Doctorate degree in the department of Anthropology and Sociology at the University of the Western Cape. The main aim of the study is to examine the socio-economic integration of highly-skilled Nigerian migrants in Cape Town.



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<http://etd.uwc.ac.za/>

POTENTIAL RISKS AND DISCOMFORT

Participants may feel uncomfortable when asked to share information on the socio-economic integration. The participants reserve the right to withdraw from the research at any stage and any reason whatsoever. In addition, the researcher will ensure that all information acquired from the interviews will be used and treated with confidentiality. Furthermore, the researcher will ensure that no personal identifiers will be contained in the thesis and any publications arising from this research.

POTENTIAL BENEFITS TO SUBJECTS AND/OR SOCIETY

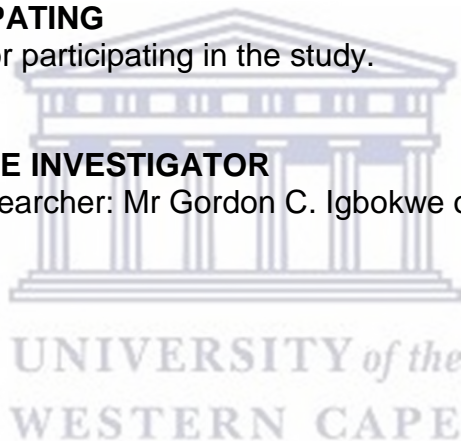
The findings of this study will contribute towards a better understanding of the reasons why highly-skilled Nigerians migrate to Cape Town and to reveal the problems, if any that they encountered during the process of integration. Given the growing cooperation and competition between the two African countries; Nigeria and South Africa, the new knowledge that will be generated through this research is integral in laying the foundation for future scholarly research, policy oriented knowledge and cooperation.

PAYMENTS FOR PARTICIPATING

There will be no payments for participating in the study.

CONTACT DETAILS OF THE INVESTIGATOR

You can also contact the researcher: Mr Gordon C. Igbokwe on emygordons@gmail.com.



9.9 Appendix B: Consent form



Consent Form

University of the Western Cape

Title of Research Project: A study of the socio-economic integration of highly-skilled Nigerian migrants in Cape Town

Researcher: Mr G. C. Igbokwe

Please initial box

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet explaining the above research project.
2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason and without there being any negative consequences. In addition, should I not wish to answer any particular question or questions, I am free to decline. (If I wish to withdraw I may contact the researcher at anytime)
3. I understand my responses and personal data will be kept strictly confidential. I understand that my name will not be linked with the research materials, and I will not be identified or identifiable in the reports or publications that result for the research.
4. I agree for the data collected from me to be used in future research.
5. I agree for to take part in the above research project.

Name of Participant

Date

Signature

Source: Adapted from the University of Sheffield (2017)

9.10 Appendix C: Questionnaires



Questionnaire Highly-skilled Nigerian Migrants

University of the Western Cape

Title of Research Project: A study of the socio-economic integration of highly-skilled Nigerian migrants in Cape Town

Introduction

My name is Gordon C. Igbokwe. I am conducting research in partial fulfilment of Doctoral degree in Sociology at the University of the Western Cape. The main aim of the study is to examine the socio-economic integration of highly-skilled Nigerian migrants in Cape Town. You have been chosen as one of the participants and your response will be kept confidential and anonymous. Please tick and supply your own answers as appropriate. Please return the completed questionnaire (electronic copy) to emygordons@gmail.com.

Please note that your views and opinions on Nigerians living in spaces of South Africa is highly recommended.

Interview Details

Date of interaction | | | | / | | | | / | | | |

Demographic Information

1. What is your age?	1=24 – 29 years	<input type="checkbox"/>
	2=30 – 34 years	<input type="checkbox"/>
	3= 35 – 39 years	<input type="checkbox"/>
	4= 40 – 44 years	<input type="checkbox"/>
	5=45 – 49 years	<input type="checkbox"/>
	6 =50 – 54 years	<input type="checkbox"/>
	7=55+	<input type="checkbox"/>

2. Participant sex	1=Female <input type="checkbox"/>	2=Male <input type="checkbox"/>
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3. Where are you from?	

4. What is your home language?	1=Hausa	<input type="checkbox"/>
	2=Igbo	<input type="checkbox"/>
	3=Yoruba	<input type="checkbox"/>
	4=English	<input type="checkbox"/>
	5=Other	<input type="checkbox"/>
	If other specify:	

5. What is your marital status?	1=Married	<input type="checkbox"/>
	2=Cohabiting	<input type="checkbox"/>
	3=Single	<input type="checkbox"/>
	4=Widowed	<input type="checkbox"/>
	5=Divorced	<input type="checkbox"/>
	6=Separated	<input type="checkbox"/>
	7=Other	<input type="checkbox"/>
	If other specify:	

6. If married, what is the nationality of your spouse?	1=Nigerian	<input type="checkbox"/>
	2=South African	<input type="checkbox"/>
	3=Other	<input type="checkbox"/>
	If other specify:	

Educational history

7. What is your education level before entering South Africa?	1=Diploma	<input type="checkbox"/>
	2=Bachelor's degree	<input type="checkbox"/>
	3=Master's degree	<input type="checkbox"/>
	4=PhD	<input type="checkbox"/>
	5=Other	<input type="checkbox"/>
	If other specify:	

8. Any education obtained in South Africa?	1=Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	0=No	<input type="checkbox"/>
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Migration history

9. How long have you stayed in South Africa?	

10. What were your motivations for leaving Nigeria and reasons for choosing South Africa	

11. Are there any friends/ relatives (both here and back home) that aided your entry in finding accommodation and jobs and generally settling in? What specific support did you get and from whom?	

12. How often do you return to Nigeria? When last have you been back? Any constraints in returning to South Africa once you have visited home? Are these constraints perhaps a factor in you not visiting home?	

Employment and Position in the South African Labour Market

13. Did you have problems finding a job? Tell me more?	

14. What is your current job situation?	1=Permanent	<input type="checkbox"/>
	2=Contract	<input type="checkbox"/>
	3=Other	<input type="checkbox"/>
	If other specify:	

15. What is your monthly salary (before any tax or deductions and including overtime and allowances)?	1=R8000 or less	<input type="checkbox"/>
	2=R8001 - R11000	<input type="checkbox"/>
	3=R11001- R16000	<input type="checkbox"/>
	4=R16001 - R30000	<input type="checkbox"/>
	5=R30001 or more	<input type="checkbox"/>
	6=Don't know	<input type="checkbox"/>
	7=Refuse	<input type="checkbox"/>

16. Does your current job match your skills and training?	1=Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	0=No	<input type="checkbox"/>
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17. What is your sector of employment in Cape Town? Are there other Nigerians employed at the same organisation?	

18. What rights do you enjoy as a worker in this sector?	

19. Which areas of employment do you feel you are included into or excluded from due to your being foreign? Why do you think that is so?	

20. Would you say that some South African employers prefer foreign workers? If yes, why? In which sectors are those employers?	

Social Networks

21. Are you friends with the following individuals? (Please tick more than one option)	1=Other Nigerians in South Africa	<input type="checkbox"/>
	2=South African locals	<input type="checkbox"/>
	3=Work colleagues	<input type="checkbox"/>
	4=Other foreigners in South Africa	<input type="checkbox"/>

	5=Other	<input type="checkbox"/>
	If other specify:	

22. Would you say that it is easy to make expansive and diverse networks in South Africa?	1=Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	0=No	<input type="checkbox"/>
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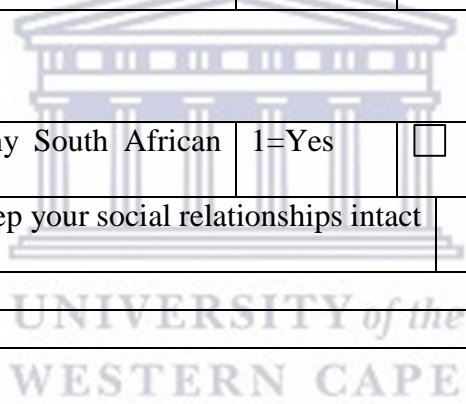
23. If not, what are the challenges?	

24. Are you a member of a Nigerian Association?	1=Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	0=No	<input type="checkbox"/>
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25. Do you have links to your family or friends in Nigeria?	1=Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	0=No	<input type="checkbox"/>
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26. Are you a member of any South African society?	1=Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	0=No	<input type="checkbox"/>
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27. How do you manage to keep your social relationships intact back home?	



Social Integration

28. In SA, are you part of any trade union, immigrant Organisation or other organisation?	1=Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	0=No	<input type="checkbox"/>
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29. If yes, which organisations?	

30. Would you vote if you there was a general election tomorrow (and you had the right to)?	1=Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	0=No	<input type="checkbox"/>
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31. How do you try to -fit in, manoeuvre in a foreign land? Do you speak any local South African language? How does speaking a local language help you?	

32. What are the relationships like among Nigerians in South Africa? Supportive or not?	

33. a. Do you socialise with co-ethnic members?	1=Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	0=No	<input type="checkbox"/>
b. Are these co-ethnic members your friends?	1=Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	0=No	<input type="checkbox"/>
c. Are South Africans your friends?	1=Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	0=No	<input type="checkbox"/>
d. Would you vote if you there was a general election tomorrow (and you had the right to)?	1=Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	0=No	<input type="checkbox"/>

34. Do you feel safe in the area you reside? How safe and secure is the place you live? Do you own or rent this place/part of the place?	

35. Are your neighbours also from Nigeria? What nationalities are your neighbours and what proportion are Nigerians?	

36. How do you get to work/place to study from where you reside? Do you make use of private or public transport? What is your perception of public transport (safe, reliable, cheap, or not)?	

37. Are there any other members of your immediate and extended Nigeria family living with you? If you have children do they go to school?	

38. Do you belong to any religious group? Does that religious group cater only for Nigerians or also for other groups? How helpful has the church, mosque or other religious group been to you?	

39. How do you cope with accommodation, home affairs and legal issues etc.?	

40. Have you joined any local organisations, such as cultural, sporting and political associations, trade unions/ workers' association etc.?	

41. Are you a member of a stokvel club? Is this for Nigerians only? Does it also include local South Africans?	



Long-term residence

42. Have you ever applied to become a permanent resident?	1=Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	0=No	<input type="checkbox"/>
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43. When did you apply?	

44. Which procedure did you use? What happened to your application? Did you encounter problems with the application? If so, what problems did you have applying?	

45. If not a permanent resident, would you want to become a permanent resident? If not, why not? If yes, why?	
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46. How has becoming a permanent resident helped you personally (How might becoming a permanent resident help you personally)?	

Economic Integration

47. a. Do you contribute to any social security/social insurance or pension fund?	1=Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	0=No	<input type="checkbox"/>
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b. Do you contribute to any medical aid?	1=Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	0=No	<input type="checkbox"/>
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c. Do you have a bank account in your name?	1=Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	0=No	<input type="checkbox"/>
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d. If yes, is it possible to get a bank loan?	1=Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	0=No	<input type="checkbox"/>
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e. What do you think of the climate for doing business in South Africa? Do you foresee any constraints to being self-employed?	

Experiences with discrimination

48. Do you feel secure in South Africa?	

49. Do you feel discriminated against by South Africans in your public life?	

50. Which group below would you say you have faced the most discrimination from	1=Black	<input type="checkbox"/>
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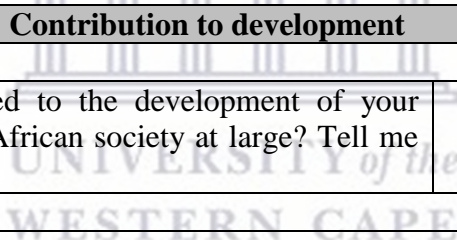
Coping mechanisms

56. Since you moved to SA, have you had a partner or child living outside the country?	1=Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	0=No	<input type="checkbox"/>
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57. If yes, were you subsequently joined by your partner or family?	1=Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	0=No	<input type="checkbox"/>
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58. If yes, how has reuniting with your family helped you personally?	

59. If no, how might reuniting with your family help you personally?	



Contribution to development

60. How have you contributed to the development of your community and/or South African society at large? Tell me more?	

61. How have you contributed to the South African economy? Tell me more?	

Hopes for the future

62. What are your future prospects in South Africa?	

63. Do you intend to stay in SA for short term or long-term?	

64. Give reasons why?	

65. How have your experiences informed your decision-making of your stay in SA?	

66. Do you have any future migration plans?	1=Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	0=No	<input type="checkbox"/>
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67. If yes, what are these plans?	

68. Is there something else you want to say on Nigerian coping mechanisms, integration and South African immigration policies etc.?	

Thank you

9.11 Appendix D: In-depth Interview Guide



Questionnaire Key Informant Interview

University of the Western Cape

Title of Research Project: A study of the socio-economic integration of highly-skilled Nigerian migrants in Cape Town

Researcher: Mr G. C. Igbokwe

Interview Details

Date of interview	____/____/____
Name of interviewer	

Interview Questions

1. Could you please introduce yourself?
2. What is your current job situation?
3. How long have you been living and working in South Africa?
4. What are the reasons that led you to choose South Africa as a destination country?
5. Could you please tell me what are the social challenges or difficulties you experience/face living and working in South Africa? How do you cope?
6. Could you please tell me what are the economic challenges or difficulties you experience/face living and working in South Africa? How do you cope?
7. Do you belong to any Nigerian associations or local associations?
8. Are you friends with locals or other Nigerians?
9. Do you belong to a church/mosque?
10. Do you have connections with people in Nigeria or beyond in terms of work, business or social?
11. How do you use your local or transnational social network ties to secure economic and social well-being and as a result, contribute to the development of the city of Cape Town and South Africa?
12. How do you feel towards the City of Cape Town and South Africa?
13. Have you experienced any discrimination or xenophobia from people in South Africa? Which ethnic group do you feel discriminated you the most?
14. What are the barriers and facilitators to your socio-economic integration in Cape Town and South Africa as a whole?
15. Do you feel socio-economically integrated in the City of Cape Town and South Africa?
16. In your opinion, what do you think the South African government could do to facilitate your socio-economic integration into South African society?
17. In your opinion, what do you think the local government could do to facilitate your socio-economic integration into Cape Town?
18. In your opinion, what role is the Nigerian embassy playing or could play, in facilitating your socio-economic integration in the South African society?

19. In your opinion, what role is the Nigerian association you belong to playing, or could play, in facilitating your socio-economic integration in South African society?
20. What do you understand about the impacts on socio-economic development in South Africa caused by the migration of highly-skilled workers including Nigerians (both positive and negative)?
21. What are your views and opinions on Nigerians (highly-skilled workers or others) living in spaces of South Africa?
22. Do you have any views and opinions on the South African immigration policy?
23. Do you have any future migration plans? If yes, what are these plans?
24. Would you like to suggest or add anything that you think can be helpfully discussed in this study?

