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UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND

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Development Studies

Xenophobia and the migration of Nigerians to South Africa.

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Development Studies under the Graduate School for the Humanities and Social Sciences, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa. April, 2021

DECLARATION

I, Jakob Winzer, hereby declare that this thesis is my own unaided work and has not been submitted previously for any degree or examination in any other university. All references, citations, and borrowed ideas have been duly acknowledged.

Signed: Winzer **.....**

Jakob Winzer

30.07.2021

Abstract:

Xenophobia against people from other parts of Africa is widespread within South Africa and continues to erupt in violent attacks. Frequently, Nigerian migrants are in the focus of these attacks, which seems to be related to the negative image they have within the country. Despite the hostile environment the Nigerian migration to South Africa carries on. Against this background the study focuses on the different factors that motivate Nigerians to immigrate to South Africa, despite the widespread xenophobia. Furthermore a light is shed on negative factors that Nigerian migrants associate with South Africa. Additionaly the prevailing xenophobia, its causes, and how it affects Nigerian migrants is examined as well as the problems within Nigeria, their root causes, and to what extent they influence the migration of Nigerians.

In order to comply with the social distancing policies and travel restrictions that prevailed during the first Covid-19 lockdown in South Africa, the qualitative data acquisition for this study took place in the form of online in-depth interviews and informal discussions. The respondents consisted of 14 documented Nigerian migrants, seven men and women, located in the South African cities Pretoria, Johannesburg, and Cape Town.

The study used multiple macro, micro, and meso-theoretical approaches to identify which factors motivate Nigerians to immigrate to South Africa. The migration of Nigerians to South Africa is motivated by the aim to take advantage of the promising economic opportunities in South Africa, as well as to escape the dire socio-economic situation in Nigeria which is caused by endemic corruption and the missing political will to further develop the country. The study finds that the most negative factor that Nigerian migrants face is the insecurity in South Africa, which particularly manifests itself in the high crime rate, violence against women, and xenophobia. Why especially Nigerians are a victim of xenophobia in South Africa is explained by the envy of the local population and the boastful demeanor and illegal activities of some of their compatriots. Furthermore, it is suspected that Nigerians are being used as scapegoats by local politicians to cover their political failures. The fear of falling victim to xenophobia restricts migrants in their everyday lives and forces them to adopt special behaviours. The study provides new insights into the impact xenophobia has on migration. The fact that many Nigerians are aware of the xenophobia before they leave Nigeria leads to the conclusion that the persistent xenophobia in South Africa does not have an impact on the migration of Nigerians to South Africa.

In summary the study deepens and expands the knowledge about migration and xenophobia by promoting new knowledge. At the same time, the study raises new questions of why xenophobia towards Nigerians in South Africa has intensified in recent years and whether the escalation of violence against Nigerians has a long-term effect on the popularity of South Africa as a migration destination among Nigerians and migrants in general.

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Chapter 1.

1.1 Introduction:

Migration can have positive and negative sides. Advantages are for example remittances of migrants, that support their families back home (Singh & Sausi, 2010). Furthermore, the influx of skilled and semi-skilled labor helped countries like South Africa to achieve its short and long-term development goals (Landau & Segatti, 2009). On the other hand, the economic endeavors of the immigrants are sometimes limited by xenophobia, which leads to conflicts between migrants and the local population. Xenophobia against people from other parts of Africa is widespread within South Africa and continues to erupt in violent attacks. The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) defines xenophobia as "attitudes, prejudices, and behavior that reject, exclude and often vilify persons, based on the perception that they are outsiders or foreigners to the community, society or national identity" (OHCHR, 2001:2). In the present study, xenophobia includes all forms of discrimination directed against foreigners. Within South Africa, Nigerians are a major target of xenophobia (Adesina, 2019). Attacks on their homes, businesses (Adesina, 2019), as well as illegal arrests and extra-judicial killings have been reported (Okafor, 2016). According to the Senior Special Assistant to the Nigerian President on Foreign Affairs and Diaspora, Mrs. Abike Dabiri-Erewa, between 2016 and 2018, no fewer than 117 Nigerians were victims of extra-judicially killings in South Africa (Vanguard, 2018). While scholars have debated on the root causes of xenophobia in South Africa (Landau, 2012; Neocosmos, 2008; Dassah, 2015; Harris, 2002) the fact that Nigerians are a major target seems to be related to the negative image portrayed by the media (Segatti et al., 2012). They are portrayed as criminals and harmful to the physical and economic security of the country (Segatti et al., 2012).

In 2019, the xenophobia against Nigerians and other immigrants escalated. In the course of the violence, more than 600 Nigerians were repatriated (Aljazeera, 2019). The attacks caused international dismay and calls to boycott South Africa were widespread. Retaliatory attacks occurred in Nigeria (Aljazeera, 2019) and the diplomatic climate between the two countries worsened (CNN, 2019a). Despite the attacks, the number of Nigerians living in South Africa rose from 6.932, in 2000 to 28.965 in 2019 (United Nations, 2019). Considering the hostility to which Nigerians are exposed, one wonders why they continue to immigrate to South Africa and how they cope in such a hostile environment?

Most of the existing literature on this topic does not focus exclusively on Nigerian migrants, which affects their level of detail. Furthermore, the existing research was conducted before the most recent xenophobic escalations. The latest developments manifested by the riots in 2019, which caused a global outcry (Sotonye & Tamunopubo, 2020), as well as debates about their consequences (Crush, 2008), make it necessary to shed a light on the prevalent xenophobia, and its effect on the migrants and their migration behavior. Moreover, it becomes essential to newly identify the different factors that motivate Nigerians to leave their home country and immigrate to South Africa, even though they are a major target of xenophobic attacks within the country. By exclusively focusing on the different factors that influence the migration of Nigerians to South Africa and in particular the effects of the prevailent xenophobia on the migrants, but at the same time remaining in

dialogue with the existing literature, the study develops a new perspective, and thereby adds knowledge to the field of studies on migration and xenophobia.

1.2 Background:

Despite having large amounts of natural and human resources, 40 percent of the Nigerian population live below the poverty line, while another 25 percent are vulnerable (World Bank, 2020). The available treasures are not used to promote the further development of the country, but for the self-enrichment of Nigeria's elite (Awojobi, 2014). The resulting poor socio-economic and security situation, as well as the low chance of improvement, creates a feeling of hopelessness in the population, which causes many to leave the country. Popular migration destinations are the United States of America, Europe, and the United Kingdom (Akanle et al., 2016). These destinations are popular due to their promising economic opportunities (Akanle et al., 2016). Within Africa, South Africa is the most popular destination country for Nigerians (Akanle et al., 2016). The reasons for this can be seen in the fact that after the end of the apartheid era, in 1994, it was relatively easy to immigrate to South Africa due to lax migration laws and since the country offered social and economic opportunities for foreigners (Akanle et al., 2016).

Even today, South Africa is attractive to Nigerian migrants due to its economic opportunities and stage of development. Between 2000 and 2019, the number of documented Nigerians in South Africa rose by 22.033, which represents an increase of 123 percent (United Nations, 2019). The popularity of South Africa among Nigerians becomes even more clear from the data collected by Statistics South Africa (STATS SA, 2015). According to STATS SA, in 2015 the largest number of temporary resident permits (13.8%) in South Africa was issued to Nigerians. Of the approved Nigerian applicants, most (34.7%) came intending to unite with family members, followed by Nigerians (25.4%) who came as tourists (STATS SA, 2015). The third-largest number of permits (19%) were issued to Nigerians who came for study reasons (STATS SA, 2015). Looking at the total number of issued permanent resident permits in 2015, Nigeria (5.5%) ranks fourth behind Zimbabwe (33.6%), India (9.7%), and China (9.2%) (STATS SA, 2015). Africa-wide, Nigeria ranks second with 33.7 percent behind Zimbabwe (55.6%) (STATS SA, 2015). More than half of the permanent permits (58.6%) issued to Nigerians were granted for work-related reasons, followed by 27 percent for family reunification purposes (STATS SA, 2015). Business-related permits made up 14.1 percent (STATS SA, 2015). These percentages indicate the popularity of South Africa among Nigerians and that they mainly enter the country for work, family, business, and study-related reasons. The numbers correlate with the findings of Segatti et al. (2012) that the majority of Nigerian migrants are businessmen, educated workers, students, and dependents. They further state that Nigerian immigrants mainly settle in South Africa's Gauteng, Kwazulu-Natal, and Western Cape regions and are usually more educated than the average South African migrant worker (Segatti et al., 2012).

The migration of Nigerians to South Africa is taking place even though the immigrants face negative perceptions within the country. These negative perceptions arise from the fact that both the educated and uneducated, rural and urban South African populations tend to negatively generalize the entire Nigerian

community (Adeagbo, 2011; Morris, 1998; Neocosmos, 2008). This generalization is further reinforced by negative media coverage and institutionalized xenophobia (Morris, 1998).

In 1994, the first major xenophobic outbreak was documented in Johannesburg's Alexandra Township, where homes of undocumented migrants were destroyed (Crush, 2008; Bello & Tunde, 2020). The violence has continued over the years, but particularly the riots in 2008, 2015, and 2019 stand out. The riots in 2008 primarily affected migrants from Mozambique, Zimbabwe, and Malawi (Burchard, 2015). Armed groups of South Africans marauded through neighborhoods, in search of foreigners. This gruesome spectacle took place in many cities and dragged on for a week. Families, individuals, and businesses were attacked (Crush & Ramachandran, 2014). Sixty people died (Burchard, 2015) and 100,000 had to give up their homes (Duponchel, 2013). Between March and April 2015, six foreigners were murdered and countless businesses were looted and burned down, causing around 5,000 people to flee (Smith, 2015).

In 2019, attacks occurred in Johannesburg and Pretoria, during which twelve people died and around a thousand businesses were destroyed (Aljazeera, 2019). In addition to the aforementioned general attacks on foreigners, there are increasing cases of discrimination that are specifically directed against Nigerian migrants. One such case occurred in March 2012 when 125 Nigerians were turned away at the national border for allegedly forging yellow fever cards (Patel, 2012). Similar incidents in which Nigerians were banned from entering the country due to flimsy reasons have been reported from Oliver Thambo Airport in Johannesburg (Olupohunda, 2013). More drastic, are the reports of deadly kidnappings of Nigerians in South Africa (Adesina, 2019). Nigerian migrants die not only at the hands of hostage-takers but also from law enforcement officers (Okafor, 2016). In addition to the murder of Nigerian migrants, their shops and businesses are repeatedly ransacked (Alagbe, 2017). The latest riots, in 2019, in which Nigerians were one of the main targets, caught great attention around the world and rose concern about the inhumanity of the attacks (Sotonye & Tamunopubo, 2020). It is against this background I undertake this study.

1.3 Research Questions:

In view of the background presented it becomes clear, that Nigerians are a major target of xenophobia in South Africa. Despite the hostile environment, Nigerian migration to South Africa carries on, which raises the question of which factors continue to motivate Nigerians to migrate to South Africa. To shed light on this question the following specific questions guided my research:

a What negative factors do Nigerian migrants face in South Africa?
b How does the prevailing xenophobia impact Nigerian migrants in South Africa?
c What factors motivate Nigerians to continue migrating to South Africa?

1.4 Research objective and rationale:

In particular international migration, receives a great deal of attention in scientific circles, as it is believed that this form of migration can ensure the survival of dependents and the further development of countries

due to the remittances that migrants send back to their home countries (Nyamongo et al., 2012; Pendleton et al., 2006; Maphosa, 2007; Page, 2006; Chukwuone et al. 2012). Many studies deal with migration from countries in the global south to countries in the global north, which describes the migration from developing to developed countries (González-Ferrer et al., 2018; Schans et al., 2018; Bommes et al., 2014). In comparison, south-south migration receives less attention, although it accounts for most of the international migration (Short et al., 2017). The expansion of the existing literature on this topic seems important since many countries in the global north are impeding their entry requirements for migrants which increases the attractiveness of countries in the global south (Haugen, 2012).

One of these countries in the global south is South Africa. Exact information on how many migrants live in the country is not available as many people enter the country illegally (Enigbokan et al., 2015). However, it can be seen that many of these migrants come from other African countries. Between 2000 and 2004, almost half of all migrants in South Africa came from the African continent (Crush, 2008). Studies dealing with migration to South Africa mostly focus on migrants from southern Africa (McDonald, 2000; Makina, 2010; Sisulu et al., 2007; Tevera & Zinyama, 2002; Zhira, 2016). In comparison, the flow of migrants from other parts of Africa receives less attention. The present study aims to fill this gap by examining the migration flow of Nigerians to South Africa.

The existing research that deals with the factors that influence the Nigerian migration to South Africa and how xenophobia affects their existence in the host country can help me to situate my research question. However, the studies that address the Nigerian migration either concentrate on a different topic (Singh & Sausi, 2010; Hingston, 2014; Adeagbo, 2013) or don't focus exclusively on Nigerian migrants and are therefore limited in their level of detail (Morris, 1998; Enigbokan et al., 2015, Akanle et al., 2016;). Adesina's article (2019) deals with the topic of migration and xenophobia against Nigerians in South Africa, but his contribution represents a historical analysis of the hostility towards Nigerians in South Africa and not an investigation of the influence of xenophobia on Nigerian immigrants and their migration behavior. Moreover, the existing research on this topic was conducted before the xenophobic riots in 2019 where Nigerians were a major target. The current escalation requires a new assessment of the factors that continue to motivate Nigerians to leave their home country to immigrate to South Africa, despite the xenophobic attacks and despite a number of them being repatriated to their home country. Furthermore, it is necessary to deepen the knowledge about how xenophobia influences Nigerian migrants and their migration behavior.

This research on Nigerian migrants in South Africa is expected to contribute to the literature within the field of studies on migration and xenophobia and will therefore deepen our understanding of the situation that most Nigerians in South Africa and Nigeria are exposed to. In addition, the study will expand the knowledge about migration to South Africa. The data collected can help to improve existing and develop new policies and practices dealing with xenophobia and migration. This is particularly important because research into the influence of xenophobia on migration and the lives of migrants in the host societies still needs to be

expanded. Moreover, it is important to understand the dynamics that mobilize xenophobia, to produce knowledge that contributes towards social cohesion, and integration in South Africa.

1.5 Structure of the Report:

This study is divided into five chapters. Chapter one presented the introduction to the study, its background, research questions, research objectives, and structure of the report. The second chapter consists of a literature review and theoretical framework. Chapter three explains the methodology, methods, positionality and reflexivity, data analysis, ethical considerations, and limitations of the study. Chapter four analysis the negative factors that Nigerian migrants face in South Africa, the causes of the rampant xenophobia and its influence on the migrants, the factors that continue to motivate Nigerians to migrate to South Africa, and the problems they face within their home country, as well as how these are influencing their migration behavior. Chapter five concludes the study.

Chapter 2

2.1 Literature Review:

To clarify where exactly my study is located in this social science field, studies dealing with migration and specifically with migration in Africa, as well as about the migration of Nigerians to South Africa are presented. In this section, I also discuss literature about xenophobia in South Africa, and specifically on xenophobia against Nigerians in South Africa. The chapter concludes with a theoretical framework.

2.1.1 International migration:

Migration describes the temporary or permanent relocation of individuals or groups from one geographical position to another. Reasons for migration range from better job opportunities in the host country to persecution in the home country (Hagen-Zanker, 2008). A distinction is made between international and internal migration. Internal migration depicts the movements within a country. International migration describes movements that occur across national borders. Hatton and Williamson (1998) refer to the period between 1846 and 1939 when an estimated 59 million people left Europe for North and South America, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa (Stalker, 2000) as the age of mass migration. Zlotnik (1998) notes that the number of international migrants has been on the rise since 1965. According to the International Organization for Migration (IOM, 2019), the number of international migrants worldwide amounts to 272 million. International migrants thus represent 3.5 percent of the global population. Between 1945 and 1980, migration spread to all regions of the world (Castles et al., 2013). As described the direction of migration movements has changed over the decades. In its early days, migration took place from north to south. Decolonization and the rapid economic growth of the West reversed this phenomenon (De Haas, 2005). To date, there is no end to international migration insight, as millions of people around the world are trying to gain a foothold in foreign countries (Hunter & Skinner, 2003). Most of these migrants move between countries that are in the same region. This is particularly evident in Sub-Saharan Africa, where 89 percent of the migrants come from the surrounding region (IOM, 2019).

2.1.2 International migration in Africa:

In Sub-Saharan Africa migration mostly takes place due to trade and the search for work (Ojong, 2002). For months or years men in particular move to other countries and regions to work in factories, mines, or farms (Ojong, 2002). In 2017, a total of 96 million male compared to 68 million female migrant workers were counted worldwide (IOM, 2019). Especially in higher and low-income countries, the overweight of men migrant workers becomes apparent (IOM, 2019). In addition to the search for work and trade, migration in Africa is also triggered by conflict. Africa is considered the continent from which most refugees worldwide originate (Hunter & Skinner, 2003; Landau et al., 2005; Ajibewa & Akinrinade, 2003). Between 2000 and 2019, the number of refugees in eastern, central, northern, and southern Africa more than doubled, resulting in an increase (97%) in the refugee population on the African continent (IOM, 2020). Reasons for this pattern are the constantly erupting and ongoing conflicts that afflict many African countries. Ajibewa & Akinrinade (2003) are convinced that since the 1990s two sub-regions in particular act as the epicenter of migration due to severe social and political outbreaks of violence. One region compounds the west African

countries Côte d'Ivoire, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, and Sierra Leone. The other is grouped around Angola, Zambia, the DRC, Congo Brazzaville, Burundi, Kenya, Rwanda, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Somalia, Sudan, Tanzania, and Uganda. In addition to war and the associated destruction of education systems and labor markets, the authors see economic crises, autocratic regimes, and the associated political persecution as reasons for the high level of migration. Adepoju (1998) states that the search for personal economic development is the decisive factor concerning migration.

2.1.3 International migration from Nigeria:

Since this study is about the migration of Nigerians, the following section takes a closer look at the migratory flows that move out of Nigeria. The first major international migration movement from Nigeria occurred during the trans-Atlantic slave trade (Afolayan et al., 2008). The traditional pilgrimages of Muslims from the regions Kanem, Borno, and Hausaland towards Mecca led to the establishment of Hausa settlements in what is now known as Chad and Sudan (Alkali, 1985). Afolayan et al. (2008) estimate that over 70,000 Nigerians from Hausaland and the Borno region are living in Sudan. Prothero (1957) states that between 1952 and 1953 257,000 migrants from the northwestern region of Nigeria made their way to the Gold Coast (Ghana), Dahomey (Benin), and Togo, to work in gold mines and along railway lines. The pan-African politics prevailing in Ghana after independence and the good economic development attracted particular Yoruba migrants. Many of these workers remained in the region, became traders, or continued their journey to the Ivory Coast (Adegbola, 1972).

In the 1960s, a brain drain was observed which intensified considerably with the introduction of the Structural Adjustment Program (SAP) in 1985 (Adepoju, 1991). The SAP had the goal to restructure the Nigerian economy. This was accompanied by a diversification of the country's revenue base and savings in the health, housing, and education sector (Adepoju, 1991; Ajibewa & Akinrinade, 2003). The consequences of these measures were decreasing wages, the devaluation of the local currency, poor working conditions, inadequate infrastructure, and neglected social facilities (Afolayan et al., 2008). Other factors that intensified the brain drain were the misuse of resources, as well as the lack of modern technology and working materials. Unemployment and poverty spread (Ajibewa & Akinrinade, 2003). Between 1967 and 1979 the Nigerian Civil War caused many inhabitants to leave the country (Adepoju, 1991).

The formal education of the British administration that prevailed in Nigeria in the 20th century enabled Nigerian students to enroll at universities abroad (Afolayan et al., 2008). In 1968, around 7,000 Nigerians studied on other continents (Afolayan et al., 2008). Ten years later 30,000 Nigerians graduated outside Africa, 2,000 of them in the United States. Six years later in 1984, 10,000 Nigerians lived in the United States (Afolayan et al., 2008). This indicates that many of the students do not return to their home country after completing their studies (Hagopian et al., 2005). In 1972, a devastating drought led to greater migration to Chad and Niger (Prothero, 1957; Mortimore, 1988). The Babangida Regime that ruled from 1985 to 1993 and under which the SAP was initiated was followed by the presidency of Sani Abacha. The new regime was

known for the prosecution, imprisonment, and murder of political enemies. These circumstances prompted many citizens to flee the country (Ajibewa & Akinrinade, 2003).

With the beginning of the 2000s, the radius of Nigerian migration expanded. A large number of Nigerians went to the United States, Saudi Arabia, and Western Europe, the United Kingdom (UK), and Canada in search of work (Afolayan et al., 2008). Within Africa strong movements towards South Africa, Botswana, Kenya, and Ghana can be observed (Afolayan et al., 2008; Akinrinade & Ogen, 2011). Ajibewa and Akinrinade (2003) state that existing migration networks, which are made up of social connections in the host country, support the Nigerian migrants and thus ease their integration. A far more alarming form of migration is the trafficking of women and children. Women, in particular, are trafficked from Nigeria via Mauritania and Morocco to the European Union, where they mainly have to work as commercial sex workers (Baarda, 2016; Carling, 2005; Dunkerley, 2018; Van der Watt & Kruger, 2017; Njoku, 2015). Other destinations for this trade are Mali, Ivory Coast, Equatorial Guinea, and South Africa (Carling, 2005). Although laws against human trafficking exist in Nigeria and South Africa, the trade continues to flourish (Bello, 2018).

2.1.4 Migration from Nigerians to South Africa:

The first noteworthy flows of Nigerians to South Africa occurred during the transition from apartheid to democracy. Most of these immigrants settled in two Johannesburg neighborhoods, Berea and Hillbrow (Morris, 1998). The migrants were mostly young men who were planning to either continue their education or find work (Morris, 1998). From the early 1990s, the number of Nigerian migrants rose due to political conflicts (Morris, 1998). The military takeover in 1993 intensified political persecution within Nigeria, leading to an increased flow of refugees to South Africa (Morris, 1998). The democratization that started in South Africa and the possibility of asylum led to a further increase in Nigerian migrants (Morris, 1998). A study by Akinrinade and Ogen (2011) cites the more promising South African economy as factors that motivated Nigerians to migrate. In 1997 around 5,000 Nigerian migrants lived in downtown Johannesburg (Morris, 1998).

A study by Segatti et al. (2012) found that between 2004 and 2010 approximately 36,000 Nigerians came to South Africa most of them low, medium, and highly skilled men, who settled in the Gauteng region (Adebago, 2013). In 2017, 27,326 Nigerians lived in South Africa (UN, 2017). In his study on Congolese and Nigerian migrants in Johannesburg, Morris (1998) concludes that the majority of the immigrants interviewed were male, single, and came from a middle-class background (Morris, 1998). In their study on Zimbabwean and Nigerian migrants in South Africa Enigbokan et al., (2015) state poor infrastructure and social amenities, corruption, lack of research funds as well as poor personal and/or household economy as the main push factors for Nigerian migrants to leave their home country. Morris (1998) study concludes that political prosecution also plays a role. Better infrastructure, economic opportunities, available research funds, and existing social networks are listed as pull factors that attract Nigerian migrants to South Africa (Enigbokan et al., 2015). Morris (1998) adds the search for work and further education.In particular social

networks seems to play a role as they help Nigerian immigrants with employment advice, financial assistance, lodging, and other important information (Enigbokan et al., 2015; Hingston, 2014; Singh & Sausi, 2010). The social networks often consist of churches or voluntary associations, which are usually formed along ethnic lines (Singh & Sausi, 2010). In Johannesburg, the capital of the Gauteng region, four main Nigerian organizations that act as social networks can be found: The diamond Brothers Club, the West Rand Nigerian Association, the Egbe Omo Oodua, and the Nigerian Union of South Africa (Segatti et al., 2012). The first two organizations consist of members of the Igbo ethnic group, the third is made up of Yoruba, while the fourth is a mixture of the different ethnic groups (Segatti et al., 2012)

The negative factors that speak against a migration to South Africa are the high cost of living, discrimination, the lack of jobs, the high crime rate, and the low morale among the locals (Enigbokan et al., 2015). Furthermore, it is noted that Nigerian immigrants would return to their home country if the economic situation, social amenities, political leadership, infrastructure, and job market would improve (Enigbokan et al., 2015).

In their Study on remittances and voluntary associations of Nigerian migrants in Durban, Singh and Sausi (2010) find that it is most common in Nigerian households that only one person immigrates to support the rest of the family. The more educated and mature the person is, the more support they will receive from their family during the migration process (Singh & Sausi, 2010). Gender seems to play an important role in the migration, as reported by Hingston (2014). She reveals that Nigerian women who migrate alone and for no specific reason, such as work, education, or family reunion, are often viewed as prostitutes within the Nigerian society (Hingston, 2014). As a result, Nigerian women mostly migrate to follow a family member or their husbands (Hingston, 2014; Enigbokan et al., 2015). The situation is different for men as migration is seen as a necessity to fulfill the role of the family provider (Hingston, 2014). Once in South Africa, Nigerian women prefer to be employed, as this guarantees them a form of security (Hingston, 2014). This is different for men, as many take the risk of becoming entrepreneurs, which is also due to the fact that many foreigners in South Africa struggle to find jobs (Hingston, 2014). Even though the Nigerian community in South Africa is small, in comparison to the Mozambican or Zimbabwean, they are a major target of xenophobic attacks (Adesina, 2019).

2.1.5 Xenophobia in South Africa:

Since 1989 globalization and the increase in international migration have made xenophobia a widespread phenomenon (Campbell, 2009). Discrimination against foreigners is also on the rise in Africa, although it should be noted that this is mostly limited to citizens from other African countries (Fayomi et al., 2015), therefore also called afrophobia (Sotonye & Tamunopubo, 2020). This is also the case in South Africa, where, according to Isike and Isike (2012), a special way of thinking prevails that distinguishes between two different types of foreigners. On the one hand, there are Europeans who are accepted by the locals. On the other hand, there are foreigners of African origin who are rejected by the population and are disparagingly referred to as 'Makwerekweres', which can be translated as rubbish (Isike & Isike, 2012).

Xenophobia in South Africa is widespread and regularly leads to violent outbreaks (Ogunnowo & Joshua, 2019). Landau et al. (2005: 3) describes the countries society as "highly xenophobic". Although the South African government has committed itself to enforce non-binding international instruments and domestic laws, that guarantee foreigners the same rights as citizens, it is rather passive towards the xenophobic riots (Landau, 2005). Instead of actively tackling the crisis, the events are downplayed. The term xenophobia is largely avoided by government officials; and instead blamed on criminal individuals or groups (Adesina, 2019). Crush and Ramachandran (2014) note that this type of denial has become a state orthodoxy. In contrast to the government, organizations such as the Congress of South African Trade Unions, Black Sash, Human Rights Watch, and Amnesty International are trying to mobilize against the prevailing xenophobia (Adesina, 2019).

Foreigners in South Africa are accused of taking jobs away from residents. They are also held responsible for low wages, increased crime, and the spread of diseases such as HIV / AIDS (Adesina, 2019). Adesina (2019:118) attributes this formation of opinion and the resulting outbreaks of violence to "scarce resources, the country's violent past, inadequate service delivery and the influence of micro politics in townships, involvement and complicity of local authority members in contractor conflicts for economic and political reasons, failure of early warning and prevention mechanisms regarding community-based violence". In addition, the South African media plays a significant role in the stigmatization of foreigners. Africans of foreign descent are portrayed in a bad light (Adesina, 2019). This is because negative reports and xenophobic terminology are reproduced without critically scrutinizing them (Solomon & Kosaka, 2013).

2.1.6 Xenophobia against Nigerians in South Africa:

In many of the xenophobic riots that are taking place, Nigerians are one of the main targets (Adesina, 2019). They are particularly accused of being involved in dealing with drugs (Adesina, 2019) and taking women away from South African men (Tafira, 2014). The aversion against Nigerians is expressed in different ways. Many Nigerians complain about the behavior of South African immigration officers during the visa application process or entry into the country. In many cases, Nigerians were insulted (Adesina, 2019) or rejected on flimsy grounds (Patel, 2012). Even more alarming are the extra-judicial killings and the rampant police brutality (Adesina, 2019). One example is the death of Timothy Chinedu in 2016, who died suffocated under a plastic bag while in police custody (Okafor, 2016). In the following year, xenophobic riots in Pretoria specifically targeted Nigerians. Several people were injured and countless shops, homes, and cars were destroyed (Alagbe 2017; CNN, 2019b).

In 2019, the xenophobia against Nigerians and other immigrants escalated. Between June and September, a series of violent events took place in various cities in South Africa, which particularly targeted Nigerian immigrants. In June, a Nigerian insurance employee was murdered while on a business trip in Johannesburg (PM News, 2019a). On July 25, a 33-year-old Nigerian was abused by South African police officers (Channels Television, 2019a). On August 28, on the sidelines of the 7th Tokyo International Conference on

African Development, Nigerian President Muhammadu Buhari and his South African counterpart President Cyril Ramaphosa met to discuss the incidents (Premium Times, 2019). On the same day, riots broke out in the Central Business District of Pretoria, South Africa. In the course of the attacks, the looting and burning of businesses owned by Nigerians and other African immigrants took place (PM News, 2019b). On the first of September, the unrest spread to the neighboring city of Johannesburg (Ogunnoiki, 2019). As a result of the destruction and violence against Nigerians, the owner of the private Nigerian airline Air Peace facilitated the repatriation of more than 600 compatriots (Aljazeera, 2019).

The xenophobic excesses coincide with a statement by President Cyril Ramaphosa, made on May 8 as part of a campaign for the general elections. Ramaphosa proclaimed concerning the immigration of foreigners; "Everybody just arrives in our townships and rural areas and set up businesses without licenses and permits, we are going to bring this to an end" (Hairsine, 2019). In addition to this statement, Mr. Zweli Ndaba, leader of the Sisonke People's Forum, addressing hostel dwellers in Johannesburg and the All Truck Drivers Foundation (ATDF) called for a nationwide shutdown against foreigners (Bornman, 2019). The xenophobic attacks in 2019 can be seen as an escalation in contrast to the violence in 2008 and 2015, as the international reactions were far more drastic than in the aftermath of the previous attacks (Ogunnoiki, 2019). In Lusaka, the capital of Zambia, demonstrations in front of the South African High Commission took place (CNN, 2019a). In Ethiopia and the Democratic Republic of Congo, South African-owned businesses were destroyed (CNN, 2019a). Zambia and Madagascar canceled national soccer matches against South Africa (CNN, 2019a). However, the strongest reactions came from Nigeria, whose citizens were especially targeted. In the course of the escalation Nigerian citizens were repatriated. In addition, the Nigerian government boycotted the World Economic Forum on Africa and temporarily withdrew its Ambassador from South Africa (CNN, 2019a). Nigerian celebrities canceled their performances in South Africa (Ogunnoiki, 2019) and within Nigeria, South African companies were subjected to retaliatory attacks (Aljazeera, 2019).

Adeagbo (2013), who analyzes the intermarriage between South African women and Nigerian migrants, primarily blames the negative reporting by South African media on Nigerians for xenophobia. He indicates that the prevailing xenophobia negatively affects the socio-economic existence of Nigerian migrants, as well as their interactions with state agents and their immediate environment (Adeagbo, 2013). Furthermore, he concludes that the xenophobia against Nigerians in South Africa is gender-based since the xenophobia mostly emanates from South African men and is directed against Nigerian males. Hingston (2014), who focuses on the relationships between Nigerian migrants in Durban, agrees with this view and notes that Nigerian male migrants are more likely to be the target compared to their female counterparts (Hingston,2014). Nigerian women would often find it easier to apply for South African visas, as Nigerian men are perceived as criminals by immigration officers (Hingston, 2014). However, Nigerian women are more likely to become victims of intense sexual harassment and are not treated with the same respect as the natives when using reproductive health services (Hingston, 2014). The gender of the migrants also seems to influence their behavior within South Africa. Women would hide their Nigerian identity more than their male

counterparts, as they are more afraid of the hostile environment (Hingston, 2014). Furthermore, they are more cautious while exploring their new surroundings (Hingston, 2014).

However, the migrants are not treated badly by all South Africans, but get on well with many of them (Hingston, 2014). Nonetheless, most Nigerians imagined their life in South Africa differently and face various obstacles such as unemployment, unhappy marital relations, loneliness, exploitation, xenophobia, and sexual violence (Hingston, 2014). A common way of dealing with these challenges is a profound belief in God (Hingston, 2014), limited leisure activities (Akanle et al., 2016) and the retreat into social networks (Hingston, 2014; Singh & Sausi 2010). Although Nigerian migrants feel they are the main victims of xenophobia in South Africa, they continue to migrate to the country as it offers them better economic opportunities than their homeland (Hingston, 2014). Adeagbo (2013) concludes that the immigrants can't change their identity and therefore have already arranged themselves with the hostile environment.

2.1.7 Theoretical Framework:

In order to understand the social setting to be studied and to be able to fall back on a framework that helps to address the questions and problems of the study, a theoretical framework is presented in the following section. The study uses multiple macro, micro, and meso-theoretical approaches to identify which factors motivate Nigerians to immigrate to South Africa, even though they are a major target of xenophobic attacks within the country. Macro-approaches are understood as population geography and macroeconomic models, which generally explain migratory movements (Haug & Sauer, 2006). Micro-theoretical approaches explain individual migration decisions and understand the migration as a result of an individual search and optimization process (Haug & Sauer, 2006). These approaches imply that the individual acts as homo economicus, a person who deals with his life circumstances through rational acts of choice so that given immutable needs are met to the maximum (Haug & Sauer, 2006). To ensure integration into social networks and the connection between different explanatory levels, newer migration theories, so-called meso-approaches, are also considered. These focus primarily on non-economic aspects, such as migration networks, social capital, the cumulative causation of migration, and phenomena not directly derivable from economic theories, such as chain migration (Massey et al., 1993). In the following, the mentioned approaches are discussed in more detail.

Macro-theoretical approaches:

The macroeconomic dual labor market theory assumes that international migration is triggered by the permanent demand for labor in developed economies, which is due to the segmentation of labor markets (Massey, 1993). Meaning that employers try to compensate for the lack of workers willing to accept jobs at the lower end of the salary hierarchy by trying to hire workers from less developed countries (Lebhart, 2002). The foreign workers are willing to accept these jobs as the salaries exceed the average income in their home country (Lebhart, 2002). This phenomenon can be observed in South Africa, where in 2015, 58.6 percent of the permanent resident permits issued to Nigerians were granted for work-related reasons (Statistics South Africa, 2015). Nigerian migrants are willing to do jobs below the minimum wage, which

leads to resentment in the local population, as this is seen as the reason for falling wages and the lack of jobs (Adesina, 2019). In the context of this demand-driven approach, the institutional arrangements of a country's immigration policy also play a crucial role (Massey et al., 1993).

The World system theory describes that international migration follows the political and economic structure of an expanding global capitalist market (Sassen, 1991). The negative side effects of this globalization, like the rising inequality in incomes and opportunities within and among nations, as well as the large number of people who live in poverty, are further increasing migration flows from the periphery of non-industrialized countries to large economic centers (Sassen, 1991; Nyberg-Sørensen et al., 2002). Compared to most African countries South Africa is an economic powerhouse, which accelerates the country's in-migration of Nigerians (Segatti & Landau, 2011).

However, it is usually not the poorest groups of the population who migrate (Skeldon, 1997). The migration process involves considerable costs and risks. It can, therefore, be concluded that migration does not appear most strongly when there is extreme poverty, but rather if a certain degree of social-economic development is prevalent (De Haas, 2005). This also applies to the migration of Nigerians to South Africa, as Morris (1998) states that most migrants have a middle-class background, which provides them with the financial means for such an undertaking.

Micro theoretical approaches:

In the micro-theoretical human capital model of Sjaastad (1962), the migration decision of individuals can be interpreted as an optimization process in which rational economic agents try to maximize their gains through migration. The personal gains depend on the consumption of public and private goods, whereby the individual makes a comparison between the country of destination and the country of origin (Sjaastad, 1962). They also depend on a variety of factors, such as climate conditions, the regional situation, and the cultural and social environment (Sjaastad, 1962). The theory takes into account material costs that affect migration and result from the acquisition of information, travel, and loss of income. It also considers psychological factors that may arise when leaving familiar surroundings (Sjaastad, 1962). In this theory, individual attributes, such as sex, age, academic training, professional experience, and language play a major role in migration decisions (Sjaastad, 1962). The importance of this model in explaining migration becomes clear when it is applied in the context of Nigerian migration to South Africa, in which, according to Enigbokan et al. (2015) the search for a better life, characterized by better economic opportunities, plays a significant role. In a further development of the Human Capital Model (Sjaastad, 1962), Todaro (1969) takes on a weakness of the theory. He emphasizes individual characteristics, such as education and work experience, that influence the likelihood of employment (Todaro, 1969). Stark and Taylor (1991) discuss the extent to which these factors might be helpful in the integration into the desired labor market and how this influences the migration behavior of individuals (Stark and Taylor, 1991). The more these features can be used in the destination country, the higher the probability of migration (Stark and Taylor, 1991). The highlighting of these individual characteristics is of importance, as the Nigerian migration context shows,

where families especially support the migration of those individuals, who are educated (Singh & Sausi, 2010). However, the authors raise questions about the real value of these factors, as one can never be sure, that well-educated people can count on better work in the destination country, as there is often only low-skill labor available to migrants (Stark and Taylor, 1991).

A prominent critic of this approach is Da Vanzo (1981). He notes that only the potential unemployment in the country of destination and not in the home country is taken into account (Da Vanzo, 1981). The risk of being unemployed in the country of origin is therefore a motivation to migrate to another country (Da Vanzo, 1981). This also influences the migration that takes place between Nigeria and South Africa, which is noticeable by the fact that 58.6 percent of the permanent resident permits issued to Nigerians were granted for work-related reasons (Statistics South Africa, 2015). Da Vanzo (1981) concludes that the incentive to migrate will decrease if the unemployment rates in the country of origin and destination are the same (Da Vanzo, 1981).

The theory, established by Sjaastad (1962), that age plays a crucial role in the migration process is more closely examined by Stark and Taylor (1991). They conclude that younger people migrate more often than older ones (Stark and Taylor, 1991). This is due to the long-awaited employment and the associated higher profits (Stark and Taylor, 1991). Another reason for the increased willingness is the fact that most young people are not as rooted in their homeland as older individuals (Stark and Taylor, 1991). Be it in the form of a family or already made investments (Stark and Taylor, 1991). This is also the conclusion of Morris (1998) when he states that most Nigerian migrants in South Africa are young men.

Besides, Boyd and Grieco (2004) focus on the question about to what extent gender influences the decision-making process of migration. Their study says women, unlike men, are affected by taking care of children or other relatives (Boyd & Grieco, 2004). Furthermore, it matters significantly if women grow up in traditional or modern societies (Boyd & Grieco, 2004). The study concludes that traditional circumstances lead to less migration (Boyd & Grieco, 2004). This assumption corresponds with the findings of Hingston (2014), that it is unusual for a Nigerian woman to migrate alone, as this activity is traditionally reserved for men.

In contrast to the further developments of the Human Capital Model (Sjaastad, 1962) mentioned so far, the new economics of migration (Stark, 1991, 1994) focuses on the influence of families or households on the migratory behavior of individuals (Stark, 1994). Individuals act in a collective, that typically consists of a household (Stark, 1994). Households are expected not only to maximize expected income but also to minimize income risks (Stark, 1994). Migration can be understood as diversification and reduction of the risk to lose income (Stark et al., 1985). This pattern also plays a role in the migration of Nigerians, where usually only a single family member immigrates to support the family back home (Singh & Sausi, 2010). The approach by Stark et al. (1985) leads to partly different results in terms of the migration decision than the previously mentioned approaches, as the household interest may differ from one of the individuals.

In addition to higher income and better living conditions, Glazer and Kondo (2007) emphasize the search for good governance as a factor that motivates individuals to migrate. This is also the case in the Nigerian migration to South Africa, as some Nigerians migrate because of the rampant corruption in their home country (Enigbokan et al., 2015).

Meso theoretical approaches:

A theory that deals more with the social background of the migration decision is the Network Theory. The existence of social networks reduces the risk and cost of the movement (Massey et al., 1987, 1998). This makes it easier for potential migrants to migrate (Massey et al., 1987, 1998). Cost reduction is achieved through social capital gained through personal contacts with friends, relatives, and compatriots, allowing migrants to access jobs, housing, and financial support (Massey et al., 1987, 1998). The networks evolve through family, ethnicity, and friendly connections between migrants and locals (Massey et al., 1987, 1998). Social networks also play a major role for Nigerian migrants, as they support them during the entry, arrival, and acclimatization phase, as well as in their further life in South Africa (Hingston, 2014; Enigbokan et al., 2015, Singh & Sausi, 2010).

A phenomenon that leads to the emergence of social networks and the reinforcement of migration is chain migration. The migration decision, in this model, is particularly related to the behavior of members of the family or network (Baily, 1982). The movement of different people occurs time-delayed. The chain migration starts with pioneer migrants, followed by imitators (Baily, 1982). At a later stage, whole families relocate, intending to settle permanently (Baily, 1982). This migration flow is followed by second and third-generation (Baily, 1982). This is also taking place in South Africa, as 27 percent of the permanent resident permits issued to Nigerians, in 2015, were issued for reasons of family reunification (Statistics South Africa, 2015).

The previous section makes apparent that the migration process depends on factors at different levels. A dynamic interplay of individual behavior, budgetary strategies, ethnic community structures, and the structural condition of politics and national economies has repercussions that lead to the cumulative causation of migration (Massey, 1990). Thereafter macro, micro, and meso-level approaches need to be combined, to identify the different factors that continue to influence the migration decision of Nigerians to come to South Africa, despite the xenophobic attacks. This makes it possible to link the personal decision-making process with phenomena such as globalization, chain migration, migration networks, and politically motivated migrations. This is important to understand migration as a whole and may lead to the formulation of new or improved policy approaches in the context of the Nigerian migration to South Africa.

Explanatory models for xenophobia:

To find out where the pronounced xenophobia against Nigerians is rooted various hypotheses have to be considered. The hostile environment within the country can be blamed on existing negative assumptions of the South African population (Landau et al., 2005). The foreigners would be perceived as a threat to the

population's physical security. However, according to empirical data foreigners are hardly to blame for the difficult security situation within the country (Landau et al., 2005). The allegations that Nigerians are involved in drug and human trafficking (Adesina, 2019) can be explained by the fact that Nigerians are used as a political scapegoat to justify grievances within the country. Landau et al. (2005) state that foreigners, and the alleged danger they pose, are used to unite the South African population behind a common enemy to bridge the existing ethnic and political divides.

The attacks on Nigerian businesses can be explained by the prevailing frustration within the population. The frustration is seen as the perfect breeding ground for blaming strangers for all problems (Harris, 2002). The frustration stems from the fact that the high expectations that many attached to the democratization of the country were not met (Harris, 2002). The unjust distribution of wealth still exists and is reflected in widespread poverty (Harris, 2002).

According to Misago (2019: p. 8), the violent xenophobic attacks against Nigerians can be explained with the “collective discontent invariably generated by a wide range of different factors (such as relative deprivation, beliefs, rumors, etc.)”. The fear of the local population that immigrants and thus also Nigerians will steal their jobs is related to the fact that jobs are rare in South Africa, which is reflected in the high unemployment rate. In addition, many of the Nigerian immigrants are better educated and willing to work for low wages (Landau et al., 2005).

Furthermore, the aversion of South Africans against Nigerians can be explained by the fact that South Africans believe that foreigners claim social grants and other benefits originally intended for the local population (Landau et al. 2005). The hostile sentiment against Nigerians can also be attributed to the fact that the number of Nigerian immigrants has been rising steadily since the end of apartheid (United Nations, 2019). This has a threatening effect on many locals, which triggers hostile attacks since the South African society was largely isolated from the outside world during the apartheid regime (Harris, 2002). Landau et al., (2005) agree with this point of view and add that the common discrimination against foreigners is related to "the racial categorization, political fragmentation, and isolation" (Landau et al., 2005: 8), which the black South African population experienced during the apartheid regime. The country's long-suppressed black population would demonstrate their new political and economic position by discriminating against a weaker group of people (Landau et al., 2005; Matsinhe, 2011), in this case, Nigerians.

The fact that Nigerians in South Africa are discriminated because of their different appearance, demeanor, and language is substantiated in Harri's (2002) Bio-Cultural Thesis. The aversion to Nigerian migrants can also be linked to the fact that South Africans generally believe that African immigrants would only come to South Africa to take and not to give. Furthermore, the local population looks down on African migrants because they believe that South Africa is at a different level of development than other African countries and therefore rather belongs to continents like Europe and North America (Neocosmos, 2008). The belief that South Africans are not Africans is complemented by the assumption that resources, jobs, and all other goods

the country has to offer should only be available to locals (Neocosmos, 2008). The described xenophobia must be understood as a political discourse, ideologies, and consciousness that developed based on a politics of fear. The politics of fear is anchored in the South African government as well as within society (Neocosmos, 2008).

Chapter 3

3.1 Methodology:

The present study used a qualitative research methodology as it allowed me to understand the perspectives of the studied subjects and to explore the basic motives of their actions (Kothari, 2004), as well as the context in which they live (Hingston, 2014). In order to comply with the social distancing policies and travel restrictions that prevailed during the first Covid-19 lockdown in South Africa, the qualitative data acquisition only took place in the form of online in-depth interviews and informal discussions.

3.2 Methods of collecting information: Interviews

To answer the research question, the present study used primary data, which was obtained through 14 in-depth interviews and informal discussions. Due to the ongoing Covid-19 pandemic, in-depth interviews and informal discussions were conducted online. In-depth interviews represent a special conversation technique through which significant amounts of knowledge or data can be generated. This method is so resourceful as a special bond between the researcher and the interviewee is created, which is developed by the depth and length of the interview (Biber et al., 2006). The 14 in-depth interviews were semi-structured which allowed the creation of new questions during the interviews and to be more flexible with emerging discussions. The interview guide contained 40 open-ended questions, which enabled the participants to reflect on and give detailed accounts and perceptions of their migration experiences. Therefore, it allowed me to gather more information as the respondents had more room to express themselves. However, some of the questions and the order in which they were asked changed in the process of the data acquisition due to newly acquired knowledge.

The informal discussion took place randomly at the beginning or end of the interviews, before the recording device was switched on or after it was switched off. The informal discussions turned out to be informative, possibly because the migrants were intimidated by the usage of the recording dives and felt more comfortable in the context of an informal conversation. The interviews and discussions took place at different times, depending on the availability of the respondents. Among the 14 interviewees were academics, students, business owners, employees, and housewives. Formal requests for these interviews were carried out online via e-mail or WhatsApp, clearly explaining the aim of the research. The interviews were carried out online through e-mail and WhatsApp. The WhatsApp call application was the most used platform during data collection followed by e-mails. Before the interviews and discussions were held, the respondents were contacted via e-mail, phone call, or WhatsApp message. The data acquisition took place exclusively in English to avoid any misunderstandings. The interviews plus discussions usually lasted between 30 minutes and 2 hours, depending on the availability of the respondents.

Several hurdles had to be overcome during the conduct of the study. The biggest challenge was that the participants were not always available. In several cases, it turned out to be difficult to reach the respondents, which made the planning and conduction of the interviews challenging. Sometimes it was difficult to get the participants to sacrifice their valuable time for an interview, as some stated they had more existential

worries, due to the current pandemic, than to participate in a study. The fact that the interviews could only take place online meant that many interviews could not be carried out in one go, as network problems were encountered. Written WhatsApp and E-Mail interviews were challenging at times, as the written exchange seemed to inhibit the respondents willingness to communicate, which sometimes made it complicated to generate deep and rich data. The pandemic made it difficult to establish a personal connection with the respondents, and thus to create a basis of trust, which would have been advantageous for a high-quality data acquisition, as no face-to-face interaction was possible. In other cases, Nigerian migrants, eligible for the study, only wanted to participate if they would be financially rewarded, as they believed that I could not be the only one who would benefit from the interviews. Despite the various problems that were encountered while conducting the study, the research was completed. Reasons for the success were my persistence in convincing potential participants of the importance of my study, as well as the active support of some Nigerian migrants, who tirelessly provided me with new contacts.

3.3 Positionality and reflexivity:

The factor of being a man, made the study difficult, as some female participants had to ask their husbands for permission to participate in the study. In some cases, the husbands were suspicious of my intentions as a man. They were uncertain how to perceive me and wondered why I was interested in this topic. Furthermore, it played a role that they feared that I would become too personal in my questions and interfere in their private life. By submitting my documents, a detailed description of my project, as well as the consent form, which guarantees the anonymity of the participants, the worries could be cleared in most cases. In the direct communication with the female and male immigrants, I experienced no limitations due to my gender. In contrast, my origin and race was a decisive factor in obtaining information. This was noticeable because, as an outsider, who is not part of the Nigerian community in South Africa, it was sometimes difficult for me to establish contacts and gain trust. However, I found that after I had stated my intentions, the participants were willing to reveal information, as they appreciated that a white European who has no obvious reference point to the subject under investigation was interested in their matters. Furthermore, I believe that my respectful and friendly social interaction with the interviewees helped to collect the necessary data.

3.4 Sampling:

Sampling can be seen as the process of selecting a sample that is representative of the entire target audience. By analyzing the selected sample, conclusions can be drawn about the whole target group (Landreneau & Creek, 2009). In this study, Nigerian migrants were sampled to obtain data on the various experiences of the target group. It must be noted that the interviewed number of migrants did not cover the entire Nigerian migrant community. Nonetheless, the use of a non-probability sampling method made it possible to achieve the aim of a qualitative study, to gain a deep understanding of the phenomenon under investigation. In particular, this meant the use of snowball sampling, which is also known as chain sampling. This describes the referral of possible interviewees by already interviewed people. In this way, the social networks of suitable participants needed for this study were identified. This approach has its weaknesses, since people recommend those whom they already know and have similar characteristics. This can lead to a sampling

bias, which means that the researcher only interviews a certain group of the target population that cannot be considered representative, which negatively affects the conclusivness of the study. To avoid this, the initial contact with Nigerian migrants, which was needed to start the snowball sampling method, was obtained through Nigerian peers at the University of Witwatersrand and Nigerian friends from other sectors of society. I then contacted the referred immigrants and made sure that they were suitable and willing participants in my study. Participants were suitable if they spoke English, had the technical means to take part in the online interviews and were resided legally within the country.

The respondents consisted of 14 documented Nigerian migrants, seven men and women, located in the South African cities Pretoria, Johannesburg, and Cape Town. All respondents had some form of education, but most had a Bachelor's degree or postgraduate qualification. The period of the migrant's arrival in South Africa extends from 1994 to 2019. The respondents were between the ages of 23 and 58, with most of the participants being between 20 and 40 years of age. Among the interviews are members of the Igbo, Yoruba, Ibibio, Edo, Esan, and Ijaw ethnic groups. Most of the respondents (6) were Igbo, while members of the Hausa-Fulani, the biggest ethnic group in Nigeria, were missing. In the following a table (Table 1) is illustrated, representing the different characteristics of the respondents.

Table 1: Characteristics of the sample

	Gender	Age	Ethnicity	Education	Year of arrival	City of Residence	Occupation	Reason of Migration
IK	Male	32	Igbo	Diploma in corporate and economic management	2013	Johannesburg	Entrepreneur	Search of greener pastures
AN	Male	45	Ibibio	Bachelors degree	2004	Johannesburg	Entrepreneur	Economic and educational reasons, good infrastructure
BN	Male	38	Igbo	Masters degree	2016	Johannesburg	Teacher	Pursue a Ph.D, better tertiary education and more affordable than western countries
DN	Male	58	Edo	Higher Diploma	1990s	Johannesburg	Pastor	Political prosecution in Nigeria
EO	Male	27	Igbo	Bachelors degree	2019	Johannesburg	Tutor	Study reasons
JN	Male	32	Igbo	Matric	2004	Johannesburg	Student	Family reunification
DY	Male	47	Yoruba	Masters Degree	2019	Johannesburg	Postdoctoral fellow	Postdoctoral fellowship
MN	Female	30	Igbo	Bachelors degree	2016	Johannesburg	Model	South Africa is more affordable compared to western countries, better salaries
GN	Female	57	Igbo	Diploma of higher education	1995	Johannesburg	Retired	To accompany her husband

AA	Female	35	Yoruba	Masters degree	2015	Johannesburg	Entrepreneur	Better economic situation
CN	Female	28	Esan	Metric	1994	Johannesburg	Student	Together with her family
KW	Female	26	Ijaw	Bachelor of Honors	2018	Johannesburg	No occupation	Together with her family
DA	Female	32	Yoruba	Masters degree	2018	Pretoria	Student	Pursue Ph.D, proximity to Nigeria, scholarship
EN	Female	23	Yoruba	Bachelors degree	2008	Cape Town	Entrepreneur	Family reunification

3.4 Data analysis:

In the course of the data analysis, the interviews were transcribed, coded manually, and analyzed. After the transcription was completed I coded the information. At the beginning of the coding, I read through the various responses of the Nigerian immigrants to identify similar phrases and words, as well as indicators for certain theories, which were then organized into broad subject areas. This revealed thematic connections and gave the data a meaning and explanatory power (Lincoln, 1985). The identified subject areas were marked with a certain code. The end product was a list of codes related to specific passages of the collected data that explained the codes. This phase is described as open coding (Williams & Moser, 2019). In the next step, the so-called axial coding (Williams & Moser, 2019), the developed codes were compared with each other to identify correspondences and thus be able to determine the main subject areas. The collected data was allocated to the main themes: negative factors for Nigerians in South Africa, xenophobia and its influence on the Nigerian migrants, and factors that continue to motivate Nigerians to migrate to South Africa. To promote the emergence of new subject areas and the associated development of explanatory approaches, the collected data was repeatedly examined, taking into account various variables, which resulted from group characteristics such as length of stay, gender, age, ethnicity, city of residence, occupation and education to reveal possible connections. Finally, selective coding allowed me to reproduce the coding process in an expressive form, as well as to develop first explanatory approaches (Williams & Moser, 2019).

3.6 Ethical Considerations:

To guarantee quality research and to fulfill the ethical standards of the University of Witwatersrand, as well as to ascribe to the ethical protocol careful efforts were made to protect the interest and privacy of the respondents. The interviewees were asked to sign a consent form, or verbally confirm their participation and acceptance of the conditions. With the help of a participant information sheet, the interviewees were informed about the nature of the study and the possible use of a recording device. Both documents were sent via e-mail or WhatsApp and could be signed by inserting a picture of the signature. Recorded conversations were transcribed. Respondents were informed that recorded and written conversations will be treated confidentially and destroyed after the completion of the study. They were informed that their names will not be disclosed to ensure anonymity. The interviews were conducted voluntarily and participants were able to choose not to answer questions they found inappropriate or to cancel their participation. Delicate questions about discrimination were handled with extra caution, as they might trigger post-traumatic reactions. The

creation of a basis of trust, which would have been helpful when dealing with sensitive questions, was made difficult by the fact that personal contact was not possible due to the Covid-19 pandemic. Nevertheless, the researcher tried to create an environment in which a trustworthy and harmonious interaction was able to take place.

3.7 Limitations of the study:

Despite the significance of my research, the study contains some limitations. One of the biggest limitations was not being a part of the Nigerian community in South Africa, as this would have made it easier for me to establish contacts and gain the necessary trust from the respondents. Furthermore, I was unable to capture voices from all the most populous ethnic groups in Nigeria, as this would have enabled me to paint a more holistic picture of the issues under investigation. Nonetheless, the voices captured are of enormous importance and enabled me to gain valuable insights into the topics examined and to create a clear picture. Despite the limitations listed, the study succeeds in identifying the decisive negative factors that Nigerian migrants in South Africa are exposed to. Furthermore, it is described how the prevailing xenophobia affects the migrants and which factors motivate them to immigrate to South Africa despite the hostility. This enables the study to expand the existing knowledge about xenophobia and the migration of Nigerians to South Africa.

Chapter 4

4.1 Findings:

In the following analysis of the interviews and discussions, the focus is first placed on the negative factors that Nigerian migrants associate with South Africa. A separate point deals with the prevailing xenophobia, its causes, and how it affects Nigerian migrants. The third section examines the different factors that motivate Nigerians to immigrate to South Africa, despite the widespread xenophobia. Furthermore, light is shed on the problems within Nigeria, their root causes, and to what extent they influence the migration of Nigerians.

4.2 Negative factors in South Africa:

Based on the interviews, the migrants are exposed to various negative factors in South Africa, which are composed of corruption, unfair treatment in public health care facilities, high cost of living, cultural adjustment problems, and insecurity. The following section gives a detailed overview.

4.2.1 Corruption, problems with health care, and high cost of living:

Especially the interviewed Nigerian women experience the rampant corruption of police and immigration officers, as a negative factor. Additionally, Mrs. AA complains about the costly health care system, especially if you are not on medical aid. She complains that she is not adequately cared for in public medical facilities and that she is therefore forced to visit private medical practitioners, which are usually more expensive. In general, both male and female migrants complained about the high cost of living in South Africa, which is mainly reflected in high rents. Mr. EO states, "*The amount that i pay here monthly is actually how much i pay in a year in Nigeria*" (Interview: EO).

4.2.2 Cultural adjustment problems:

Many migrants find it difficult to adjust to the ways of living in South Africa. The main problem are the different South African languages. There are 11 official languages in South Africa (Akanle et al., 2016), which are very different from the languages spoken in Nigeria. This fact makes the acclimatization phase, shortly after arrival, and further life within the country difficult. Mrs. AA notes,

> "There is an assumption that if you are black you should communicate in other languages apart from English. People would communicate to me in Zulu or Xhosa. This made communication limited, and some people were not able to understand my Nigerian accent" (Interview: AA).

However, this problem has to be considered in a differentiated manner, since Nigerians, who mostly sojourn in academic circles, are not affected in the same way, since in this environment the language of communication is English. Another point that is noted by the migrants is the high alcohol consumption of the local population, which is seen as one of the reasons for the rampant violence. The migrants also find it difficult to get used to the pronounced entitlement of the local population to social grants and are therefore described as lazy. A male migrant admits that the local customs and traditions, especially the common belief

in the influence of ancestors, are strange to him. Mr. EN states that he has difficulties with the local food and therefore longs for dishes from his homeland. He encounters the problem that the ingredients for Nigerian food are usually quite expensive and difficult to find. Furthermore, he notices that the local population is more open to the transgender and LGBTQ community and notes, "*People here have the liberty to embrace such values*" (Interview: EN). This is not the case in Nigeria, as people there have no right to be transgender or gay. Another migrant remarked that she misses her traditional attire and home dialect.

4.2.3 Insecurity:

The Nigerian migrants perceive the insecurity, which results from the high level of violence, noticeable through a high crime rate, gender-based violence, and xenophobic excesses, as very negative. Women, more than men, stated that the poor security situation has a negative impact on their psyche. They particularly emphasized gender-based violence. They are afraid and, in extreme cases, fear for their lives. Mrs. CN admits, "*Our eyes are open like we literally are holding our purses, our phones, we can not walk freely. We can't feel free*" (Interview: CN). Many migrants note like Mrs. DN,

> "I'm not disputing the fact that Nigeria also has its own share of violence but against women, I would say South Africa is worse. The gender thing also South Africa is worse. Then the loss of life in South Africa is worse because I have never been this scared in my life to lose my life. In Nigeria the violence is there but like they wouldn't kill you over a phone. They won't. They can hurt you but kill you over a phone they won't. But here something as little as a phone you can get killed for it" (Interview: DN).

Only one of the men questioned gave an insight into his emotional life and admitted that he does not feel safe as a foreigner. Respondents stated that a big difference between Nigeria and South Africa is the moral courage of Nigerians. Mr. BN compares,

> "People are watching you and you are being robbed, nobody will do anything, even you will see a cop somewhere watching because that cop was maybe not officially stationed at that place, he will not do anything, those things doesn't happen in Nigeria" (Interview: BN).

The reasons for the high crime rate are seen by the migrants in the lack of opportunities on the labor market, poverty, high consumption of alcohol, and the inability of the security apparatus. The following section focuses on Xenophobia and the discrimination that comes with it, as this has a particularly large impact on the Nigerian community in South Africa.

4.3 Xenophobia and its influence on the migrants:

Especially the prevailing xenophobia in South Africa has a great impact on the Nigerian migrant population within the country. The next sections examine how Nigerian immigrants experience and perceive xenophobia within the country. Furthermore, the root causes of xenophobia are analyzed and why Nigerians

are a major target. It is identified which tactics the Nigerian immigrants apply to escape the discrimination, stigmatization, and violence and how the hostile environment affects their identity, family planning, and desire to return home. Additionally, it will be clarified if the migrants knew about the pronounced xenophobia in South Africa before their migration, how they expected to be treated by the local population and if they regret their decision to leave their home country.

4.3.1 Xenophobia

Four of the interviewed men and one of the women stated that they had never come into personal contact with xenophobia in South Africa. The remaining nine interview partners said they had already been victims of xenophobia. Most of the study participants complained about the animosity that many South Africans show them. Just by having Nigerian citizenship, many people are suspected of being involved in illegal activities. In particular, Nigerian male migrants face allegations of selling drugs, human trafficking, and internet fraud, as well as stealing jobs and women from residents. However, not only men fall victim to these accusations, as Mrs. AA indicates, *"I do receive threats and get accused of being involved in illicit affairs regularly*" (Interview: AA). In general, men as women, young and old, complain about discrimination while using public services, on the labor market, and by the police. Most affected are the migrants who depend on the usage of public transport. Almost half of all respondents, twice as many women as men, reported they had experienced discrimination while using the public transportation network. Mrs. CN reports that during the xenophobic riot in 2019, she was no longer able to use public transport due to her appearance,

> "Last year, I literally couldn't take transport. Take taxis. I literally couldn't go into town, go shopping, you know, I just couldn't do that. I couldn't hide, I'm tall" (Interview: CN).

Mrs. MN reports that during the xenophobic riot in 2019, foreigners were warned of using public transport. However, since she doesn't own a car, there was no other option available. At that time she didn't dare to say anything while using the public taxis for fear of being exposed as a foreigner, due to her Nigerian accent. Mr. BN also reports on his experience with locals in public transport,

> "I spoke English and the guy was speaking their language and I had to like tell the guy I don't understand and the guy decided not to speak English it was so frustrating…sometimes when you are looking for an address they will not assist you its always very difficult" (Interview: BN).

Mrs. MN explains this attitude of the locals,

> "There is this ideology if you speak English in a taxi that means you are acting mighty, high, like you are better than the people in the taxi" (Interview: MN).

In general, the locals seem to react rather negatively if the migrants are not able to communicate in one of the local languages. Mrs. GN knows,

> "When they speak the language you don't reply they realize that you don't even know, that you are not a native, so they won't you know, they won't be that friendly" (Interview: GN).

Even the atmosphere at work is poisoned. In particular, interviewed women reported about hostilities at work. Mrs. EN reports that during the xenophobic attacks someone at work asked her to leave the country if she did not feel safe in South Africa. The situation in the housing market is similar, but here both genders are equally affected. Mrs. AA reports,

> "There are times when my husband and I have been denied housing purely because of our nationality. This is related to the stereotypical bad reputation that Nigerians have, of using their homes to run brothels and sell drugs" (Interview: AA).

In extreme cases, Nigerian immigrants are driven out of their homes in arbitrary actions, because they would occupy the space needed by South African citizens. Discrimination also takes place in the labor market. Mrs. EN reports on her search for an internship,

> "Any company that I would go to and like I had good marks I was one of the top students...they would be like you've got beautiful results but we cannot give you an internship, because you are not South African" (Interview: EN).

However, Mr. IK sees this as an opportunity for the migrants, as the immigrants are forced to establish their businesses, which is successful for many. The same type of discrimination also applies to the award of scholarships. Mrs. DN reports that here, too, the principle of preferring the locals would apply. The migrants feel unwanted in South Africa because there are inconsistencies in applying for residence permits. Mr. JN believes,

> "There are some South Africans that work in the department of home affairs that doesn't want foreigners to live in their country because they keep on rejecting their papers even though those who apply have the legit document" (Interview: JN).

Mrs. CN also reports on the authorities delaying tactics,

> "You go to the office and then they tell you stories okay just pay for the release of your documents. You do that it will be out in a month. We're waiting for that and the month has passed long time ago, and they're not saying anything. You call the number, it's going through but this person does not want to answer the call" (Interview: CN).

The fact that it is difficult for many Nigerian migrants to get legal documents makes the chances of finding a job with regular income difficult. Thus the dream of personal economic improvement that motivates many to migrate to South Africa is hard to realize. Migrants are also exposed to discrimination on social media. Mr. YN reports, "*I also have social media accounts for making online friends and I see a lot of posts like Nigerians should swipe left*" (Interview: YN). Furthermore, especially interviewed Nigerian women complained about unfair treatment in public medical facilities. Mrs. AA explains, "*In the public health care system I'm often neglected, which has resulted in me opting to get treated by a private doctor " (Interview:* AA).

There is a great concern, especially among the Nigerian female migrants, about the xenophobic riots that flare up regularly. Mrs. MN admits,

> "During the whole riots and stuff like that I felt very, very unsafe. The Nigerian man if they catch him they will just kill him or if you are a Nigerian woman there is [the possibility] of you being raped and killed" (Interview: MN).

Mrs. DN also feels powerless because she has the feeling that the South African government would not care about the Nigerian migrants, "*There is violence against Nigerians. I don't think there is an open case, I don't know, it's been swept under the rug because like Nigerians nobody cares*"(Interview: DN). Many are afraid of revealing their identity because they fear they will be victims of discrimination. Nigerian migrants mostly experience Xenophobia from black, uneducated South African men. A migrant indicates that especially Zulu men are particularly aggressive. But white South Africans also take part in the discrimination as Mrs. EN knows, "*White people have this stupid thing of making stupid jokes about Nigerians*" (Interview: EN).

The respondents note that xenophobia has worsened over the years, culminating in the riots in 2019. During the xenophobic riots, none of the respondents was personally affected, but in individual cases family members or friends were victims. Mrs. CN tells,

> "My aunt, she has got a saloon in town. It was like Corona [Covid-19 pandemic] during that time because she was scared for her life. We had church members who just couldn't go back to their store, because they were stealing stuff, looting stuff from their stores" (Interview: CN).

Nigerians who run their business in the Central Business District of Johannesburg were particularly affected, including the uncle of a migrant who lost some of his cars during the riots. In general, it seems to be the case that especially Nigerians who operate in the informal sector, such as artisans, traders, and business owners, would particularly suffer from xenophobic attacks. Mr. AK believes that Nigerians of the Igbo ethnicity are specifically exposed to stigmatization because of their appearance and demeanor. From various statements of the respondents, it can be deduced that within academic circles xenophobia is less pronounced, as people are less violent and the aversion to foreigners is not displayed blatantly. Nonetheless, xenophobia can also be

found in academic circles. Mr. BN narrates how a professor openly showed his dislike for Nigerians. Furthermore, Mrs. DM indicates that in particular Nigerian men are treated unfairly in academic circles. However, as a woman, she does not see herself exposed to any discrimination at the university and states to get along well with her fellow South African students.

None of the respondents felt compelled to leave South Africa by the xenophobic unrest in 2019. However, four of the migrants stated that they were aware of Nigerian migrants who felt the desire to return to their home country, due to the loss of belongings and the fear for life and limbs. This was made possible for some as part of a repatriation. Others had to stay behind as the number of participants was limited. As one migrant reports, there are many more Nigerians who want to return to Nigeria, but cant because they lack the financial means to pay for the return trip. The possibility of registering with the local authorities in South Africa does not seem to be an option, as they only put the migrants in holding facilities without sending them back to their home country due to a lack of funding. Many spend years in these holding facilities before being released back into their communities in South Africa. For others, returning to Nigeria is not an option because their home country offers them no prospects.

4.3.2 Why Nigerians:

Most of the respondents found the widespread negative allegations against Nigerians painful as they are not accurate. However, they admit that there are a few Nigerian immigrants who ruin the reputation of the whole community by their illegal activities. In addition to the truthfulness of the allegations, there are other explanations among the immigrants for the hostility towards Nigerians. Mr. IK explains the allegations with the envy of South Africans,

> "Nigerians grow over and when then again with wealth and flamboyant life and they [South Africans] are not able to achieve that yet and they feel its [the presence of Nigerian immigrants] another occupation by another country [Nigeria] that is far more enlightened than them and they [Nigerians] go into business far more than them, they [Nigerians] have flashy cars far more than them [South Africans], they [Nigerians] take their women as wife's, beautiful girls that they by themselves can not approach, so these things cause a lot of problem with them" (Interview: IK).

Mr. BN emphasizes that the hatred that local men, in particular, have against Nigerians comes from the fact that Nigerians are more generous towards women. He explains,

> "Because they [South African women] feel Nigerians take care of them better than their own people, so that actually causes some rankle and hatred. You know imagine having a girlfriend and a Nigerian guy comes and you are losing your girlfriend" (Interview: BN).

The fact that some Nigerians are able to live a better lifestyle than many of the locals is attributed to the fact that they have a different mindset than the local population. Mrs. EN explains,

> "I think they [South Africans] are just lazy and they're waiting for the government to do everything for them. And we [Nigerians] were raised in an environment where we know the government doesn't care about us, so we don't wait for them to do anything for us" (Interview: EN).

With regard to the Nigerian businesses in South Africa and the envy they cause in the local population, Mrs. DN points out,

> "They [South Africans] just know that they should be the ones doing those businesses, why can´t you open your eyes and see the same opportunity they [Nigerians] are seeing...They [South Africans] just see the business and think oh I can run this, they don't know what it takes...But if I come in and see a gap and I decide to fill in that gap, why are you saying you want to take it back if you are not even filled it in the first place. They [South Africans] are not trying to think outside, they are in a box, majority of South Africans are in a box, they are not trying to think outside that box they have been put in for so long. And most times the foreigners who come in think outside of the box, because we are not in that box" (Interview: DN).

Mrs. EN states that the appearance and demeanor of some of her compatriots contribute to the creation and perpetuation of the existing stereotypes,

> "We are a bit too much sometimes...I feel like sometimes when I see them (Nigerian men) I'm getting irritated. Why do you have to be so extra, why do you have to be so loud. Some of them that participate in illegal things...are the ones who are getting outed. It's like other nationalities are doing these things as well but it's like they are low-key about it. But with us, it's like everybody knows that guy sells drugs and he is Nigerian" (Interview: EN).

The reality that there are Nigerian migrants involved in illegal activities is explained by the fact that they are denied decent chances and opportunities. Mrs. EN explains,

> "I also understand why they want more opportunities to go to South Africans, makes a lot of sense to me. But I feel like be fair about it as well...You can't stop foreigners from coming in...Don't try to make it impossible for them to get opportunities because they will turn to crime...I mean, if the South African can't get employment there are a lot of them who turn to crime. So the problem is not the foreigners. The problem is the government not providing enough opportunities for everyone" (Interview: EN).

Like Landau et al. (2005) and Harris (2002), Mrs. DN believes that Nigerians are used as a scapegoat and notes,

> "It's not Nigerians that are doing the things they say they do. Let me tell you most times Nigerians are not at the forefront of those things. In South Africa, it's not Nigerians that are the Kingpins of drugs. We know, they know but we are the face of it. So we know that there is an underlining politics to this thing, which I can not fight, because its now a system" (Interview: DN).

Regarding the allegation that the migrants are stealing jobs, Mrs. MN thinks it should be considered that many immigrants take on jobs that South Africans don't want to do due to poor payment and the financial support available from the government.

4.3.3 Origins of xenophobia:

The interviewed Nigerians have different explanations where Xenophobia in South Africa has its roots. The most common explanation among the Nigerian immigrants is a lack of education as Mr. BN states, " *Its common with the ones who didn't go to school. They will always think ah these Nigerians they are coming to take our jobs, our women*" (Interview: BN). However, educated South Africans are not acquitted of any guilt, as they are accused of not doing anything about the xenophobia of their compatriots. Complementary to this explanatory approach many immigrants believe that most of the locals, especially the rural population, have never been outside their own country and therefore don't come into contact with people from other cultures. This leads to the fact that foreigners are perceived as alien and threatening, which accumulates into the fear that migrants would only come to South Africa with evil intentions. This belief correlates with the explanation of Landau et al. (2005) and Harris (2002), who see the long isolation of the South African population during the apartheid period as one of the reasons for their xenophobic attitudes. Mr. AK sees a mentality problem among parts of the South African population, "*I think the major problem with most is that they feel that the world starts and ends in certain places. Like if you are born in Kwazulu Natal that's the beginning and the end…*" (Interview: AK). Additionally, Mr. BN, like Misago (2019) and Harris (2002), believes that Xenophobia has its roots in the frustration of South Africans. By this, he means that their expectation of economic empowerment after the end of apartheid was not met. Mrs. DN blames the generation that has lived through the old system for not having taught the new generation to fight, think like visionaries, and harnessing their skills. Instead, they would only pass on hate. She notes,

> "I always want to say that they (South Africans) always talk about oh you know what we went through. They don't understand, the more you talk about the violence, the more you don't know that you are becoming what you are talking about. That's it. Because you are putting your energy mostly on negativity. Of course, your energy with time will be negative. The same thing they talk about how the white have oppressed them blablabla it's the same thing they are doing to their fellow blacks. We don't know how to empathize with them, because excuse me you are doing the same thing" (Interview: DN).

This statement partly agrees with the theories of Landau et al. (2005) and Matsinhe (2011), who agree that the oppression of the black population by the apartheid regime is responsible for their xenophobic behavior

today. Other migrants blame the South African government for the xenophobic attitudes of the population. The state would make too many promises to the population in the form of social grants. However, the government could not keep its promises, which leads Mr. BN to the conclusion, "*When you [South Africans] feel so much entitled and you don't get those things then a foreigner comes and works hard and begin to make it in your land you begin to feel jealous*" (Interview: BN). The South African media is also blamed for having a role in the prevailing xenophobic behavior due to their negative and biased reporting on foreigners. The South African audience believes these reports without validating the respective sources. Thereby individual beliefs and negative reporting contribute to the formation of stereotypes, which in turn lead to the generalization and discrimination of all Nigerians. For Mrs. EN, social media channels are an important factor in the creation, preservation, and fueling of xenophobia within the country. People would be guided by false reports on various social media platforms. In view of the xenophobic riots in 2019, she explains,

> "I think it was more a social media problem because I felt like when people started fighting and throwing things at each other in town. Like, they were moved by what they saw on social media...You find voice notes going around saying...we are going to kill every foreign national that we find. And then, that goes around and people rise up and say no, we're not going to allow you to come and kill us in our communities and then with the Nigerians or the foreigners wherever decided to actually stand up for themselves" (Interview: EN).

4.3.4 Escaping discrimination, stigmatization, and violence:

The inadequate security situation affects the life of the migrants. Especially women feel restricted in their daily activities, as Mrs. EN describes,

> "I can't even sleep in peace. I am so worried that someone is going to climb over my balcony and like steal my things. I can't walk as a lady alone, I have to make sure I go to places with my friends. You just never know who's gonna rob you or attack you, or being a lady try to rape you" (Interview: EN).

In general, human life in South Africa seems to have lost its value, as she notes, " *I feel like the people are just selfish. I feel like they don't value human lives, it's just that well another day, another dawn, another person's dead*" (Interview: EN). The feeling of insecurity is heightened by the fact that the migrants, due to their status as foreigners, feel even more vulnerable. To avoid violence and rampant crime, migrants try to prevent dangerous situations. Mr. DY reports, "*I have learned to make myself less susceptible by avoiding unnecessary outings or solitary walks*" (Interview: DY). The hostility towards Nigerians also affects their behavior towards locals. While most of the respondents say they connect with local people, there are others like EN who note, "*I have South African friends, but do I?... I feel like I kind of distanced myself from South Africans because I felt like I couldn't fully trust them…no matter how much they smile with you like they really don't want you here*" (Interview: EN).

Others try to avoid South Africans completely and limit their close contacts to Nigerian compatriots, as they feel at home and understood among them. The personal negative experiences Nigerians have had with South Africans and the reports from acquaintances, as well as the prejudices South Africans have against Nigerians, lead to the fact that the two groups avoid contact with each other, which makes it impossible for them to overcome the reciprocal distrust. Some Nigerian migrants rather seek contact with people from other African countries than with South Africans. Additionally, according to Mr. AN, the better-off Nigerians, who are no longer dependent on the help of other migrants, try to differentiate themselves from the overall larger Nigerian community in order not to be associated with their machinations and escape stigmatization. One of the male migrants notes to avoid possible xenophobic attacks by reducing his public leisure activities to a minimum. However, it is also stated by a migrant that he made the experience that as soon as South Africans get to know one better, they are open and warmhearted.

4.3.5 Influence of xenophobia on the migrant's identity:

Even in view of the bad reputation and hostility, Nigerians face in South Africa, almost all participants appreciate and stand by their Nigerian identity. Mrs. AA explains,

> "I do consider myself as Nigerian. Not only because it's my birthplace but also because of my ancestry, tribe, cultural norms, beliefs, and values which are unique and different from those of many other African countries" (Interview: AA).

Mrs. DA indicates, "*I am Nigerian I don't claim to be someone else...I don't hide where I'm from because there is really no point, this is who I am*" (Interview: DA). However, she says that some of her Nigerian friends pretend to be Ghanaian to avoid possible discrimination. Mrs. EN sees her origin as a burden, "*I wish I was born somewhere else that is not Nigeria because I feel like it's almost a crime to be Nigerian*" (Interview: EN). These statements clearly show that the prevailing stigmatization of Nigerians and the predicament of their home country has an impact on the perception of their own identity. They see themselves and feel like Nigerians, but the prevailing situation causes some to hide their identity from the public. In extreme cases, individuals wish to have a different identity, due to the difficult circumstances that go hand in hand with being Nigerian.

4.3.6 Build a family in South Africa:

The unsafe security situation of the migrants caused by the high crime rate and xenophobia is not only influencing the migrant's identity but also affects their family planning. Especially Nigerian female immigrants are affected. One female migrant clearly states that she could not imagine starting a family in South Africa due to the poor security situation. In contrast, Mrs. AA is not intimidated by the situation and explains, "*Of course you think about the security situation here in South Africa but at the end of the day you can not allow the high level of insecurity to take control over your whole life*" (Interview: AA). One of the male migrants indicates that he would concentrate exclusively on creating the financial conditions in South Africa to start a family in his home country. One female and one male participant were in the process of

starting a family in South Africa, while one older female immigrant stated that she already had built a family regardless of the hostile environment.

4.3.7 Migrants desire to return home one day:

The hostile environment in which many Nigerians are living in South Africa and the wish to reunite with their families as well as to return to the motherland affects the desire of most participants to sooner or later relocated to Nigeria. Mr. IK misses his family, "*I plan to go to Nigeria and unite with my family. Because I will never be here forever*" (Interview: IK). Other migrants like Mrs. MN want to leave the country as soon as possible, "*If everything works the way it supposed to I'm trying to leave this country next year. Like, next year I'm out*" (Interview: MN). For migrants who have been in South Africa for several years, this decision turns out to be more difficult, as they already feel rooted within the country. Mr. JN indicates,

> "I actually see South Africa as my country because...I have been here for more than 15 years now, so Nigeria and South Africa are both my countries. So as Nigeria being my mother country, ones I'm like 40 or 50 years of age I definitely like to return" (Interview: JN).

In addition to the desire to return home, this step also depends on other factors. Almost all migrants state that they can only imagine to return if the political situation within Nigeria changes. Furthermore, it seems to be an important factor to what extent the migrants can make their stay in South Africa a success. Mr. EN notes, "*It depends on how everything works out. Like, I will try to find a job here. But if there is no positivity to that I think I would go back*" (Interview: EN). For two female respondents, a return is only conceivable if one has already established an existence, as this is very difficult in Nigeria. Mrs. DN indicates,

> "I can't return to Nigeria not having anything to do in Nigeria. You understand? I'm trying my best to get everything I need to be able to return to Nigeria. That's what I'm doing right now" (Interview: DN).

For one older female migrant, a return to Nigeria is inconceivable, as she has spent most of her life outside the country and therefore doesn't think she can cope with the conditions in her homeland.

4.3.8 Knowing about xenophobia in South Africa before migration and expected treatment:

Regardless of the wish to return home one day, it is surprising that most of the immigrants had no negative expectations about the way they would be treated in South Africa. Only Mr. EN claims to have had a negative expectation, "*I heard a lot of stories regarding the way African migrants per se are treated here*" (Interview: EN). Two male and two female migrants thought to be welcomed as humans, citizens, and fellow Africans. A Nigerian male who came to South Africa in the 1990s, as a result of political persecution in Nigeria, expected better treatment than the one he received at home. The rather positive expectations regarding the expected treatment are astonishing, as only one migrant stated that he didn't know about the prevalent xenophobia in South Africa. Mr. AN notes, "*Coming here I didn't even have a clue but when you*

now begin to see it you become aware of it and then you try to be careful" (Interview: AN). The vast majority of migrants were warned of the xenophobia in South Africa by friends and family, as well as through news and social media. This suggests that Nigerians are not deterred by the prevailing xenophobia in South Africa. Mrs. KW reports, "*I still wanted to visit the country, you know regardless of the stories you hear. I still wanted to experience it for myself, other than listening to what other people say*" (Interview: KW). This leads to the conclusion that the hostile environment in South Africa is well known to Nigerians, but due to the better economic opportunities willingly accepted. This corresponds with the fact that the respondents do not regret their migration to South Africa, as the next section shows.

4.3.9 Migrant's evaluation of their migration:

Despite all the negative factors that migrants in South Africa face, the respondents stated they would not regret their decision to come to South Africa. Only Mr. AN indicates that his migration seemed like a failure for the longest time, as everything seemed to be going against him. However, things changed over time and his situation improved for the better. For migrants who have been in South Africa for a long time, the country has already become a second home, as Mr. JN reports, "*I have grown to love South Africa and I believe now I'm happy and I love everything*" (Interview: JN). In essence, the opinion of migrants can be summed up with the statement of Mrs. EN, "*I view South Africa as a land of opportunity which makes it a great place but the attitude of people here towards foreigners, needs to change*" (Interview: EN). The next section looks in more detail at the factors that comprise the opportunities that motivate Nigerians to immigrate to South Africa, despite being the target of xenophobic attacks.

4.4 Factors that continue to motivate Nigerians to migrate to South Africa:

As noted in the previous section, Nigerian migrants face significant xenophobic hostility in South Africa. Furthermore, it is discovered that the migrants are already aware of this hostility before their migration. This raises the question of why they still decide to migrate to South Africa. In the following section, it will be discussed in detail which factors continue to motivate Nigerians to migrate to South Africa, although they know that xenophobia is widespread within the country. Based on the interviews, the motivating factors behind the Nigerian decision to immigrate to South Africa, despite the hostile environment are above all economic factors, existing social networks, good governance, accessibility and proximity to the home country, well-developed infrastructure and amenities, and the opportunity to support family, friends, and acquaintances back home. In the following section, these various factors are identified and discussed in detail.

4.4.1 Economic factors:

The search for improved living conditions is cited as the main reason why Nigerians migrate to South Africa despite the prevailing xenophobia. Above all, economic factors play a role here, described by a better and stable employment situation, which enables migrants to expand their skill-set and experience, as well as to earn higher salaries. Many of the migrants are grateful for these new financial opportunities. Mr. IK indicates, "*There is nothing that I don't like here because the land has helped me so much, in terms of*

finance" (Interview: IK). Access to income opportunities is easier to find compared to Nigeria as Mrs. MN explains, "*It's not looking good but its better, you if you putting in hard work you get something out of it. Back home it's like you put in all the hard work but it's only a few that reap the benefit of their hard work*" (Interview: MN). Mr. BN adds,

> "Someone with grade 7 here has a better chance of getting a job than someone with a degree in Nigeria. A lot of people I know here hold matric and diploma certificates and they are working fine and living good" (Interview: BN).

He attributes this to the fact that South Africa is a relatively new country in which the majority have not yet benefited from the education system. Thus people can make a career even with a secondary school certificate. However, this would soon change since the competition would increase, as more and more people receive a tertiary education and increasingly demanding job qualifications. The migrants also considered that while the cost of living in South Africa is higher than in Nigeria, this would be justified because South Africa is more modernized and developed than other African countries. Furthermore, South Africa is still relatively cheap in comparison to countries in the west. The favorable exchange rate from the South African Rand to the Nigerian Naira is another factor that attracts Nigerians to the country. The mentioned factors are in line with the human capital model of Sjaastad (1962), who emphasizes the search for better economic opportunities as the predominant cause of migration.

4.4.2 Infrastructure and amenities:

The second main reason why the respondents choose to immigrate to South Africa also correlates with the view of Sjaastad (1962) and revolves around better access to public and private goods. Four of the respondents, three men, and one woman said they had come to the country to further their education. Especially the comparatively low tuition fees and the availability of scholarships played a decisive role. Additionally, the respondents state that the educational facilities and teaching provided are of a higher standard than the ones in their home country. Apart from the universities, South Africa's developed infrastructure is another reason why Nigerians choose to migrate. The migrants feel compelled to leave Nigeria because the infrastructure there is underdeveloped. There is a lack of good roads, adequate power supply, and functioning health care facilities. Mrs. MN compares that in South Africa, apart from the occasional power outages, she is always supplied with electricity when she has bought units for her prepaid meter. In comparison, she states that in Nigeria she often only has electricity twice a week and then not even for the whole day. The billing of the electricity consumption takes place via an estimate quote that is usually not accurate and overpriced. Due to the further developed and westernized lifestyle, many migrants see life in South Africa as good preparation for possible migration to Europe or America. This is in line with the observation by Akanle et al. (2016) who notes that for some migrants, South Africa is not the end of their migration. South Africa is used as a stepping stone to subsequently immigrate to countries such as Australia, the United States of America, the United Kingdom, Canada, and Japan (Akanle et al., 2016).

4.4.3 Social network factor:

Apart from the mentioned factors, many Nigerians come to South Africa to reunite with their families or partners who already live within the country. Mr. JN reports, “Actually my parents are citizens and as the children they decided to bring us, to bring me and my brothers, here to study " (Interview: JN). Especially with female migrants, it is often the case that they join their husbands in South Africa. Like Mrs. AA who notes, “*I wanted to be close to my husband*" (Interview: AA). Other migrants migrate, knowing that they will stay with Nigerian friends after their arrival. These utilized social networks are a contact point in the foreign country and make it easier for migrants to adjust to the new environment. Only three of the interviewed immigrants dared to migrate without knowing anybody within the country. Family and friends also act as motivating and demotivating factors. Mr. AN stated he had been encouraged by his family to migrate. Mrs. DN said she was warned by family members about the hostile environment in South Africa. Based on these findings, it can be concluded that social networks and family ties are of great significance in the migration of Nigerians to South Africa.

4.4.4 Good governance:

In addition to the existing social networks that migrants use, the better political situation in South Africa, which is noticeable by a more convincing style of governance compared to the one practiced in Nigeria, acts as an attractive factor for Nigerian migrants. This is in line with findings by Glazer and Kondo (2007) who have established a link between good governance and the migration of people. Their findings indicate that people immigrate to countries in search of better policies (Glazer & Kondo, 2007). In the course of the interviews, it became clear that Nigeria's instability, for which migrants blame the government's mismanagement, acts as a major factor in the migration out of the country. The interviewees accuse the Nigerian government of lacking the will to change the situation within the country and to waste its great potential, which is primarily composed of the existing natural and human resources. Politicians are only interested in filling their own pockets. Mrs. EN highlights the difference between South Africa and her home country,

> "The way people are corrupt here [South Africa], and South Africans will actually rise up and speak and say something, and protests against this person. Now in Nigeria, it's just, you can see that this person is corrupt but you don't do anything about it. You don't try to take your country back from this person. When you see this person you smile with him, we don't tell each other the truth, we don't" (Interview: EN).

Mr. AN finds that South Africa is more stable compared to Nigeria. In Nigeria, there are too many groups such as Boko Haram, Fulani tribesmen, kidnappers, and armed bandits that cause insecurity. He suspects that politicians use the various groups to keep the poor people in check so that their power remains unchallenged. In comparison, South Africa is safer because there is only crime, but no terrorism and civil unrest. He explains this with the fact that citizens in South Africa have rights and that state apparatuses such as the police act as guardians of the law and fulfill their duties, which is not the case in Nigeria. Mrs. GN also

appreciates the fact that, compared to other countries, South Africa is a functioning democracy in which human rights and especially freedom of speech are respected. This development started in the 90s when South Africa developed from the apartheid state into a comparably stable and peaceful democracy, which convinced many Nigerians, who saw themselves politically persecuted in Nigeria, to immigrate to South Africa. Furthermore, migration at that time was positively influenced by friendly immigration laws, which alleviated the acquisition of resident permits.

4.4.5 Accessibility and proximity to the home country:

Maier (1985) states in his extension of the Human Capital Model (Sjaastad, 1962) that the distance to the migration destination country is decisive in the migration process. This also plays a role in the migration of Nigerians to South Africa. One of the respondents stated that she had the choice to pursue her Ph.D. in either the UK or South Africa. She ultimately chose South Africa as the country is closer to her home and has fewer restrictions on Nigerian migrants. Furthermore, this statement is in line with Haugen's (2012) belief that the ever-increasing frequency of south-south migration is the answer to the increasing obstacles migrants face on their way to continents like Europe or America.

4.4.6 Support back home:

The mentioned economic factors and the high-quality education in South Africa enable some Nigerian immigrants to improve their economic situation, which allows them to support families and friends at home and to promote the further development of their country, which coincides with the finding of Li et al. (1995), that social responsibility plays an important role in migration. All of the Nigerians interviewed said they would support family members or acquaintances as well as their community at home to make it easier for them to survive. Most times this support is given through remittances. Many respondents are also positive about supporting the general development of their home country. Due to the precarious situation that prevails in Nigeria, Mrs. AA sees it as her duty to make a contribution,

> "I feel the need to contribute in my home country. It is riddled with a lot of social issues such as infrastructural problems, capital development, high level of unemployment, corruption, and bad leadership to mention a few" (Interview: AA).

She tries to change something sustainably by fighting hunger, unemployment, and the general underdevelopment,

> "I have land and a farm where I plant food. Some of the food gets distributed to the rural areas and non-profit organizations to help reduce famine in the country. I also have retail stores in two different cities which are doing well, they've helped create jobs. I thought it was better to have them in Nigeria so that I pay tax in my home country that will contribute to the development of the country" (Interview: AA).

Some migrants feel their social responsibility, but clearly state that their support depends on the extent to which the Nigerian government's actions change positively. Others see their support depending on how far they are given the opportunity to do so. Mrs. DN sees her only chance to contribute to a lasting change if she returns to her home country as someone who can look back on a well-established career. Only then she would receive the necessary respect from decision-makers, which would be necessary to change fundamental things. In addition to the already mentioned factors, migrants appreciate the beauty, diversity, and good weather in South Africa, which is consistent with the factors that Sjaastad (1962) model sees as important in a migration process.

4.5 Problems that Nigerians face in their home country and how they are influencing their migration behavior:

While examining the reasons why Nigerians decide to migrate to South Africa, despite the pronounced xenophobia, it becomes apparent that not only the factors that make South Africa attractive for migrants play a decisive role. Equally important are the negative factors that prevail within Nigeria and induce the natives to leave their country. As can be deduced from the previous section, some of the main factors that initiate Nigerians to leave their homeland are the underdeveloped infrastructure and social amenities, poor personal economic situation, as well as bad governance, and political prosecution. The situation resulting from these factors has different effects on the attitudes of Nigerian immigrants towards their homeland. On the one hand, they love their motherland and feel safe there. Furthermore, Mrs. AA is proud of the music produced in her country, as well as Nigeria's role as one of the largest oil producers. The will of the Nigerian compatriots to survive is also emphasized. Mrs. GN explains,

> "I'm proud of them [Nigerians in Nigeria] that they are hard workers, hard-working, no matter you know, the suffering all the things happening, each of them is just industrious doing whatever. The government is not doing anything to anybody, like these social grants all these things there is nothing like that in Nigeria you have to work hard for your living" (Interview: GN).

On the other hand, the behavior of the government and people, which is reflected in corruption, mismanagement, fraud, and the existence of terrorist organizations such as Boko Haram, is perceived as negative. In the following section, the influence of the missing political will to develop the country, the prevailing corruption, and the hampering tribalism on the migration behavior of Nigerians will be analyzed in more detail.

4.5.1 Corruption:

In particular, the migrants blame the greed and corruption of the Nigerian government for the predicament in Nigeria. Mrs. AA indicates,

> "The main problem in Nigeria is the corruption of the government. These people, most of them northerners, are only there to fill their own pockets. They are not thinking about the rest of the population and are not interested in building a future for Nigeria" (Interview: AA).

There is anger about the mismanagement and waste of resources that politicians only use to enrich themselves. Mrs. DA clarifies,

> "Nigeria is beautiful, Nigeria is resourceful, Nigeria is rich but the corruption. The corruption is horrible. So terrible. Currently, the poverty in Nigeria is very high, it's not supposed to be so, because if you statistically look at the resources we have it shouldn't be like that. So you know there is something missing. So it's the government" (Interview: DA).

Mrs. DN, therefore, takes the view; "If not for the individuals, the once that are developing their own microscopic way, the country would have just been dead" (Interview: DN). But also the own population is not entirely innocent, as Mrs. EN knows,

> "The annoying thing about Nigeria is that the problem is not the leaders only, right. Problems it's Nigerians themselves. Everybody in Nigeria is a problem. Like corruption is normal, it's a daily activity" (Interview: EN).

The fact that the prevailing corruption influences the migration decision of the interviewed Nigerians matches with the findings of Dimant et al. (2013), who conclude that corruption encourages especially well-educated people to migrate, as corruption reduces the returns on education.

4.5.2 Missing political will:

Besides the corruption and mismanagement, the immigrants are very frustrated with their government, because politicians have no collective will and desire to improve the situation of their people, as Mr. AN explains, "*The government sucks. They have always been the most unrealistic people, they really suck. They have no political will to do anything right, we always talk about potential...we have been talking about Nigerian potential for years now but nothing has come*" (Interview: AK). Everyone is allowed to only think about themselves. It would be surprising that the Nigerian leaders travel to the most advanced countries on earth and yet didn't develop the will to change their homeland for the better.

4.5.3 Tribalism:

The missing political will is also related to the fact that, according to the respondents, most Nigerians think about the welfare of their ethnic group first before they think about the further development of the entire country. The term tribalism, which is often used by the respondents, can be described as a feeling of belonging and loyalty to one's ethnic group (Abdelrahim, 2019), which can affect the way individuals think and behave (Ronfeldt, 2006). Accordingly, Nigeria would not be carried as a whole but only exist in

individual parts. Tribalism would also have an impact on the labor market, as job allocations are regulated by ethnic affiliation and not by the qualification of the candidates. However, some respondents experience this differently and deny that there is discrimination in the labor market.

Mr. AN states that he had never come into contact with discrimination in his home country himself, but he is aware that minority groups and, above all, members of the Igbo ethnic group are exposed to this problem. The government would take the resources from the land of its people, but would not give anything in return, which would lead to the underdevelopment of communities. This would have impelled members of the Igbo ethnicity to an unsuccessful secession attempt, for which the ethnic group is punished up to today. The Nigerian government would do everything to curtail the power of the Igbo by denying them to participate in the government. In Nigeria, it is always the ethnic group that benefits most, in terms of their role, housing, and other benefits, that places the president. Since the Igbo are not allowed to do this, they are automatically marginalized. Mr. BN states that, as an Igbo, he feels disadvantaged as he would not receive the same financial support as people from the North of the country. This is because the people from the North are the ones who have the say in the government. Due to the prevailing circumstances the Igbo still want to form their nation. However, they aren't allowed to do so, since most of the natural resources, such as oil, can be found in their home area in the East of the country.

The strong connection to the respective ethnic group can also be seen in the fact that most immigrants consider Nigeria to be their home, but when asked more precisely, indicate their home region or the place where they were born and raised as their real home. Mrs. AA, whose home as Yoruba is Lagos, states,

> "Nigeria is a place that I can call home, but I consider the city of Lagos as my real home, more than the country as a whole. There are a lot of memories attached to the city where I grew up. My husband and I have properties there. My relatives and friends are based in Lagos. That is what ties me to the city" (Interview: AA).

However, in the everyday coexistence of citizens, tribalism is not so clearly felt. The problem would come into play as soon as it comes to issues such as business and marriage. Mrs. EN reports,

> "It is serious like being Yoruba I can't marry somebody who's not, well, if I come with an Igbo man my parents will be like eh. What are you doing? So I can't even think about it...So definitely if a Hausa man tries to like talk to me, I will be like eh eh eh go away from here" (Interview: EN).

This has to do with the fact that the different ethnic groups try to preserve their cultures and traditions. Mrs. DN describes the complex relationship between the groups as follows,

> "...the Hausa accommodate the Yoruba's more than the Igbo's...the Igbo's they don't even accommodate anybody. They like themselves. The Yoruba's accommodate both the Igbo's and the

> Hausa. But we prefer the Hausa's...so it's more of a preferential perception than being a culture... it's more how much exposure you have than anything else" (Interview: DN).

There are clear stereotypes about the different clans. The Yoruba are the ones who are well educated but who don't support each other. The Igbo are very business-oriented and smart, but would sometimes use this for illegal activities and have a very flamboyant lifestyle that would cause amazement and displeasure, especially outside the country. Mrs. DN mentions that the Hausa are 'primitive' with a lack of education but have the say within the country because they occupy the most important government positions. Due to their supremacy, they are held responsible for the difficult socio-economic situation in Nigeria. Their religious orientation towards Islam is also associated with the violence that prevails in northern Nigeria and is mainly reflected in the existence of the terrorist group Boko Haram. However, Mrs. DN notes that the majority of the Hausa population would not benefit from the leadership roles of their members. She sees the reason for the neglect in the fact that the politicians don't want to empower them but rather make them dependent, whereby 50 percent of the total population could be controlled, and thus the politician's political power remains unchallenged. For her, the main problem is not tribalism, but the political agenda described.

Mr. DN agrees with the opinion that tribalism is not the main issue, but corruption. She sees the only way out of the current situation in replacing the ruling political elite with the younger generation. She suspects that the older politicians only think about themselves and have no interest in the welfare of the general population and the further development of the country. Besides bad governance, the behavior within the ethnic groups is seen as not conducive for the positive development of the country. As an example, Mrs. DA describes the mindset of her tribesmen. Yoruba's would not allow each other any success, as everyone wants to be on top. People would rather fight each other instead of working together. For her, there is little hope that the situation will change in the future because even if the current government was to be replaced, the next politicians would have the same mindset.

The disunity among Nigerians in Nigeria is a result of the animosities that exist between the different ethnic groups. Interestingly this phenomenon doesn't exist among Nigerians living outside of the country, as Mr. AN describes,

> "...you only get to experience that disunity when you are in Nigeria but once you are outside Nigeria everyone like you don't get to see this disunity. Everyone identifies as Nigerian like regardless of what ethnic group you come from. But in Nigeria, you get to see that ethnic identification, ethnic differences, and what not" (interview: AN).

In general, it can be said that the conflicts between the different groups have almost no influence on the migration of Nigerians to South Africa, as almost all of the respondents state that this did not play a role. For them, the corruption and missing political will, which result in the poor economic situation in Nigeria were much more decisive, as Mrs. AA describes, "*My decision to migrate was not influenced by any unfair*

treatment towards my ethnicity or tribe. It was solely for the economic purpose (s) of improving my standard of living". Only one of the migrants states that the prevailing discrimination in Nigeria against his ethnic group, the Igbo, had induced his migration decision. This and the statements of other Igbo suggest that in particular this ethnic group feels neglected, which influences their migration behavior. This finding coincides with the conclusion of Li et al. (1995), who examine the individual decision-making process of migration from an ethnic point of view. In their study, they show that the social position and status of power which the individual possesses, compared to members of other ethnic groups, play a crucial role in the migration of individuals.

Chapter 5

5.1 Conclusion:

The present study tries to contribute to the knowledge about migration and xenophobia by focusing exclusively on Nigerian migrants. The approach to investigate the topic of migration and xenophobia in South Africa through the empirical data acquisition on one certain group of migrants is necessary to shed a light on the extent the prevailing xenophobia affects them and their migration behavior. This approach distinguishes the study from the existing literature, since the available studies either deal with immigrants from several countries, do not discuss migration and xenophobia, or are not based on empirical data.

In summary, this study discovered that Nigerians are negatively affected by the high cost of living, the corruption of police and immigration officers, and the unfair and expensive treatment in public medical facilities in South Africa. The migrants see themselves exposed to cultural adjustment problems that are mainly triggered by the different local languages, foods, traditions, attitudes, and behaviors. However, the most negative factor is the insecurity in South Africa, which particularly manifests itself in the high crime rate, violence against women, and xenophobia. Especially, the prevailing xenophobia poses a problem, as the majority of migrants have experienced it by themselves or know compatriots who have become victims. Primarily Nigerian male migrants face the stereotypes of being involved in drugs and human trafficking, internet fraud as well as in stealing jobs and women from South Africans.

The study shows that xenophobia against Nigerians in South Africa has worsened over the years and culminated in the riots in 2019, where Nigerians, in particular, felt targeted. The intensified xenophobia towards Nigerians could be related to the steadily increasing number of Nigerians in South Africa. The study also emphasizes that xenophobia does not have the same impact on all Nigerians in South Africa. The research discovers that first and foremost members of the Igbo ethnic group would fall victim to discrimination due to their stereotypical appearance and demeanor. Discrimination occurs especially in public transportation, but also in public institutions, on social media, the housing market, the labor market, and at the workplace. In contrast to Nigerians, who are in South Africa purely for educational purposes, Nigerians who work in the informal sector, such as artisans, traders, and business owners, are particularly affected by the xenophobic riots. This could indicate, as the respondents emphasized, that in particular a lack of education can be seen as a reason for the xenophobic behavior. The study reveals to what extent xenophobia affects the identity of migrants. The fear of becoming a victim restricts especially the female migrants in their everyday life and has a negative effect on their psyche, identity, and family planning. To stay away from the rampant violence and hostility, the migrants adopt special behaviors, such as minimizing activities in public spaces and avoiding the local population. A new finding is that Nigerian migrants also distance themselves from their own community in order not to be associated with them and not to be involved in their machinations. The loss of belongings, as well as the fear for life and limb, caused some Nigerians to leave the country in the course of a repatriation. In general, most migrants want to return to their home country at some point to escape the hostile environment, reunite with their families, or retire. However, for many, a return depends on an improvement of the political situation within Nigeria and the

creation of the right economic conditions to be able to survive back home. Many study participants feel a social responsibility to contribute to the development of their country or support family and friends in Nigeria. In most cases, this is done through individual contributions in the form of remittances.

The widespread stereotypes about Nigerians in South Africa are felt to be unjust because they see themselves as victims of a generalization. Why especially Nigerians are a victim of xenophobia in South Africa is explained by the envy of the local population and the boastful demeanor and illegal activities of some of their compatriots. Furthermore, it is suspected that Nigerians are being used as scapegoats by local politicians to cover their political failures. The reasons for xenophobia in South Africa are seen in the fact that the local population would perceive them as foreign and threatening, since many, especially the rural population, have never left their own country and are uneducated. For these reasons, it would be easy for politicians to manipulate them for their purposes. A further cited cause is the frustration of unmet expectations after the end of apartheid, which is particularly evident in the persistent and widespread poverty and unemployment. Additionally, the trauma, caused by the oppression during the apartheid era, which is passed on from generation to generation, would play a decisive role. False government promises, negative and biased media reports, fake news on social media, excessive alcohol consumption, and the inability of the security apparatus would further contribute to the creation, preservation, and fueling of the hostile atmosphere. The explanations obtained for the xenophobic behavior of the South African population are in line with the presented theories. However, the study shows, that in order to explain the roots of xenophobia, not only the characteristics of the local population have to be examined, but also the behavior of the immigrants. In this case, it is the sophomoric and criminal behavior of some Nigerian immigrants that contributes to the negative sentiments against Nigerians in South Africa.

The study provides new insights into the impact xenophobia has on migration. Despite the negative reports that migrants receive from families, acquaintances, and the media before their migration, most don't have a negative expectation of how they might be treated in South Africa. The fact that many Nigerians are aware of the xenophobia before they leave Nigeria leads to the conclusion that the persistent xenophobia in South Africa does not have an impact on the migration of Nigerians to South Africa. Rather, the migration of Nigerians to South Africa is influenced by the better economic opportunities within the country, which is also shown by the fact that despite the xenophobia Nigerian migrants rate their migration to South Africa positively and don't regret having dared to take the step as they profit from the better economic situation. However, this could also be related to the fact that all of the respondents have a certain level of education and thus have more possibilities that ease the migration than migrants who do not have the same set of skills. These possibilities can be understood as financial means, opportunities on the job market as well as knowledge to start a business. Furthermore, the respondents are not among those Nigerian immigrants, working in the informal sector, who have been hardest hit by the xenophobic attacks. This suggests that the perceptions of the participants in this study are different to those Nigerians who work in the informal sector and have less education.

However, by revealing that Nigerians are being used as scapegoats for the failures of South African dignitaries, the study might help the South African population to rethink and focus on the real reasons for their grievances. Instead of blaming Nigerians for the evils in South African society, or completely ignoring the prevailing xenophobia, the government should campaign for a fight against prejudice to put an end to South Africa's legacy, characterized by discrimination (Adesina, 2019).

The study used multiple macro, micro, and meso-theoretical approaches to identify which factors motivate Nigerians to immigrate to South Africa, even though they are a major target of xenophobic attacks within the country. With the help of the two macro-theoretical approaches: the dual labor market theory and the world system model, those factors were identified that are important for the migration movement on a macroeconomic and societal level. The micro-theoretical approaches: the human capital model (Sjaastad, 1962) and its extensions (Boyd & Grieco, 2004; Glazer & Kondo, 2007; Stark, 1991, 1994; Todaro, 1969), helped to address the individual characteristics and motives that influence the decision making of migrants. However, the classical micro-theoretical approaches are not free of criticism (Massey et al., 1993, 1994). One of the main criticisms is that individualistic approaches do not take into account social networks and more complex cumulative migration reasons. In this sense, approaches at the meso-level, such as chain migration and the resulting migration networks, were considered to complement the economic approaches. This made it possible to link macro-economic explanations with the personal decision-making process and phenomena such as family reunification or politically motivated migrations. The described fusion of theories discovered that the migration of Nigerians to South Africa is motivated by better income opportunities, relatively low university fees, availability of scholarships, the comparatively strong South African Rand, existing social networks, the proximity to the home country, good governance, the opportunity to support dependents at home and the well-developed infrastructure and amenities. As noted in previous studies, the present research affirms that the main difference in the migration of male and female Nigerian immigrants is that women tend to immigrate to follow their partners or family members, while men often migrate for economic reasons.

The study deepens the insight into the extent to which the ethnic identity of Nigerians affects their migration behavior. Despite the economic and political difficulties, most migrants have a positive attitude towards their home country. All interviewees referred to themselves as Nigerians. However, the majority of the participants referred to their home region or the place that they were born as their real home, which points to different emphases between national and ethnic descent. The interviewees identify more with the ethnic groups in which they were socialized. The integration of ethnic groups into a shared national identity seems to be a problem. The recognizable division of the national identity is due to the animosities between the groups, which revolve around preserving their own ethnic identity and not being disadvantaged to other ethnic groups. In particular members of the Igbo ethnicity feel marginalized, which influences the migration behavior of some of their members. The prevailing tribalism harms the development of the country, as for many the well-being of their ethnic group comes before the well-being of the nation. The tribalism is particularly evident when it comes to business, marriage, and the allocation of government posts. However,

in the everyday coexistence of Nigerians, tribalism is less of a problem. Even among Nigerians living in South Africa, tribal affiliation does not seem to play a role in interpersonal relationships. In general, it can be concluded that the different ways of understanding their own ethnic identity and the difficulties to form a national identity negatively influence Nigeria's development, but don't play an important role in the migration of its citizens. Rather, the migration of Nigerians is driven by the aim to take advantage of the promising economic opportunities in South Africa, as well as to escape the dire socio-economic situation in Nigeria which is caused by endemic corruption and the missing political will to further develop the country. This means that through the expansion of governance capabilities, secure access to high-quality government services, the fight against corruption and inequality, and the creation of a national identity the socioeconomic situation of the Nigerian population could be improved, which would contribute to a reduction of the factors that induce Nigerians to leave their home country.

In the explanation of xenophobia, the study has the limitation of dealing solely with reports of Nigerian immigrants and does not include interviews with South Africans, which could have provided more precise explanations as to why Nigerians in South Africa are a main target of xenophobic attacks and what can be done against these animosities. A further limitation of the study is due to the prevailing Covid-19 pandemic. Due to the pandemic regulations, it was impossible to meet the respondents personally. This made it more difficult to establish contact and to develop a personal and trustful bond with the participants, which could have negatively impacted the data aquisation.

In conclusion, it can be stated, that the study succeeds in achieving its goal of deepening and expanding the knowledge about migration and xenophobia by promoting new knowledge. At the same time, the study raises new questions of why xenophobia towards Nigerians in South Africa has intensified in recent years and whether the escalation of violence against Nigerians has a long-term effect on the popularity of South Africa as a migration destination among Nigerians and migrants in general. Furthermore, it would be interesting to know whether Nigerian immigrants are exposed to similar hostility in other countries or whether the pronounced xenophobia towards Nigerians is specific to South Africa. These questions will help to further illuminate the examined fields in the future.

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Appendix: Interview Questions

1. How old are you?
2. Your gender?
3. To which Nigerian ethnicity to you belong to?
4. What kind of education do you have?
5. When did you come to South Africa?
6. Why did you decide to come to South Africa?
7. What do you like about South Africa?
8. Was there anything that connected you with South Africa before you came here?
9. What did you expect from your migration?
10. How did you expect to be treated in South Africa?
11. Did you get information about how Nigerians are treated in South Africa before your arrival?
12. From where did you got these information?
13. Did the expected personal treatment in South Africa play a role during the decision-making process?
14. Is there anything that you don't like about South Africa?
15. How are you treated by South Africans?
16. Do you face discrimination within South Africa?
17. How does that make you feel?
18. Does that influence you in your everyday life?
19. Who is discriminating you?
20. Where do you face discrimination?
21. Do you know why they are discriminating Nigerians?
22. In light of the xenophobic attacks last year (2019) has the xenophobia against Nigerians worsened over the years?
23. Do you know people that personally got affected by the violence last year or in 2008?
24. Do you know Nigerians that decided to go back home because of these attacks?
25. In light of these attacks how do you see South Africans or South Africa?
26. Do you associate with South Africans?
27. Are there any other problems that you face in South Africa?
28. Did you have any cultural adjustment problems during your integration phase?
29. Do you identify yourself with Nigeria?
30. Do you see yourself as a Nigerian?
31. How is your attitude towards Nigeria?
32. Are you proud of your country?
33. Do you call Nigeria home or is there a specific area inside the country that you call your real home?
34. Do you face any discrimination within Nigeria?
35. Are you at a disadvantage compared to other ethnic groups?

36. Did that influence your migration decision?
37. Do you feel a social responsibility to contribute to the development of your home country, home region or home?
38. How do you contribute?
39. Do you have the desire to return to Nigeria one day?
40. Do you regret coming to South Africa?