NIGERIAN MIGRATION IN CENTRAL DURBAN: SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT, VOLUTARY ASSOCIATION AND KINSHIP RELATIONS

BY

KOMBI SAUSI

A RESEARCH PROJECT SUBMITTED IN FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS OF MASTERS DEGREE IN ANTHROPOLOGY

TO

THE SCHOO OF ANTHROPOLOGY, GENDER, AND HISTORICAL STUDIES
UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL, 2009

SUPERVISOR: Prof A. SINGH
CO-SUPERVISOR: Prof S. SINGH

ACKNOLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my supervisor Professor Anand Singh for the professional and emotional support he offered me through this dissertation. His scholarly expertise guided me through this study.

I also extend my heartfelt gratitude to my Co-supervisor Professor Shanta Singh, and for the assistance she rendered in securing funding for me.

I would like to thank my friend Eve for taking her time to read my work and helping me with editing.
I am also most thankful to my family and all my friends for the sacrifices and endurance they had to bear while I was doing my studies.
Finally, I am grateful to all the respondents who willingly took part in this study.

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this dissertation is entirely my original work, unless it is specified to be contrary in the text. This dissertation has not been submitted for a degree at any other university.

Kombi Sausi

DEDICATION

This piece of work is dedicated to my daughter Neige K. Sausi whose perseverance, love, hope and trust gave me the strength to complete this dissertation.

<u>Abstract</u>

This study examines social adjustment and renegotiation of identity through networking, arrival and settlement of Nigerian migrants in Durban. The focus of the study therefore was based on the interrogation of personal relationships and the varying experiences that the migrants had as newcomers to Durban. It examined the barriers and challenges that individual Nigerian migrants encountered, as well as the ways in which they sought to transcend them. Since the study is anthropological it seeks to describe the migration experience from individuals' perspectives. I used both overt and covert participant observation, as well as semi structured interviews as part of my qualitative research approach. The goal was exploratory with a view to understanding the human side to a group that is often tarnished by accusations of illicit activities. While the number of Nigerian migrants in South Africa has increased since 1994, the media has been selective in its reporting of this migrant population group in Durban, shaping and determining popular perception about them. Issues such as reasons for coming to South Africa, their challenges and coping strategies, and their personal living experiences in Durban were central to this project. The information will show that respondents to my research had different reasons for migrating and settling in Durban. As much as the individual case studies differed in many ways they converge towards at least one common goal – that is to uplift themselves and their communities back home in Nigeria.

CHAPTER 1: AN OVERVIEW OF INTERNATIONAL AND NIGERIANS' MIGRATION

1.1 Introduction

The study of Nigerian migration to post-apartheid South Africa will be better appreciated against a broader background of the study of Nigerian migration per se. Nigerians have been leaving their country in increasing numbers ever since their political independence from the British in 1960. Numerous countries have played host to them since this new wave of migration, including South Africa. They have settled in various parts of the country and continue to arrive in large numbers in search of better opportunities for themselves and their families. This is a tradition among all human population groups who seek to improve their conditions under circumstances of strife and limited potentials (Peberdy, 2009).

Migrancy and population movements have been constant features in world history over the past five centuries (Cohen, 1995; Cohen, 1997). However, given the current shift in the global economy, coupled with political instability, famine and poverty, there has been a worldwide increase in migrancy over the past decade. South Africa has not been immune to these processes and the state is facing increasing challenges to find the best ways of dealing with migrancy. The Republic of South Africa has experienced a new wave of transnational migration especially from other African countries adding to the existing pressures from long established patterns of circular labour migration between rural and urban households. Importantly, this recent wave of migration has had a direct

impact on cities in South Africa, since most of these new African migrant communities have been established in urban centres (McDonald, 2000).

Comparing Mayer's (1974) research with current research on migration by McDonald (2000); Hannez (2003); Peberdy (2009) it is evident that before 1994, South Africa provided the other pole of migration, where a long established tradition of labour migration to the goldfields for the Transvaal continues to operate. Migrants have come from Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique and Zimbabwe for over a century. Since the 1960s, these migrants have declined as indigenous trade unions began to tighten their hold on the labour market. Foreign workers in the mining industry have declined from over 600 000 in 1960 to less than 400 000 in the late 1980s and numbers continue to dwindle. However, the economic instability in rest of Africa drives undocumented and illegal migrants to continually disappear in the urban setting of South Africa in pursuit of a better life (Cohen 2000).

Migration involves the movement of a person (migrant) across defined boundaries for a specified period of time. Kok et al. (2003) defines migration as a change of residence, accompanied by crossing one of the boundaries of a migration defining area. The border that is crossed determines whether the movement can be classified as either internal migration (crossing a border within the borders of a country) or international migration (crossing a border between countries).

In rural areas of developing countries, internal migration and increasingly international migration have become key components of household economic strategies (Grindle, 1988). Research has shown that when migrant networks are well-developed and accessible, labour migration becomes widely diffused among households because of its reliability and efficacy (Reichert, 1981; Taylor, 1986; Massey, et al., 1987). Rural-urban migration to neighbouring countries, and refugee flows are a wide spread phenomenon in Africa that touch most people's lives from the largest cities down to more remote villages. In addition, a growing number of Africans including Nigerians is entering the stream of transnational migration away from the continent not just from the country of birth but from the country of first migration. This has resulted in the creation of large networks of migrants to facilitate international migration by providing information on how to travel and settle in the host countries.

It is a reality that at the end of the 20th century practically all urbanized nations have become countries of migration. Exhilarating numbers of migrants are not only from developed areas of the world but progressively more from the developing countries, for instance African countries. It is a fact that there are numerous reasons for people to migrate. In the 15th century most of the migration was forced (slave trade), however, today's reasons are different and more complex. Nevertheless current migration has a major impact on people's lives, global politic and economic development (Massey et al, 1998).

1. 2 Problem statement and Justification of the study

1.2.1 Perception of South African towards Nigerian Migrants

It is perceived that Nigerian migrants are the most uncooperative community in South Africa. There is a general perception that Nigerians are involved in illegal activities such as drug dealing, human trafficking and money laundering. In addition they are accused of being involved in criminal syndicates such as cell phone and car theft, duplicating credit cards and money laundering. It is also difficult to police and monitor their businesses because they threaten the weak police with fire arms. Nigerians are also known for bribing corrupt police and lawyers to clear their names or making their criminal dockets disappear.

The above paragraph is also supported by the daily news article found in Appendix number 4 entitled Kwazulu Natal cops dial in to global Nigerian syndicate and its related headlines such as Nigerian arrested with 145 South African passports; United Nation links Nigerians to Hillbrow drugs, 4-1-9 Nigerian scam still operating, among others. Such news headlines and reports about Nigerian migrants are common in the South African media. South Africans have been influenced by the media who only publish and expose the negative side of Nigerian migrants.

Many locals view migrants as threats to jobs and security, bringing with them disease and criminal elements (SAMP, 2001a). Thus, xenophobic attacks towards migrants appear to be on the increase (McDonald, 2000). It is assumed that many South Africans are not well-informed on the circumstances and plight of migrants and refugees. There is little

evidence to suggest that there is much interaction between migrants and South Africans. As South Africans become more socially familiar with non-South African citizens; their perceptions and attitudes begin to change positively (SAMP, 2001a). Government and other agencies have a task ahead of them if they are to change these negative attitudes and convince South African of the value of a more open and inclusive migration policy (SAMP, 1998; SAMP, 2001a).

1.2.2 The harsh reality of the immigration bill towards foreigners

South African human rights groups have expressed concern over the state's policies towards migrants, which in many instances have failed to extend and uphold the same rights to non-citizens that are enshrined in its constitution for South African citizens. Although the Immigration Bill contains many positive reforms and significant improvements, it still contains aspects that are described in the literature as ‗a retreat in terms of human rights and constitutional guarantee (SAMP, 2001a).

For instance, Section 41 of the Act allows an immigration or police officer to ask any person to identify him or herself as a citizen, permanent resident or temporary resident. The officer must have "reasonable grounds" on which to conclude that the person is not entitled to be in South Africa. Although the "reasonable grounds" standard is not clearly defined, it must be interpreted in accordance with the Constitution. Section 41 must also be read with its corresponding regulation, Regulation 32 which provides for an investigation to take place and places a duty on immigration and police officers to verify the identity and status of persons arrested and detained as "illegal foreigners". Finally,

under Immigration Regulations (2005), an illegal foreigner may be issued a Form 20 to prevent arrest and detention pending the outcome of a status application.

Section 21(4) of the Refugees Act demarcates the boundary between the Immigration Act and the Refugees Act. It states that no proceedings may be instituted or continued against a person for being an "illegal foreigner" if that person has either made an application for asylum or has been recognized as a refugee. Where the Refugees Act applies, the provisions of the Immigration Act should not be employed. The Refugees Act contains its own measures for enforcement, including detention. Accordingly, the Immigration Act cannot be applied, at the whim of the immigration officer, to individuals whose status falls under the provisions of the Refugees Act.

Immigration officers routinely ignore the provisions of the Refugees Act in favour of the Immigration Act's less burdensome procedures, requiring only written access to the courts. There is no legal basis for this practice, as a person whose status is governed by the Refugees Act must also be detained in accordance with that Act where such detentions are related to his or her status. Reliance on the Immigration Act has greatly reduced the protections of review and appeal, while encouraging immigration officers to use detention as the primary tool of immigration enforcement.

This results in long-term detentions that fall outside of the law and take place in an environment of corruption and abuse. This practice also fails as an effective policy for enforcing the legitimate concerns of a state confronting a large degree of irregular

movements across its borders. Of more concern it also amounts to a failure of the state to comply with its international and domestic laws in respect of refugee protection. Detentions and deportations have proven ineffective as an enforcement strategy, while exposing immigrants and asylum seekers to an inefficient and corrupt system subject to abuse. The enforcement aspects of this bill and particularly the draconian laws have a negative impact on the right of South Africans as well as foreign nationals, legal and illegal (SAMP, 2001).

1.2.3 Justification of the study

This study explores personal stories of Nigerian migrants, in order to understand the push and pull factors that characterize Nigerian migration to South Africa. It focuses on relationships the migrants maintain in South Africa as well as in their home country. It also seeks to identify negative stereotypes and one-dimensional explanations of Nigerian migration and its current effects on South Africans. This research intends to make a contribution towards understanding the living conditions of Nigerian migrants in Central Durban. The research argues that not all Nigerians are involved in criminal activities; some are decent people making an honest living.

The research also shows that beyond these criminal and illegal activities that media portrays about Nigerian migrants; they also lead normal family lives which include fulfilling the promises they made to their families before migrating and helping their communities of origin. Thus, this research aims to explore Nigerian life outside the well known negative perception.

1.3 Study area

(accessed 04/11/2009)

Nigerian migrants are found concentrated in three major areas: South Beach and sites surrounding Point Road (now known as Mahatma Gandhi Road), Central Business District (CBD) in places such as Russell Street, St Georges Street and Park Street and in Berea, including Umbilo. Nigerian migrants are also involved in small scale business activities around the Warwick Junction and Workshop area and on the main street such as West Street, Commercial Road in the CBD.

Point Area and Georges Street are the most popular and also serve as residential places for Nigerian migrants in particular, as well as those from other developing countries. There are a number of reasons that attract migrants to these areas. These reasons include the large numbers of dilapidated buildings which end up in control of migrants. Therefore they find renting relatively cheap and the conditions to get a place to stay are relatively flexible as long as one can continuously pay rent. Due to flexible rental conditions, flats are overcrowded since the landlords appear to care only about regular rent payment. In

addition to cheap rent, locations retain an image of having African shopping resources, easy transportation, closeness to other Nigerian and African migrants and a few other options that hold African migrants together. Moreover, Nigerian migrants see these locations as the starting point for their personal advancement.

1.4. Overview of Nigerian migration

Central to this study is Nigerian migration to South Africa. Similarly to other migrations, Nigerian migration is characterized by the current era of globalization, where political turmoil, economic crisis, and the decline in opportunities for advancement and rising mobility in one area of the world cause the movement of populations to other parts of the world (Miles, 2004). It is evident from the United Nations (1998b) report that the weakening of the Nigerian economy has significantly pushed Nigerians to leave their country for other parts of the world. Since decolonization, the Nigerian government has been confronted by economic crises as well military coups. In 1980s it eventually appealed to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank for funding. Consequently, the Structural Adjustment Program (SAP) was introduced by the Babangida military government. During the 1980s, Nigeria experienced negative economic growth. This affected the Nigerian government as it could no longer afford to provide jobs for most of its citizens. By 1986, most of those who had jobs had abandoned them to migrate (United Nations, 1998).

Nigerian migration to other parts of the world is largely connected to the poor socio-economic conditions in Nigeria during the 1980s, which was brought about largely by the

military regime of Generals Buhari and Idiagbon (1983-1985), General Babangida (1985-1992) and General Abacha (1992-1998). Each of these tyrannical regimes sent a number of Nigerians into exile. Since the mid-1980s, the Nigerian economy failed to meet the needs of the vast majority of the Nigerian people. Apart from the fact that the Nigerian economy reacted to the fall in revenue from oil, $25 billion in 1980 to about $6 billion in 1984, the succession of weak, and corrupt military and civilian governments who drained off public funds to foreign personal accounts, has been largely blamed for the poor state of the Nigerian economy (Achebe, 1983; Lewis, 1996; Osoba, 1996; Turner & Badru, 1984).

However, various reasons are responsible for migration from Nigeria to North America and Europe. In Odunsi's (1996) findings, most Nigerians working in the US attribute their decision to migrate to a number of factors, including better educational opportunities; opportunities to fulfil occupational and professional aspirations; unavailability of employment opportunities at home; political and socio-economic instability in Nigeria; and lack of information about employment opportunities in Nigeria. It is evident from participants of this research that motivation to migrate is found in a combination of unfavourable social, economic, and political situations in Nigeria as a nation-state from the mid-80s.

Kuper (1965: 59) revealed that the disagreement over resource allocation in Nigeria since the 1960s caused economic and political unrest and forced thousands of Nigerians to migrate. Some Nigerian migrants in Europe and America were admitted for education.

Many of them were sons and daughters of wealthy Nigerians. They moved because of the unstable Nigerian educational system. Labour migrants also moved overseas and to other parts of Africa, including South Africa in particular because many international companies closed down in Nigeria due to workers strikes, protests, and political unrest.

Prior to 1994, South Africa was not attractive to Nigerian travellers, who were mostly students; Britain was a more popular destination for students because of the colonial relationship between the two countries. Most Nigerians in the 1960s migrated to study, and went back to Nigeria after their studies to partake in post-colonial nation-building projects. While most of those who migrated in the early years went to study, those migrating since the mid-1980s have been moving mainly for economic reasons. This wave of Nigerian migrants includes those currently found in South Africa.

1.5 CONCLUSION

Chapter one introduced the background of Nigerian immigrants living at Point Area in the Durban Central Business District. In addition it provides the problem statement of the study as well as reasons why the researcher chose to study the immigration phenomenon. The chapter sets the tone for the study by highlighting the push factors that have led to the exodus of Nigerians to different parts of the world including South Africa.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1. Introduction

From the review of the literature on migration it would appear that there is no single definitive or general comprehensive theory that accounts for the diverse causes and implications of migration movements (Massey, et al, 1996). Studies on migration encompass a wide range of disciplines such as international studies, economics, geography, anthropology, philosophy and history and describe a variety of different perspectives, views and research objectives (Cohen, 1996). Having looked at different Southern African anthropological publications, it appears that few journals include research on migration particularly the current wave of African migration in post-apartheid South Africa. This study aims to contribute towards anthropological studies of migration, particularly the Nigerians movement to South Africa as Nigerian migrants are estimated to constitute one of the largest numbers of recent foreign African populations in South Africa despite the lack of official statistics (Chipkin, 2001).

It is evident from Mayer's (1980) on Xhosa in Town in East London that before 1994, South Africa had a long established movement of migrants to the goldfields in the Transvaal and the Witwatersrand area. However, soon after the 1994 election, there was a marked change in the pace of migration in South Africa. The first development plans

and those subsequently adopted, accentuated existing disparities between urban areas which enjoyed the benefit of investment at the expense of rural areas.

The gap between the economic and social development of different regions within countries and between different countries inside and outside Africa has continued to widen over the years (Cohen, 1997). Nigeria in particular, since independence, has been experiencing political turmoil that is linked to the failure of economic and social development. Peberdy (2005) suggests that pressures of poverty, rapid population growth, fighting over resources in the Industrial Niger Delta have all combined to produce a volatile mixture of insecurity This has resulted in civil strife, state-sponsored terrorism, military government, riots and other forms of political violence which has led to the displacement of large numbers of Nigerians as migrants, refugees, or asylum seekers. In addition, multinational companies such as Shell and Mobil have created more pressure by backing ethnic groups to fight against each other over resources. This has resulted in increasing insecurity thus causing more devastation. Afolayan (1994) argues that both internal and regional conflicts, often based on ethnicity and religion, are precipitating high levels of international migration from Nigeria.

Despite different theories of migration, the theory of transnationalism recognizes migration as a household rather than an individual decision, which is part of a risk management strategy aimed at income diversification (Bilsborrow et al., 1987; Greenwoodt, 1985; Lauby and Stark, 1988; Junming, 1997; Avango, 2000; Kok et al., 2003).

Two similar types of migration in South America have been written about by Kyle and Miles. The work of Kyle (2000), *Transanational Peasant*, focuses on Ecuadorian migrants from Azuay who now live in New York City, provides a valuable account of the history of Ecuadorian migration from this specific region. He proposed that, Azuay represents a new type of international migration not conceptualized by past macro-social level theory. His approach is valuable to this study as he focuses on the communities of origin, identifying migration patterns, economic, social and political causes that pushed and pulled migrants. Kyle concludes that migration is a social process with a strong internal drive that reinforces itself over time (Kyle, 2000). He describes very thoroughly the step that led to the migration decision, which occurs not only at the individual level, but as a result of interactions at the household, village and at the regional level (ibid).

Miles (2004) in his ethnography of a family in Cuenca whose oldest son migrated to New York clearly illustrates this point. Although it was the young man's choice, the entire family discussed the situation, and pooled their resources together, by drawing on family friends and acquaintances to ultimately facilitate his journey to Queens (Miles, 2004). As a result of this collective process, migrants also feel the urge to reciprocate by sending remittances and keeping constant contact with their home country in order to make their family's sacrifice worthwhile. In Miles's ownwords:

> ―Her anthropological work is about the construction of images, impressions, imaginings, and stories of transnational migration as it is experienced and understood by one Ecuadorian family" (Miles, 2004: 221).

Appropriately sensitive to gendered relationships and the negotiated tensions within this transnational family, Miles deals theoretically with class, race, and culture issues in identity formation and its theoretically perceptive in recognizing the importance of contextual influences on family members' transitions through their life courses.

Kyle (2000) and Miles (2004) arrive at some interesting conclusions regarding the reasons for Ecuadorian and Cuenca migration. Firstly, they identify transnational migration as a periphery centred dynamic, because there is no active recruitment from the host country and the social networks and market relations that support this migration also helps to perpetuate the process. Secondly, they understand, transnationalism as rooted in economic processes of capital accumulation (class) but is also entangled with ethnic and gender discrimination. The questions that Kyle posed were instructive to my work among Nigerian migrants in Durban. This research drew on extensive research on migrancy in South Africa, particularly with a focus on studies that compare the survival strategies of migrants within different South African metropolitans' cities and border crossings (Landau, 2006).

This study also draws from Mitchell's social network theory. This theory views social relationships in terms of nodes and ties. Nodes are the individual actors within the networks, and ties are the relationships between the actors. There can be many kinds of ties between the nodes. In its most simple form, a social network is a map of all of the relevant ties between the nodes being studied. The network can also be used to determine

the social capital of individual actors. These concepts are often displayed in a social network diagram, where nodes are the points and ties are the lines (Mitchell, 1969).

In the context of migration; migrant networks are sets of interpersonal ties that link migrants, former migrants, and non migrants in origin and destination areas by ties of kinship, friendship, and shared community origin. Their function in structuring migration decisions has long been studied by anthropologists and other social scientists (Mitchell, 1969). Nigerian migrants also recognized that having friends, relatives, or other members of one's personal community in a given country drastically increases the possibility of migrating to there. For instance most informants acknowledge settling in Durban because of the social connections with those who came before them.

 The power of Nigerian migrants' social network stems from different form of relationships developed from Nigeria as well as in Durban or on their road to South Africa. Social network theory produces an alternate view, where the attributes of individuals are less important than their relationships and ties with other actors within the network. Nigerian migrants' networks develop rapidly because the act of migration itself generates network connections; every new migrant creates a set of friends and relatives with a social tie to someone with valuable migrant experience (MacDonald and MacDonald, 1964).

2.2. Background of Nigerian Migration

Migrant flows are always from poorest countries with a low probability of employment towards less poor and more dynamic countries where there is an opportunity to find some sort of job. Over the last few years international migration has intensified, with the media referring to the ―regionalization and globalization‖ of migration (Andersson, 2001). The major centers of attraction are the same: United States and European Union, with South Africa gradually becoming a migrant receiving country. The third major region that attracts migrants is the oil rich Middle East. The fourth major region set to be the target for increasing numbers is Asia/Pacific, including Australia and New Zealand (Adepoju, 1995).

What are the effects of migration on the countries of origin? Funds sent by migrant to families back home often play a considerable part in the development of the local economy (Gurmu et al, 2000). However, when highly qualified people leave their home country, the investment made by the developing countries in their higher education is lost. To remedy this, programs have to be setup to encourage migrants to return, so that they can contribute to the economic development of their home country (Lockwood, 1990; Makinwa, 1981; Adepoju, 1983; Dijk et al, 2001). The political environment in African countries must be conflict free for Africans overseas to return home.

The 2005 United Nation Development Index estimated Nigerian annual population growth rate at 2.5 per cent and population of 132 million, this places Nigeria as the most

populous country in Africa (United Nation, 2005). The 1963 and 1991 censuses defined an urban centre as a settlement with not less than 20,000 people. The proportion of Nigerians living in urban areas of 20,000 or more was put at 38 per cent in the 1991 census report, a remarkable increase from 15 per cent at independence in 1960 (NISER, 1997). Urbanization in Nigeria was estimated to have grown from 5.0 per cent in 1965-1986 to 5.8 per cent in 1995-1999.

Nigeria comprises six geopolitical zones: North West, North East, West Central, East Central, South West and South East. These zones represent not only different ecological features, but also different economies with implications for regional poverty, political and economic developments imbalances. These imbalances have created centers of counter-attraction all over the country with obvious implications for migration, not only for civil servants but also for professionals and private self-employed people (Booth and McLanahan, 1989).

Nigeria is composed of more than 250 ethnic groups with the Hausa-Fulani, Yoruba and Igbo being dominant. Though all ethnic groups can be found in all regions, ethnic origin highly correlates with region of origin. While it is known that ethnic differences portend differences in social identity, social organization, attitudes and behaviors, a systematic and comparative analysis of their implications in relation to migration, has not been undertaken in Nigeria. This may not be unrelated to the sensitivity of ethnic issues in the country, following conflicts resulting from the ethnic-based competition for political and economic power since independence.

However, Zachariah and Conde (1981) and Brockerhoff and Hongsook (1993) show that in West Africa, the proportional representation of some ethnic groups is much higher among urban migrants than among the population as a whole, suggesting differential propensities to migrate. Amin (1974) states that poor economic opportunities in the rural areas in which an ethnic group is concentrated (rather than the sociocultural characteristics of the ethnic group), is often cited as the main reason underlying a group's tendency to migrate. Gugler and Flanagan (1978) suggest that some ethnic groups in West Africa have established social networks in urban areas that encourage in-migration through the prospect of superior income-earning opportunities, housing and social activities for members of that group. Chukwuezi (2001) argues that while we do not have evidence for most Nigerian ethnic groups in terms of their migration propensities, research suggests that the Igbos of South East are the most migratory, based not only on economic deprivation of their region but also issues related to kinship networks and the enterprising spirit of the people. This supports the expectations in the present analysis that the Igbo constitute a dominant migrant group in rural migration. The same expectation holds for other ethnic groups in regions of origin characterized as poor, particularly areas around the Niger Delta where high levels of migration have been found (Makinwa, 1981). Recent conflicts and youth militancy in the Niger Delta have heightened awareness of poverty and economic exclusion, exacerbated by environmental degradation due to massive oil exploration and exploitation.

The role of religion influences demographic outcomes. In the context of Africa, Oucho (1998) pointed to the manipulative use of religion and ethnicity by both the colonial regimes and military dictators, perpetuating differences in access to political and economic resources and engendering different demographic responses and outcomes. Pittin (1984) and Olurode (1995) add that in Nigeria, the relationship between religion and demographic outcomes (particularly migration) remains largely unexplored. Studies in Northern Nigeria and parts of South West indicate movement restrictions among Muslims, in particular Purdah (the practice of married women living in seclusion) and residential restrictions separating indigenes and strangers into enclaves ‗Sabon-Gari' or ‗Sabon-Layi'. This tendency with expected negative implications for migration is supported by findings among Muslims in other African countries. Hogan and Biratu (2004) in their study on Southern Ethiopia characterized by religious diversity found that Muslims more often live in communities in which they are the majority group and less often experience contact with persons of other religious identities. Santen (1998) in his study on Maja of Northern Cameroon also revealed a tendency to remain in Islamic enclaves rather than migrate to non-Islamic areas of the country. Nigeria is predominantly Christian in most of the Southern regions and predominantly Muslim in the core Northern regions. It is expected that Muslims will have a lower migration tendency than Christians (Baker, 1993).

The effects of individual and household variables such as education, age, sex, marital status, employment status, occupation and household structure in determining migration tendency have been identified in developed and developing societies (Iroegbu and Olivia,

2005). Summarizing findings from fragmented studies in Nigeria, Adepoju (1986) indicates that most migrants, especially rural-urban migrants, are young persons in the age group of 15-29. This is corroborated by Oucho's (1998) summary of general findings for sub-Saharan Africa. Researchers suggest that rural-rural migrants predominantly have no education and are unskilled, in the middle age groups and married, while rural-urban migrants are predominantly single, educated, and young and often students seeking better educational opportunities. White, Moreno and Guo (1995) argue that human capital theories have not only identified the life-cycle advantage for young people to move but also emphasized the role of education, where individuals with more schooling are expected to have greater returns in moving and hence have higher migration rates.

Other studies in Nigeria indicate that an increasing number of rural-urban migrants depend on the urban economy as unemployed persons, while rural-rural migrants are fully employed and contribute to the growth and diversification of rural economies by exploiting rural resources such as cocoa, kola, palm products and rubber (Adepoju, 1986). Nwankpa (1998) and Oucho (1998) state that in recent years, urban areas in Nigeria have been increasingly associated with economic stagnation related to the structural adjustment programs of the 1980s that increased unemployment through retrenchment from the public sector, declines in real wages following currency-devaluation, fiscal policies, as well as education, health and housing declines. On the other hand, Hugo (1994) and Ohagi (1995) argue that rural areas have assumed new importance for employment following migration from the traditional subsistence

economy to the modern economic sector, particularly in the modernized and commercialized agriculture and mining.

With regard to the role of gender in rural migration, for most female Muslims originating in Nigeria and some areas of the South West, migration is highly restricted or totally ruled out (Pittin, 1984; Olurode, 1995). However, Baker and Aina (1995) have emphasized the increasing importance of rural-urban migration of females in countries of Sub-Saharan Africa including Nigeria.   This is suggested as an explanation for high female proportions in indigenous towns and some newer medium-sized settlements.

Similarly, Peil (1985) observed the decreasing male to female ratio in cities throughout Africa. Findings in Ethiopia confirm the dominance of women in rural-urban migration flows. Besides the high percentage of migrants moving because of the transfer of family member, there are considerable flows for reasons related to the celebration of marriage, following not only patrilineal descent but also patrilocal residence. Casacchia, Crisci and Reynaud (2001) also add that widowed, divorced and separated women contribute significantly to internal mobility in the region: stigma and social isolation force such women out of places of origin into migration to nearby towns. The general pattern of migrants domination of rural-urban migration and male domination of rural-rural migration. These differentials appear to evolve naturally from the structure of employment opportunities available in each of the destination areas (Matine, 1975; Ajakaiye and Adeyeye, 2001; Chattopadhyay et al, 2006). Other findings suggest that

small households, and members marginally related to the head of a household, are more likely to be migrants (Zachariah and Conde, 1981; Buijs, 1993).

2.3 CONCLUSION

In conclusion this chapter presented a literature review and the theoretical framework of migration. Various authors have cited that migration to cities or other countries in Nigeria is based on lack of economic opportunities. Other sources identified Nigerian transnational migration as a periphery centre dynamic, where the rural populations move towards cities to seek better lives while the city folks or the elite migrate overseas in search of better education , employment and better living conditions for their families. The chapter also discusses the migrant networks, which are sets of social ties formed on the basis of kinship, friendships and common origin.

CHAPTER 3: FIELDWORK EXPERIENCE AND METHOLOGY

3.1. Introduction

After several meetings with my supervisor, it became clear that my study would focus on Nigerian migrancy in Durban. Since I was conducting an anthropological study, I realized that by embarking on field research I was taking on a daunting set of challenges. The study appeared to impose significant demands as I would need to collect data on Nigerians from one of the most feared areas in Durban, the Point Road an area notorious for illegal activities such as drug dealing and prostitution. I knew that collecting information on issues such as day to day activities, family history and journey to South Africa is sensitive and would require me to gain the confidence of my informants.

As I prepared to enter the field I kept a journal, from March 2007 and conducted preliminary field research among Nigerian migrants living in Durban. I started by attending the Nigerian church, visiting their work places particularly the saloons, cell phone shops, restaurants, clothing shops, bars and night clubs owned by Nigerians because these are their meeting places. I also attended events they hosted such as cultural days and football matches. Fortunately, I was warmly received at these events. In April 2007 I managed to secure a part-time hair cutting job in Nick's Saloon, it was a break through as far as gaining informants' confidence was concerned. This gradually became my permanent participant observation site. This site initially allowed me to observe Nigerians who visited the establishment without them questioning my presence in the

saloon as they considered me to be an employee, unlike when I used to stand in corners around Point Road and the intersection of Smith Street and Point Road. Some of the informants were evidently not comfortable and suspected me of spying on them. With time I became familiar with them. Initially some thought I was an undercover policeman collecting information about clandestine activities.

However, after they learnt that I was a foreign student in South Africa, they were happy to share their views and experiences but still could not fully trust me because I was not Nigerian. I had an almost unconstrained opportunity to learn about the environment in which Nigerians live in Durban. The initial conversation with Nigerian migrants living in Durban was illuminating; I asked questions to gain a detailed understanding on various issues within the Nigerian migrant community. I listened to lengthy discussions as they themselves debated different aspects of how and why they keep ties with those they left back home and about their personal living experiences as migrants in South Africa.

Many seemed at ease during our conversations and were relatively open to questions; however some did not feel free in engaging in conversations about their personal lives. Finally, I pre- tested my interview questions, improving and eliminating poorly devised questions. Towards the beginning of May 2007 I started the actual fieldwork and broadly investigated their day to day living experiences as migrants, which included their economic activities, social networks and transnational relations that exist between Nigerian migrants in South Africa and their community of origin (Nigeria). My initial sample was made up of 50 Nigerians, both males and females who have been living in

Durban for more than a year. The sample size was manageable and permitted me to conduct personal interviews with each respondent. Interviews with the informants usually lasted for an hour, but some lasted longer. I allowed time for informal conversations through structured questions and gave them time to share their personal experiences as migrants in South Africa.

3.2. Review of other researchers' fieldwork experience

From the works that I reviewed, I discovered some approaches that I, in turn, used and applied to my study. Anthropological methods are argued to be among the most credible approaches to studies on sensitive issues such illegal activities or conduct fieldwork in dangerous areas. For instance, Harvey (2006), argues that anthropological accounts are by far the most numerous and widespread studies of smuggling as working with notions of the boundaries of the state, they push the discipline itself into areas that it has not traditionally ventured. The basic argument is that anthropology often works with economic material and archives and this is particularly suited to smuggling for instance which, for some individuals, often means operating alternately or even simultaneously within state economies and in _extra-official' spaces. More importantly, anthropological methods are particularly useful for investigating activities that may be clandestine because of their reliance on establishing trust and rapport with the communities under study (Ellis and MacGaffey, 1996).

Lubkeman (2000) researched wartime migration experiences in central Mozambique. The research was conducted with people originating in the Machaze district in the central

province of Manica in Mozambique. He argues that some refugees were already present in the Machaze district and others relocated to two known refugee town of Chimoio in Mozambique, and in the township area of Sharpville and Sebokeng, south of Johannesburg in South Africa. Lubkeman brings out an interesting argument that the study of migration does not necessarily lend itself to the type of ―typical‖ ethnographic methods that have often been deployed in rural areas in Africa in at least two respects. Migration is much harder to study in terms of the types of interactive experiences which are idealized to constitute the anthropologist's apprenticeship. Even to interact with one process of migration, i.e. with one migrant in their act of moving, is a potentially much more restrictive and less generalised experience than envisioned in the master template of fieldwork which pictures the anthropologist interacting with a community (Lubkeman, 2000). He goes further to stipulate that there is a biographical dimension to migration which is critical because what is of interest for the purposes of analysis, is in many ways not an individual's singular migration experience, but his or her lifetime experience with migration.

It was on this basis that a life-history formed the cornerstone of his methodology. The life-history approach provided a methodological solution to the lack of a village but also reinserted his interaction into the flow of Machazian public life through a pattern of visitations to individual homesteads (even if it proved to be a logistical challenge). His project combined qualitative and quantitative research methods and both documentary and ethnographical sources to reconstruct past events. Analysis also included the use of demographic, social network and ethnographic decision making model techniques, in

addition to more interpretive approaches based on comparison among narratives, responses and observed behaviour (Lubkeman, 2000:105).

After spending time with my informants I realized that there are depths in the knowledge which people have about themselves, their culture and life experiences. Thus it is imperative that the traditional methods (such as survey, interviews) of research are constantly manipulated to derive new ways of probing questions. I remember going into the field theoretically assuming the collection of information will be so easy in the way that I will not have to struggle getting informants to take part in my study.

3.3. Sampling Framework

The information that I present in this section relates to Nigerians in Durban Point Area as well as in the Central Business District. The Point Area in particular is recognized as the first point for migrants, not only from Nigeria but also from other African countries. However a large Nigerian community is clustered around the city areas. With the Point Area development project the area has undergone several changes, which have resulted in the dispersal of migrants. Most skilled Nigerians and successful entrepreneurs choose to live outside the city area (in suburbs such as Glenmore, Berea, Umhlanga and among other places). Point Area and St George's Street retains an image of having African shopping resources, ease of transportation, closeness to other Nigerian and African migrants and a few other options that hold Africans together. Moreover, Nigerian single individuals see the city area as the starting point for success and personal advancement.

3.3.1. Informant residence in Durban

Areas	Male	Female	Total
Point areas	22	11	**33**
St Georges str	9	2	**11**
DBN CBD	1	0	1
Berea	1	1	2
Umbilo	2	1	3
Total	**35**	**15**	**50**

Table 1

In terms of region of current residence, 33 migrants are resident in the Point Area, with another 11 residents in St George Street. Nigerian migrants are distributed across the Durban Metropolitan Area, although they are more concentrated along the Point Area and St Georges Street as illustrated in the table above. The majority of Nigerian migrants are resident in the Point Area as it has the high percentage of migrants' resident not only from Nigeria but also from other African countries.

3.3.2. Ethnicity and Religion

Nigeria has more than 250 different ethnic groups and languages, several emirates and sultanates, two main religions: Islam and Christianity, coexisting along with traditional beliefs. After independence in 1960, following the colonial administration, the country was broken into units or regions which broadly corresponded to religious areas of influence: the Muslim in the North and the Christian in the South, the latter also divided into the Catholic in the East and Muslim and Christian in the West. The region known as the middle-belt was predominantly _pagan' and became the recruiting grounds for new advocates of both Christianity and Islam; the former being more successful due to western education that was controlled by Christians (Enwerem, 1995). The current

democratic Nigeria is the product of the above. It came about after three Republics, several military coups, civil war and many inter-religious and inter-ethnic violent confrontations.

However, Nigerian migrancy is not limited to just one Nigerian ethnic group. It is a movement that involves various Nigerian ethnic groups. While the Yoruba, Ibo, Ishan, Urhobo, Ijaw, Idoma Benin crossed geographical and territorial boundaries of Africa looking for better living conditions, whose form might differ from group to group or class to class, most Hausa, Tiv, Egede, Nupe and Fulani limit their movement within Nigeria and North African mainland in search for greener pastures. Nigerian migrants have recently turned their attention to South Africa and this is seen as an ever-increasing inward flow to major cities such as Johannesburg, Cape Town and Durban. Consequently, South Africa may well be considered a new haven for Nigerian migrants.

3.3.3. Region and town of origin in Nigeria

North and South of Nigeria are comparatively less developed in terms of infrastructure than other parts of the country, which constrain economic development and employment opportunities in the region. While the major cities such as Abuja (capital city of Nigeria) and Kaduna are more economically stable and have huge infrastructure investments in the country with high level of job competition there is still a high unemployment rate. This imbalance within wealth distribution in the country has created conditions of poverty in these areas. Poverty and its socio-economic constraints are major causes of population movement in search of a better life style. Popular region of origin are Abuja and Kuduna

in the East and Central with respectively 17 and 12 participants followed by Lagos and Ibadan respectively with 5 and 9 participants originally form these Southern and Western cities. The table below shows the towns and cities of origin of the informants.

Region	Town	Male	Female	Total
North	Sokoto	1	0	1
	Kano	2	1	3
East and central	Abuja	12	5	17
	Kaduna	8	4	12
South and West	Benin city	1	0	1
	Ibadan	4	1	5
	Lagos	5	4	9
	Enugu	1	0	1
	Port Harcourt	1	0	1
Total		35	15	50

Table 2

3.3.4. Age   distribution

Age	Male	Female	Total
15-24	5	0	5
25-44	25	13	38
45-64	4	2	6
65+	1	0	1
Total	35	15	50

Table 3

The age of the participants ranged from 15 to over 65 years of age and the distribution within the group was 5 under the age of 25, 38 between the age of 25 to 44, six between 45 to 64 and 1 participant was over the age of 65. A distinctive feature in this age distribution is the fact that in both the male and female groups a large number of participants is between the ages of 25-44 years. This indicates that Nigerian migration is dominated by the younger generation which includes university graduates and other

young people coming from different activities within Nigeria ranging from cleaners and house keeping to teaching primary school and entrepreneurial activities. They left Nigeria for South Africa in search of better economic prospects and to be able to help family members that were left behind.

3.3.5. Marital status

	Married	Single	Divorced	Widowed	Total
Male	15	12	6	2	
Female	5	9	1	0	
Total	**20**	**21**	**7**	**2**	**50**

Table 4

Almost half of the male participants were married, but interestingly are married to local girls. On the other hand, the five married females came to South Africa already married. 20 out of the 50 participants were married and 21 were single. There is a high divorce rate among the males with 6 already divorced but it is very low among female with only 1 divorcee participant. In Nigeria, female migrants to South Africa are fewer compared to their male counterparts. Males prefer to migrate while single so that they can marry local girls as the South African legislation allows them to get a permanent residence or citizenship once married to a South African. It also explains why a large number of married participants are married to South African women. There are advantages that male migrants get in terms of their business dealings once they acquire a South African residence or citizenship. The Nigerian migrant community is business minded and can do anything to make sure they marry locally as it helps them to have easy access to government resources and expand their business interests.

3.3.6. Time spent in South Africa at the time of research (2007)

Time	Male	Female	Total
Less than 2 years	4	1	**5**
5 years	8	6	**14**
More than 5 years	23	8	**31**
Total	**35**	**15**	**50**

Table 5

Thirty one out of 50 participants have been living in Durban for more than 5 years. Fourteen have been in Durban for five years and only five participants were in Durban for less than two years. The numbers of years that the participants have spent in Durban have a great impact on how they adjust and deal with the daily challenges of earning a living in South Africa. Those who have been in Durban for more than five years owned businesses and are more economically stable than those that are still newcomer's work as shop assistants and hairdressers. But it does not mean that all those who have stayed longer in Durban are financially stable, as some are still struggling to earn a living.

3.3.7. Religious affiliation

	Christian		Muslim	Pagan	Total
	Catholic	Pentecostal			
Male	5	24	5	1	**35**
Female	3	12	0	0	**15**
Total	**8**	**36**	**5**	**1**	**50**

Table 6

The main religion in Nigeria is Christianity which has been evidently transferred to Durban. The table above reveals that there are more Nigerian Christians compared to Muslims and pagans. There is also a large number of Nigerian led churches and more mushrooming in the Durban Central Business District on a monthly basis..

3.3.8. Factors that determine migration to South Africa

Factors	Male	Female	Total
Economic	18	7	**25**
Education	1	2	**3**
Social network	14	6	**20**
Climate	0	0	**0**
Health	2	0	**2**
No reason	0	0	**0**
Total	**35**	**15**	**50**

Table 7

Migration flow is usually to places where opportunities are perceived to be better and where economic opportunities are perceived as easily accessed. The motivations for migration mentioned by respondents include economic (25), education (1), climatic (0), health (2) and social network (20). Economic and social network factors are an important motive for Nigerian migration to Durban. The probabilities of a real income gap and of securing an urban job determine the rate and magnitude of migration from Nigeria.

3.3.9. Occupation in South Africa

Occupation	Male	Female	Total
Saloon	10	3	**13**
Cellphone shop	9	1	**10**
Computer shop	7	3	**10**
Clothing shop	3	5	**8**
Tuck shop	1	2	**3**
Pastor	0	0	**0**
Shop assistant	1	0	**1**
Bar/tavern	4	0	**4**
Street vender	0	1	**1**
Total	**35**	**15**	**50**

Table 8

The occupations of migrants is a topic that was covered extensively during interviews and reflected a high mobility within certain segments of the labor market, specifically

saloons, cellphone and computer shops and clothing shops which are male dominated. At the time of the interviews three worked in the tuck shop with 1 male and 2 female. One male worked as a shop assistant and 2 males owned a sports bar and 2 others owner taverns. Two women were hair dressers and one owned a saloon. All migrants had changed employment multiple times and sometimes had switched between several sectors. A majority of the Nigerian migrants started working in saloons as hairdresser and ended up becoming self employed. Men ended up owning cellphone shops, computer shops and clothing shops because they find them more lucrative than other type of economic activities available to migrants in Durban. One of the participants from Ijo in the Delta region mentioned that many Nigerians he knew sought out flee market vending and moved to different markets within KwaZulu Natal and the Eastern Cape. He had done it himself but could not continue because the income from the business was very low. He was a primary school teacher before deciding to come to Durban, and his wife and son were still back in Nigeria.

3.3.10. Income level per annum

Income	Male	Female	Total
Under R10000	6	9	**15**
R10001-R19999	8	3	**11**
R20000-R39999	0	2	**2**
R40000-R59999	14	0	**14**
R60000-R79999	4	0	**4**
Over R80000	3	1	**4**
Total	**35**	**15**	**50**

Table 9

The income level figures for the participants were based on their own estimates of their net weekly or monthly earning, so the results were approximate amounts, but the income

level of the fifty participants was divided into six categories. Fourteen participants earn between R40 000 to R59 000. However, in the interviews those earning less than R40 000 described their economic situation as unsatisfactory or tight and only eight participants were satisfied with their economic situation. Migrants describe their work schedule as strenuous, having to work six or seven days a week and not being able to take vacations or not willing to do so because it could mean losing customers. Of the two individuals who did not provide any income information, one was unemployed and the other was a woman who could not provide information on her family's annual income.

3.3.11. Education level

	Primary education only	Secondary education only	Tertiary but not completed	Undergradua te degree	Post graduate degree	**Total**
Male	0	20	7	5	3	**35**
Female	0	3	9	3	0	**15**
Total	**0**	**23**	**16**	**8**	**3**	**50**

Table 10

The table above shows that all participants have primary education. 20 males attended secondary school and 3 female also completed secondary education. 7 males started tertiary education but did not complete their studies due to financial difficulties and leaving Nigeria to pursue their life in South Africa- hoping that they will return to school once they can afford to finance their studies. 9 females went to university but did not complete their university education due to marriage as well as financial constraints. Only 8 were able to migrate with an undergraduate degree and 3 hold post graduate degrees, 2 of whom hold an honors degree and 1 a masters degree. Looking at these figures; 23 of the 50 participants have a high school certificate.

3.4. Nigerian Social Division

The data collected shows that Nigerian migration to South Africa is diverse. For each social grouping there are different patterns, different purposes and different meanings that have characterized the movement. The wave of Nigerian migrancy in Durban is characterized by skilled and unskilled labour. The migrants are perceived their families at home to be upper class, due to their level of success and achievement, when compared with the lack of opportunities at home. It is apparent from the respondents that most of them left Nigeria because of their inability to fit into the Nigerian working class. For this reason, unskilled migrants who took part in this study characterized their movements as permanent migration. However, skilled migrants range from school teachers to university graduates. Their movement is geared at improving their socio-economic position in order to return to Nigeria. This explains why their orientation is to return home evidenced by remittances of goods and capital. These patterns are differentiated by class, and they are reflected in other institutional orientation of different Nigerian migrants in Durban.

3.5. Physical settlement challenges

Nigerian migrants emerge from a high-culture context society which is faced with numerous challenges and adaptation strategies for resettlement. Physical, social, and cultural changes of resettlement create, on the one hand, a multitude of threatening situations associated with novelty, and on the other hand, multiple losses to bear. Baker further proposes that, migrants must be able to find their way around an unfamiliar social and cultural order (Baker, 1993). In this sense Nigerian migrants bridge this gap by making friends, learning a new language, getting a job, and establishing a network to recreate home in Durban. They also engage in different cultural activities (playing

traditional music, observing ritual such paying respect to Nigerian traditional leaders, eating Nigerian food) to come to terms with the losses and gains of migrating.

Factors influencing the process of Nigerian migrants' settlement in Durban

Factors	Short term goal (settlement)	Longer term (integration)
Economic	-entering job market -financial independence -employment	-career advancement -income parity -entry into field of prior employments -involvement in local economic activities -transnational transaction
Social	-established social network -diversity within social network -strengthening relations	-accessing institution -engaging effort to make Nigerian organisation to be of more help to the newly arriving migrants
Cultural	-adaptation to various aspects of lifestyle (e.g. diet, family, local language, relationships) -overcoming cultural shock	-engaging in efforts to redefine cultural identity -adaptation or reassessing local and home values
Political	-citizenship -seeking asylum	-participation in political activities -involvement in socio-political activities -seeking permanent residence -accessing refugee status

Table 11: NB: the table derive from discussion with Nigerian Migrants during fieldwork

3.6. CONCLUSION

This chapter details the sampling framework of the study in which ethnicity, religion and education are concepts that were probed in the chapter to illustrate what influence living conditions and affiliations among Nigerian migrants. It also discusses the fieldwork experience when conducting research in a notorious zone such as Durban Point dubbed ‒red zone" by the eThekwini Municipality is challenging. The Point area as a research field site exhibits its own unusual characteristics and the researcher has to be adaptive against prevalent risks. For instance the risks of negotiating for information with police raiding informants' businesses searching for guns or suspicious and illegal activities put me at risk of being caught in crossfire. There is also the issue of suspicion among informants, who even after getting to know you as a researcher, still feel like they are exposing themselves by revealing their activities. To some it just does not make sense for someone to only have academic interest in finding out that kind of information. But there were people who were more than willing to give information but it was not an easy walk to the park.

CHAPTER 4: VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATION AND REMITTANCES

4.1. Introduction

There is growing recognition of the development potential of migration for both countries of origin and countries of destination. The migration and development issue has expanded to include the challenges posed by brain drain and the potential of remittances. When migrants send home part of their earnings in the form of either cash or goods to support their families, these transfers are known as migrant remittances. They have been growing rapidly in the past few years and now represent the largest source of foreign income in many developing countries. Nigeria has the largest population living abroad and their contribution to Nigerian social services and to individual households is increasingly recognized (Levitt, 1998).

This chapter discusses the relationship that exists between migration, migrants' voluntary associations and remittances based on the fieldwork conducted among a sample of 50 Nigerian migrants in Durban. It also provides data on the different ways (informal and formal) migrants use to transfer money and gifts to Nigeria and then addresses the importance of remittances with respect to family support, house building, business ownership, education, health and community contribution, among others.

4.2. Conceptualizing Migration and Remittances

Historically, migration in Africa has been generally seen in a negative light. Colonialism relied on the strategic (often forced) mobilization and migration of labour yet sought to control movement, often aiming ultimately to return people to rural homelands. Since independence, Nigerian migration has often been associated with the issues raised by rapid urbanization, political unrest, ethnic conflicts and fragmentation of rural families and communities. The recent interest in the potentially positive impact of migration on social, economic and development processes in countries of origin has placed much emphasis on the growing importance of international migrants' remittances (Massey, 1995).

4.3. Link between migration and remittances

Migration involves the movement of a people across defined boundaries for a specified period of time (Stark, 1988: 25). Kok et al. (2003: 57) define migration as ―a change of residence, accompanied by crossing one of the boundaries of a migration defining area.‖ The border that is crossed determines whether the movement can be classified as either internal migration (crossing a border within the borders of a country) or international migration (crossing a border between countries) (Stark, 1988).

The theory of transnationalism recognizes migration as a household rather than an individual decision, which is part of a risk management strategy aimed at income diversification (Lauby and Stark, 1988; Kok et al., 2003). Migration is seen as a risk management strategy due to the remittance flows usually associated with migration. Remittance flows represent any monetary and/or in-kind transfers that migrants send

home to family members or other beneficiaries; be it via formal or informal channels (World Bank, 2005). This pattern is confirmed in a response from an informant:

"The decision for someone to migrate is often taken by the entire immediate family. One can hardly decide for himself what to do in the future. There are always others involved and you depend on them therefore you have to give back once you settle in your host country."

Goldring (2004) classifies remittances into two categories. Family/Individual remittances is seen as an income source and therefore spent on individual, household or family expenses. Because it is seen as income, it also has a poverty reduction effect. Collective remittances on the other hand are not seen as an income which is used for expenses as in the case of family remittances. Collective remittances are rather seen as a source for development. Remittances regarded as collective remittances, in this case where remittances are raised by a group that is used for investments in order to eventually benefit this group or community.

This method of raising funds for development is therefore believed to have a long term development effect benefiting an entire area or community. Levitt (1998) identified two types of remittances among migrants; Investment remittances and social remittances. Investment remittances (as in the case with collective remittances) are not seen as income which is spent on daily consumption, as a source which may lead to development. Investment remittances are money sent back by a migrant to their home areas for the use of specific investment opportunities. The definition of remittances has also been extended to indicate the non-economic nature of remittances. The term social remittances are sometimes used to describe the diffusion of various types of social practices, ideas and

values, mainly to the migrant sending areas (Levitt, 1998). This is how James felt before

migrating to South Africa:

> *"If you have a bus here where it is written that it leaves for South Africa,*
> *everybody would try to get on it. Even people who have jobs here, for example,*
> *teachers want to go. Many workers in the public sector were not paid for more*
> *than two years. How are we supposed to live like that? Coming to South Africa*
> *was the only chance I had to support my family and to give my children*
> *opportunities. I could not find work there and I had heard it is much easier in*
> *South Africa and I knew once here I will work hard and earn lots of money."*

These economic and non-economic impacts of remittances contribute to the controversy

whether remittances have positive or negative effects on the remittance-receiving areas.

Some researchers (Cohen, 2005; Goldring, 2004) see remittances as negative and indicate

that remittances are only used for daily survival and immediate household needs.

Because these remittances are believed not to be invested, they have no impact on

development and poverty reduction and may even distort them further. This negativity

inspired by the dependency theory is supported by the argument that migration leads to

the withdrawal of human capital, the breakdown of traditional stable village communities

and leading to people becoming dependent on remittances (De Haas, 2006).

Adams (2005), Kok (2004) and Zachariah et al. (2001), view remittances as the key to the

increasing of living standards within rural families and the alleviation of poverty (Adams,

2005 and World Bank, 2005). They concur that remittances are directly focused on

benefiting poor households. Adams argues that whether remittances are used for

consumption, buying houses, or for other investments, they generate positive effects on

the economy and especially benefit migrants' families in the countries of origin.

Migration therefore represents an important strategy for dealing with poverty via remittance flows. One of the respondents in the study commented that:

> *"My father used to say that I should finish my basic studies before doing my masters in South Africa. He told me not to get involved in any love affairs or anything like that since it is better for me if I m not married before leaving Nigeria. If married my husband has the responsibility and can decide that I stay in Nigeria and do not finish my education. With all the effort that my parents had put in my education hoping that I will help them and my siblings once I have a job would have been for nothing. I had to respect my parents wish and assume the responsibilities as they are old now. This is why I always send money on a regular basis to support their small business in the village and cover for my siblings' school fees and household needs."*

While African remittances remain a relatively small proportion of global remittance flows (representing only 5% of flows to developing countries in 2007), recorded flows have certainly exhibited a strong growth in the last 20 years, from only US$1.9 billion in 1990 to US$4.6 billion in 2000 and an estimated US$10.8 by 2007. In terms of sheer volume, Nigeria ranked number one remittance recipients in Africa with US$3.3 billion followed by Kenya US$1.3 billion and Sudan US$1.2 billion as the top three remittance receiving countries, among other African countries (De Haas, 2008:55).

The most obvious impact of remittances is on the recipient households. Participants in this research indicated that their remittances represented a considerable proportion of household income in Nigeria. For example, analysis of the Nigeria Living Standards Survey 1998-99 revealed that remittances comprised over an average of 9% household income: 41% of households received remittances at least once a year, on average US$218 each. In Nigeria, studies suggest that remittances are important to recipient households, which generally spend a large proportion of the funds on consumption (Osili, 2005:97).

4.4. Why do Nigerian migrants remit?

The main driving force for Nigerians to remit is keeping the promises they make to their family upon migrating; they consider remitting as unselfishness, in other words, concern on the part of Nigerian migrants toward family members back home. Informants in the study mentioned that in most cases only one family member migrates; spouses, children and parents are left behind and rely on the support of this migrant, who assumes the role of provider. Blessing, one of my informants asserts that:

> *"I know it will not be easy in South Africa, but I want him to go. He is mature enough to handle this big step and he has already finished part of his education. He is willing to work hard. Then the entire family, including uncles, bothers, aunts, sisters and cousins, decided about who is going. All of them were involved in sponsoring my trip. The entire family joins to finance the trip, because if I eventually succeed, I will in turn help other members of the family, irrespective of whether they are close or distant relatives. While it is often obligatory for all members of immediate family to participate in sponsoring the trip, distant family members are not obliged to do so. Distant relatives participate if they think that the person going is hard working and loves the family. If he succeeds, he can in turn help other children and members of the family."*

Beyond the care of relatives, self-interest is a significant motive to remit. Family may, for example, look after any property the migrant has left behind, compensating them in this way with remittances. In addition to these two motives, some Nigerian migrants mentioned the agreement made between them and the relatives left behind. Relatives often cover the high cost of moving and settling in South Africa and are later repaid once the migrant has established himself.

4.5. Voluntary Associations

The first priority of Nigerian migrants in Durban is staying connected to families, relatives and friends left behind. They do so telephonically, visiting home and sending remittances. Emotional connections with the homeland are not limited to family ties. Nigerian migrants also maintain their cultural identities by purchasing nostalgic food products such as yam, eru, spices or preferring to dine in Nigerian restaurants in Durban. Nigerian food is sold in different Nigerian shops in Point and St George Areas. The picture below shows one such restaurant on Fisher Street.

Picture of a Nigerian owned restaurant on Fisher Street

Another way of keeping in touch with home is engagement in voluntary associations, also known as Hometown Associations (HTAs). Voluntary Associations are defined by Massey (1993: 445) as ―organizations that allow migrants from the same village, city or region to maintain ties with each other and materially or emotionally support each other

in the host country or those left in their countries of origin." At the same time, voluntary associations create a new sense of community among recent migrants with similar backgrounds. They also represent a transnational identity rooted in the migrant's country of origin as well as the migrant's adopted home (Massey, 1993).

Nigerian Voluntary Associations are active throughout Durban in places such as the Point Area, Berea, Umbilo, and St George Street, among others. These associations range from the ethnic, church based to the broad umbrella associations. The following are some the Voluntary Associations found in Durban: Durban Nigerian Association is the umbrella association which accommodates all the different ethnic based associations such as the Igbo Cultural Association, Yoruba Cultural Association and Hausa-Fulani Associations as ethnic (hometown) associations are also affiliated to it. On a much broader level the Durban Nigerian Association (DNA) also works hand in hand with other associations that operate on the national level and international level such as Union of Nigerian Friends (UNF) and the People's Club of Nigeria (PCN). The total number of Nigerian associations is unknown as these associations are often localized and meant to appeal to Nigerians in the immediate vicinity.

Voluntary associations are at the centre of research on increasing network range, and past research has found conflicting outcomes from associations' membership (Davis, et al, 2006). Putnam (2000) argued that voluntary associations attract diverse members and promote social networks. Research, however, finds that associations often attract members with similar characteristics contributing to homogenous associations. In

Durban, Nigerian migrants have different forms of associational life ranging from soccer clubs to women's associations but the most prominent are churches, ethnic or hometown associations and umbrella associations.

4.6. Churches, Ethnic and Umbrella Associations

As mentioned earlier, the three main forms of associational life in the Nigerian migrants' community in Durban are Nigerian churches, ethnic and umbrella associations. Pentecostal churches in Durban are usually affiliated to a church in Nigeria and are thus an important means of communication between Nigerians in Durban and those left back home. Nigerian associations provide support to Nigerian migrants and encourage solidarity. Pentecostal churches, which celebrate transnational activities embodied in international mobility often assist new migrants in settlement and are an important reference for many Nigerian migrants in Durban.

Ethnic associations also promote active links with communities in Nigeria and some raise funds for development projects. For example the Igbo Cultural association in Durban is modelled on the traditional Igbo political system, installing chiefs, kings and queen mothers. Some of the key members of these associations mentioned that they were not active participants in such ceremonies when they were in Nigeria, but the recreation of traditional culture helps to sustain community identities and solidarity among Nigerians in Durban.

Ethnic identity tends to be more important in cities with large Nigerian migrant populations. Henry and Mohan (2003) point out that due to the large number of Nigerians

in London; associations are often formed on the basis of ethnicity rather than national identity. However, their research showed that the Nigerian community in Milton Keynes, a much smaller town, identified itself principally in national terms similarly to the Nigerian community in Durban. Despite ethnic associations Nigerian migrants still hold membership in umbrella associations such as the Durban Nigerian Association which is formed on the basis of Nigerian national identity. Ethnic associations usually define themselves in relation to a specific language or a place of origin and group of people such as the Durban Yoruba than nationally based associations such as Union of Nigerian Friends.

> *"I feel more Nigerian, but over there in Nigeria, when you go there, I go to my geographical area. Over here, we are all Nigerians so we are doing things in common. But of course, Sunday I meet my church people and then we meet with the Fulani group. In general I feel more Nigerian."* (Male interviewee)

Ethnic based associations are more involved in investment remittances than the broad based umbrella association. Without a specific geographical focus and defined group of beneficiaries it is likely to be difficult to mobilize transnational migrants' limited resources for development in broad based associations specific ethnic associations have sent either money or commodities such as clothes and school and school books back to Nigeria (Osaghae, 1994).

4.7. Role of Voluntary Associations

This study approached the topic of assistance from associations and churches by randomly asking informants what role these associations play in their daily lives. What was noted is the relative absence of help coming from churches. The study revealed that a large number of donations were being made to churches but very little help came from

churches in time of crisis. Informants donate monthly, with special collections at specific occasions in the year, and their membership payments to the fellowship, youth, and bible study groups. Only two out of seven needy informants received help from a church elder in the form of R 400 to R500 which was given to them three times in a year to purchase food.

Ethnic and the broad based Nigerians associations are also typically considered to be places where needy migrants can obtain help. Indeed, when a migrant is brought to one of the three Nigerian umbrella organizations (the Durban Nigerian Association, Union of Nigerian friends and the People's Club of Nigeria) the first thing these organizations do is establish where the migrant comes from and then refer him to members of the hometown (ethnic) association pertaining to the appropriate region/town/village. Interviews with chairmen of these associations revealed that these associations receive many newly arrived migrants and arranged for the initial temporary housing, often not charging migrants any rent until they are able to generate income. They also advise newly arrived migrants on how and where to find jobs. However, some associations, especially the larger ones showed a trend of encountering increasing difficulties. It was reported that it is difficult to keep members actively engaged and pay their monthly dues. At the same time, they are overwhelmed with requests for help from newly arrived migrants as their financial resources are limited. One secretary of an ethnic association explained that:

> *"We live and give to those who just arrive, then when they find their way, nobody sees them again! We have now decided that we are no longer going to help those who just arrive."*

The secretary's comments show how some associations are not receiving enough funding in comparison to the demand from newly arriving migrants. Associations have difficulty in obtaining active membership, their only source of funds.

The Durban based Nigerian Association supports district assemblies in the relatively poor region of Nigeria. District assemblies are local government institutions that form the backbone of the proposed decentralization process in Nigerian and have a role in local and regional development (De Hass, 2000). Overall, the informants indicated that the three umbrella Nigerian associations in Durban support projects and communities in Nigeria both materially and financially. They use both formal and informal methods of transfer to send these remittances. Banks and formal transfer agencies are used, but the extensive connections and networks that these associations have both in Durban and in Nigeria help them to remit either money or goods informally.

4.8. How do Nigerian migrants in Durban remit?

Various means exist for transferring remittances to the recipient in Nigeria. Money is sent through banks, credit institutions or money transfer companies such as MoneyGram and Western Union (operational within ABSA Bank) as well as personal transportation of cash or goods during trips back home. Information concerning cross-border money flows is only available on funds sent through formal channels, as these are the only channels that national banks are able to monitor. Based on my interviews, I estimated that undocumented transactions via informal channels are well above officially documented figures.

Informal methods of transferring money differ from one migrant to another. In addition to the personal transfer of funds, money can be sent through the mail or via a third party. One variant of transfer system involving third parties is the professionally-run Hawala system in South and Southeast Asian countries which is also frequent among Nigerians in Durban. In this system, middlemen, so-called hawaladars, residing in both source and recipient countries use a code to communicate a sum of money, which is then given to the payee in the country of origin, without the money actually being transferred (Mazzucato, 2003). Instead of payments being made between both Hawaladars, the account is usually settled through other means of compensation. This method is advantageous for two reasons first, it allows for immediate transfer of funds to Nigeria without having to register the transaction officially. Unregistered channels are often pursued, either because undocumented migrants generally do not have access to banks, or because many Nigerian rural areas do not have banking networks, making it difficult to transfer money to remote areas.

The second reason for relying on such an informal channel is the low cost. Money transfer via Hawala costs the remitter a mere 1 to 2 % of the transaction sum, whereas bank charges are an average of 7% (Western Union). Western Union and MoneyGram charge up to 12% in the form of commission or fees. The fixed base fee charged by money transfer agencies is made even more disadvantageous by the fact that Nigerian migrants send money in small monthly instalments, on average R500 to R2000, instead of sending a higher amount annually. In addition to the charges the regulation within the banking system is discriminatory to most self employed migrants or those with

unregistered businesses as it is difficult to provide the proof of income required by the banks. In addition to that the ABSA bank does not recognize refugee status and asylum seeker documents. This has brought a rise in the unofficial niche markets. It is comprised of countless independent, small providers in Durban which is easily accessible by Nigerian migrants. For example, the 2007 study by international labour organization (ILO) estimates that, in Nigeria, 60% of all remittances were transferred through Hawala.

4.8.1. Case study of formal transfer agencies

Six months before Western Union opened its branch in South Africa in October 2008, the ABSA bank recruited migrants in major cities such as Durban, Johannesburg and Cape Town, among others. To advertise for them, it all seemed easy on the pamphlets that were being handed out among the migrant communities. What was not included in this paper is the procedure that one has to follow in order to send or receive money through Western Union. This included: proof of Identity Document or valid Passport with temporary residence permit; proof of source of funds, such as payslip, as part of the prevention of Organized Crime Act." [i], and they would often have to await a decision from South Africa's Department of Home Affairs to authenticate the application to remit. It is such prerequisites that force migrants to resort to the informal methods of transfers since documentation is not required. On 25 February 2009 for instance, Hakim was supposed to send money home to enable his brother's discharge from hospital. As a matter of urgency he decided to use Western Union. Since he had a refugee status the ABSA consultant told him that she was constrained to process his transaction unless the Department of Home Affairs sent her a letter to confirm that his refugee status is valid. After faxing his document to Home Affairs they promised to respond in 48hours. He could not afford this amount of time because that would have cost him two more days in hospital fees. He therefore decided to use one of the Nigerian Hawaldars who took only 24 hours to enable the transaction.

4.9. Purpose of Nigerian Migrants Remittances

Families help migrants to move to a place where income opportunities are expected to be better. Migrants then send remittances either as delayed payment for the initial investment that the families have made in the migration process or as his contribution to the families in times of need (Gubert, 2002; Stark and Lucas, 1988). For Nigerian migrants, remittances help families back in Nigeria to provide households with an external source of income not prone to the same risks as locally earned income. Levitt (2003) provides detailed information about the difference between remittances that is sent directly to migrants' families, investments, and community transfers. Family transfers are defined as the total remittances sent to one's family of origin.

In contrast, investment transfers are defined as the sum of all investment related remittances sent by the migrant to finance personal investments in Nigeria (e.g house, business, and land for farming). Finally, community transfers refer to the total remittances that are sent towards social support (such as road construction, church building, and school suppliers, among others) in the migrants' community of origin (Levitt, 2003).

Lucas and Stark (1985) found evidence in Botswana that migrants remit more to their households after they have experienced shocking event (suck as death in the family), attesting to remittances fulfilling an insurance function for the rural household. There is a growing body of literature investigating the effects of remittances on income and consumption streams of the receiving household (Adams, 2004; Lucas, 2005). Nigerian migrants' mentioned that their remittances are used for different family and community

needs, more particularly investing in housing, education, cover for funeral and medical cost, community development, and family's daily life, among others.

Relationship between Housing Investment, Land Ownership, Family Gift, Average Remittances and Associational Involvement based on Age, Education, Gender and Marital Status

		Housing	Land ownership	Family gift	Average remittance sent per month	Association involvement
Age	15-24	1	0	3	Less than R500	4
	25-44	10	6	38	R500-R1000	38
	45-65+	7	7	7	R1000 and more	7
Education	Primary school or less	0	0	0		0
	Secondary school(HS diploma)	14	10	14	R500-R1000	23
	1year or more of university education	24	20	26	R500-R1500	27
Gender	Male	31	28	35	R1000 and more	35
	Female	7	3	15	R500-R1000	12
Marital status	Single	15	11	20	R1000	21
	Married	17	9	14	R1000-R2000	20
	Divorced and widowed	2	4	7	R1000 and more	9

Table 12: the table derived from information with fifty interviewees in the period of March 2007 to October 2008. It provides the basis for discussion which constitutes the reminder of this chapter.

4.10. Nigerian migrants Housing Investments

A key observation from the informants was that 17 migrants between the ages of 25-65+ who were part of my study had initiated housing projects in their communities of origin in Nigeria. During fieldwork I realized that I could not ignore the importance of migrants' housing and land in their home towns. I began to develop questions related to those investments. Such as: Why did Nigerian migrants invest in housing in their communities of origin while they live and work in South Africa? Why is housing and land ownership the dominant investments in their home town? Did they see Nigeria as place to return to after a few month or years? Or just to retire?

House building and home ownership among Nigerian migrants in their homeland was paramount. The research clearly demonstrates the priority attached to building a home: migrants in Durban spoke of their aspirations to be independent, to have a decent place to live in and to provide housing for families on their return in Nigeria or for family members.

Informants indicated that with the money sent home, they have managed to build houses in their places of origin and in cities such as Lagos, Kano, Abuja, Port Harcourt, and Enugu. The houses are often distinguished by their imposing two or three-story redbrick structure, unusual in villages of small cement-block and mud bungalows. Nigerian migrants' housing investments in Nigeria was captured by a least one person's statement in the course of fieldwork:

> *"I would love to stay in my own home instead of renting a place to reside. Other consideration for putting up the house is to afford other family members a decent*

place to lay down their heads." Peter (interviewed on the 25/05/2008 on Point Road)

Home ownership is a near-universal symbol of social and economic achievement. From my interviews, it was clear that in the Nigerian context, housing represents a less risky class of investment, which is further explained in the conversation below. However, I could not rule out the possibility that the dominance of housing could also reflect limitations in the investment choices available to migrants in the country of origin. My fieldwork provided a unique opportunity to learn about the motivations behind housing investment decisions through informal discussions with migrants and their friends.

> *"In future migrants might return home for good. When we go for a visit, other family members are inconvenienced due to lack of space and privacy. I feel obligated to help solve this problem since I' m much advantaged to do so." Gwen (interviewed in Umbilo, Durban on the 29/05/2008)*

Informal discussions and formal interviews with Nigerian migrants suggest that, they invest in housing to strengthen and maintain their membership rights in their villages. Nigerian migrants in Durban emphasized the link between housing and membership in the home community. They confirm that in many Nigerian villages, there is relatively good information about migrants who resided outside Nigeria, particularly when these migrants own houses in their hometown. Within the hometown environment, home ownership serves as a means of identification. One informant argued that migrants are distinguished within the hometown according to whether they owned a house(s) or whether they are currently building a house in their villages as it also has several desirable characteristics including durability, low monitoring costs, and visibility. Discussions with migrants highlighted the role of their family in the decision to invest in housing. In some cases, migrants undertook housing investments in order to provide

housing facilities to their families. Ten participants mentioned that their houses in home villages were occupied by their families. As one respondent stated:

> *"These investments are done to prepare the future benefit of children and family members, i.e. parents and siblings. Economically it is valuable as a source of income when I return home." Rev Trevor (interviewed on the 17/04/2008 on Fisher Street, Durban)*

The data collected show that even when a house is vacant it plays an important role in signalling migrants' resources and support of their family. Specifically, I found that a house provides information about the migrants' resources abroad and his or her family's access to these resources. According to Jeremy:

> *"A house is a highly visible sign of accomplishment and wealth. Few people in the hometown can observe the migrant's income level or the social status that he has achieved in Durban, but the entire community can observe the size and quality of houses that the migrant has built in the hometown." (Informal discussion with a Nigerian migrant in Scala's Café in Durban, on 24/10/2008).*

4.10.1. Case Study 1

> *Rev Trevor and Jacky had both used remittances to acquire land for building houses for themselves. Jacky spoke proudly about her house in Nigeria and during the interview showed a video of it. Reverend Trevor's family lives in Lagos, but originally from Akuete. His father passed away three years ago at the age of 65 years old. His 64 year old mother was left in his care with other members of the family. He has six brothers and they all alive and live in Nigeria. One of his sisters passed away in 2007 due to a chronic illness and his younger sister is married with five kids. The deceased sister left behind two sons and a daughter and they are all in the care of his mother. Rev Trevor has five kids of his own with three sons and two daughters. Two of his sons and his wife are with him in Durban. His eldest son 30 is married to a 37 years old South African woman, they have no children together but she has one daughter from her previous marriage. He currently helps his father in church and runs the family business but he also has an internet shop that is a combined investment with his wife. His son plans to stay in South Africa for a relatively long period of time. Upon migration, Rev Trevor and his sibling agreed to sell part of his father's farm land so that he can migrate and be able to help the family in Nigeria. On is arrival in South Africa with his wife in 2000 they were able to open two businesses. He started second hand clothing business and later opened a mini market on Fisher Street. He also became the head pastor in one of the Nigerian*

Pentecostal congregation in Durban. In return he sends remittance home in the form of money but also electronic equipment such as radios, computers, and cell phones, among others.

Two of his sons are still in Nigeria and currently at university; he also pays for the education of his siblings' children as they all helped in sponsoring his travel cost. And as the eldest son it is his responsibility to take care of his widowed mother, in 2006 he built a house in Lagos in which his mother currently reside with his sons and his sibling children. He is planning to go back to Nigeria in the next three years to take care of his mother but he says he waiting for his other sons to complete tertiary education first and them come help the elder one to run the mini market while exploring some other opportunities in south Africa. As the eldest in his family he finds it as his responsibility to make sure that he take cares of every family member in need. He even mentioned that neighbours are also part of his family as they play a very important role in his life. From the money send home they are also given a share if need be.

4.11. Money sent for different household needs

Money sent to family members to cover household needs represents a large proportion of individual migrant's remittances. African society has a culture of reciprocity and collectivity, and financial responsibility is often shared between immediate and extended families as well as communities. These circumstances underlie a number of types of remittance based on specific needs. Money goes to families for subsistence. It also helps to pay off loans used to finance migrants' travel to Durban or sibling travel and other family to sponsor their travel either South Africa or other places in the world. Fifteen informants mentioned that their trip to Durban was sponsored by parents and members of the extended family after selling property, usually a house. For Nigerian migrants, it becomes an obligation to send money or gifts back home to contribute to the family's livelihood. However, six of those who have settled in Durban for more than five years also send money home for business purposes.

Spending remittances on essential housekeeping is also a priority for migrants' families. All migrants interviewed in Durban sent remittances to support family members with essential housekeeping and consumption items. For instance, John sent money for specific items for special occasions, Gwen supported her children in Nigeria, Rev Trevor sent funds to help his sick father and also with funeral preparations and Jessica provided a regular income to her parent which was used for general housekeeping. Remittances also contributed to funeral and other ceremonial expenses. Births, marriages and funerals, which usually involve the wider community, are very important but very costly. The respondents informed me that people in rural areas tend to expect a funeral which is financed from abroad to be expensive and demonstrated in the type of coffin, the number of guests, the catering and entertainment. Rev Trevor told me that he was sending back money to pay for the heavy funeral costs of his recently deceased father, and Jessica similarly explained the expenses associated with social events such as births, marriages and funerals.

4.11.1. Case study 2

Mercy specifies that she sends R10000 a year (approximately US $1000) with additional amounts sent for specific purposes if need be. As an owner of a unisex saloon in the Wheel on Point Road in Durban and married to an accountant, Mercy represents the higher earning migrants interviewed. Mercy has two kids a ten years old daughter and a seven year old son. Mercy and her husband are originally from Owerrinta in Nigeria and they are childhood friends. She stays in Durban north with her family. Her husband first came to South Africa look for a job and soon after she joined him in 2005 with both her kids. She describes her husband's travel to South Africa as a collective effort of the whole family including friends and the local club. They borrowed money from her father as he owns a small business in the village and the other half come from association and individual who were willing to help. Soon after he got a job we had to pay back the money that we borrowed from my father and other people. But we also continued to send money even when we finish repaying the loans. Mercy's parents also receive money from both her elder brothers who live in the United Kingdom as well as income from the business is not really desperate for money but still sees it as their responsibility to make a small contribution as well. On the other

hand her husband's family is totally dependent on the money that they both remit home. They built a house for his parents in the village and provide for his siblings' children academic fees. Currently they are building their own house in Port Harcourt as we plan that one day if we return home we will have a place to say. They currently stay in a suburb that a lot of will wish to be in but it is not satisfactory for them because people back home do not share this success with them and haven't got a house in their town or village of origin. They live a very luxurious life and their aim is to have it in both South Africa and Nigeria. If one day they decide to go back home they do not have to worry about paying the bill, bond. They are proud owners of a beautiful house.. In addition to sending money for family use they have also managed to open shops in the village and Port Harcourt for her husbands' bothers to run but we still control the flow of finances.

Whatever the amount, all Nigerian migrants who took part in the study, as well as others that I had informal discussions with in bars and saloons, expressed a commitment to helping family members financially, particularly aging parents. In the absence of a pension system in Nigeria, older people rely on working family members, both at home and outside Nigeria, migrants see it as their responsibility to help their parents. Although there is not necessarily an expectation on the part of parents, or duty on the part of children, most people do contribute out of a sense of pride or desire to help. According to De Hass (2000: 69) remittances reflect the social and cultural dimension of the migration process in which ―earning money for oneself is not a legitimate reason to migrate abroad." All participants pointed to this aspect inherent in both Nigerian life generally, and family life in particular, where members help one another in a variety of ways: remittances are one channel, but several others exist, including fostering children with relatives, membership of associations and church support. One participant said;

"The ability to send remittances is a source of great pride". (Hakim)

4.12. Remittances use for business activities

Remittances are also used for business activities, either for migrants or their siblings. Goods sent to Nigeria often include commercial items such as faxes, computer accessories, phones, cars for transport, among others. Nigerian migrants from rural areas usually establish businesses in the major cities such as Lagos, Kaduna, among others because of the availability of facilities, particularly electricity and water, as well as the potential market opportunities. These businesses tend to concentrate on communication centres, commercial transport and trade in second-hand goods. Three migrants planned to acquire land for commercial building: Blessing was considering developing a cold storage fish facility in his home town of Port Harcourt, while Betty hoped to set up a business before returning to Nigeria. The case study below explains what Peter is planning for the land he bought.

4.12.1. Case Study 3

Peter has recently managed to buy land with the money he sends home and is planning to start poultry business. He mentioned that his journey was planed by his wife who is currently in Nigeria with their three kids. Peter has opened a business in Durban but he feels the need to go back home and create employment in his village of Abiriba. He does not feel the need to stay long in South Africa as he finds it creating depended in the family back in Nigeria. Since he migrated to Durban the family tends to fully rely on him on every single need stating from medical bills to contributing toward funerals in the village. Something he mentioned his bothers can be able to afford. He is in the process of selling his internet business so that he can leave before the end of 2009 and start up his poultry. He mentioned that all the necessary equipments have been sent home and the installation is underway. He is not only planning to have a poultry he also has secured another business site in the town of Aba where he is planning to set up a networking business. His main aim is to provide for his family while they are working for what he gives them instead of fully depending on the income that he send home.

4.13. Association contribution to the community

Collective remittances are the sums of money sent by migrant associations or church groups to their home communities. Being communal or collective, these remittances are different from individual remittances and the amounts depend on the effectiveness of the associations. The remittances come from individuals who have joined migrant associations to support projects or other activities in their villages in Nigeria (Levitt, 2003). Nigerian associations in Durban raise money and remit annually to help their communities in Nigeria. Some respondents said that the money is used for projects such as paving roads, installing electricity in the neighbourhoods, building churches and schools because they cannot rely on the state to provide.

The Nigerian community in Durban is organized in small ethnic groups or associations and churches, which have a strong focus on community development at home. The large majority of these ethnic groups or associations operate in the countryside, the very places to which Nigerians send their money. These associations are based on social networks and members seek to promote the well-being of their communities of origin (Nigeria) and residence (South Africa) by raising money to fund public works and social projects. They have Ethnic associations such as Yoruba Cultural Association and Igbo Cultural Association. They have set up a collective saving scheme called Isusu translated as ROSCAS (Rotating Savings and Credit Associations).

The migrants in Durban transfer money through hometown associations (Igbo, Yoruba, among others) to Nigeria. They use local associations channel funds for construction of

public infrastructure (e.g. roads, street and building repairs), equipment (medical equipment, and vehicle for social and non-profit purpose, churches) and promoting education (school supplies). Their organizations routinely send shipping containers to Nigeria filled with clothing and other goods. Their most successful fundraising activities include dance parties, raffles, beauty contests and other cultural events that take place throughout the year.

The Isusu system is when people agree to contribute to a common fund at regular intervals either weekly or monthly. The collected funds are given in their entirety to each member of the group in turn. The order of rotation is determined by negotiating or according to the participants' degree of solvency. The Isusu is set up but people from the same geographic region in Nigeria, same church and/ or payer groups in Durban. They adhere to this formal financial system with a clear and well determined objective. The money received from the Isusu helps them to support family, to finance small-scale projects in Nigeria or to become involved in income-generating activities back home.

The system brings Nigerians together and they form close relationships. Depending on the specific objective of each group, the Isusu can serve as a means of social protection or mutual help among members, or as a mechanism for economic and social development of their communities in Nigeria. This kind of saving scheme can also be found in other migrants communities in Durban but under different names: Likelemba/ kirimba for Congolese, Susu among Ghanaians, Hagbad in Somali community and Shwa for west Cameroonians.

Similarly, other organizations, through different fundraising initiatives remit to Nigeria in forms of cash and goods. They collect funds in various ways to help villages to build roads, to obtain water-cleansing equipment and irrigation systems, and to build dispensaries and schools. They regularly send funds through formal and informal channels. The Durban Nigeria Association has recently initiated a project to provide digital assistance to schools in the Nigerian village of Abwa-Mbagen. Through the association migrants in Durban can purchase goods and have them delivered to family members in Nigeria. Transactions are fairly rapid and evaluation between the organization in Durban and its affiliated organization in Nigeria are usually done two or three times a year.

These associations are active in the field of development projects. They receive a list of prioritized community projects from their communities of origin and organize fundraising events in Durban around those projects. The secretary of the Union of Nigerian Friends said that in the last five years, different Nigerian associations in Durban have flourished. He mentioned that previously, it was impossible to have regular contact with communities back home because of the expense and difficulty of long-distance communication and travel. Today, with cheaper air travel and aid of modern telecommunications technology, many Nigerian migrants in Durban can travel home and communicate regularly with their own communities. Consequently, the level of communication with Nigeria has significantly increased.

4.14. Conclusion

Nigerian migrants in Durban demonstrated that sending remittances home to families and to communities is a major feature of the transnational process: it links migrants with their homes and reflects bonds of responsibility where a broader network of relatives also gain benefit from migrants' family member. International remittance flows have been increasing dramatically and Nigeria is no exception. The chapter also dealt with the involvement of various institutions (such as Nigerian voluntary associations, money transfer agency) with remittance of Nigerian migrants. It was found that a large portion of remittance is channelled through the informal sector. A number of factors have been identified for such a process. This includes the operations gap in exchange rates, efficiency of the informal channel, agreement of interests between Hawala operators and others.

CHAPTER 5: DOMESTIC ARRANGEMENT AMONG NIGERIA MIGRANTS IN DURBAN

5.1. Introduction

This research was conducted through open ended interviews with fifty respondents. Thirty six of the respondents provided substantive insight into their living arrangements. Respondents were mainly young and middle aged migrants, with respect to where and how they live. The findings produced a predictable yet diverse outcome in the data collection. The diversity that the information produced defies any attempt to cast Nigerian migrants in Durban as individuals who essentially belong to a conventional type of family or household unit.

Point Area and St Georges are hubs for Nigerian migrants in Durban. The pattern of shared, subletting accommodation is common among Nigerian migrants living in flats, rooms and houses that are overcrowded. This is the simplest way for them to lower the high cost of living. This chapter discusses Nigerian migrants' living arrangement with the use of case studies drawn from the table on the household composition of migrants. There is a case study based on each category to explain the dynamics of each type of household. This chapter will be heavily sourced from case studies.

5.2. Nigerian migrant's Household composition in Durban

The table below for instance is an indication of this diversity of the domestic structures of which the interviewees were a part.

Category	Households composition	Number of households
1	Single male only	8
2	Single female only	3
3	Single male and female	6
4	Married couple without children	7
5	Married couple living extended family members	8
6	Married couple with children	4

Table 13

Table 13 reflects the household composition of Nigerian migrants in Durban. It has six categories under the heading household composition and the column with the number of household in each category. Based on fieldwork work I observed following household compositions among Nigerian migrants: 8 single male only; 3 single female only; 6 single male and female; 7 married couple without children; 8 married couples living with extended family members and 4 married couple with living with their children only. Two reasons were mentioned as being at the core of living arrangement decisions. Firstly, Nigerian migrants interviewed were part of living arrangements that were often a collection of foreigners from a range of other African countries. Secondly, individual migrant enters a diverse range of agreements on how and when to use resources, which often determine the number of people who could live together.

In this study the term household was not easy to define. I encountered problems during my fieldwork with this term. In the process of data collection I noticed that there are different living arrangements that make Nigerian migrants define themselves as a household unit. These living arrangements include:

- Flats informally subdivided into independent single-room units with individual locks on doors;

- Sublets from one migrant to many;

- ―Teams" of people living in one room. The ―teams" will behave like families or fraternities;

- Two families in one room, or flat, or house;

In other words, it is difficult to define a ―household" either with reference to ―family" or to ―living unit" with a clearly defined ―head" or ―residence" pattern.

The most common living arrangements revealed during fieldwork was a pattern of sublets and shared accommodation. With a few exceptions, all Nigerian migrants who took part in the study had passed through such subletting or shared flats situation. The most common set-up encountered during the research is one in which new migrants stay in a room with a friend from Nigeria who is already living in Durban. Often they do not pay rent until they have found a job. Flats are usually let from a tenant who either lives in the property or somewhere else or collects rent from each room or person monthly. Subletters very rarely come in contact with actual landlords, and often the primary tenant is known actively to prevent contact. In this way the landlord is often unaware of the high rate of occupancy in his/her properties.

Accommodation-sharing is another common feature of migrant life in Durban. High rents, coupled with a desire to remain in the central business district, means that sharing

accommodation is one of the only practical ways of managing life in Durban, economically. The informal discussion with Nigerian migrants revealed that the number of people in a single dwelling can be very high indeed. There was also evidence of very small flats being informally divided into separate single rooms. This means that when respondents talked of five to eight people sleeping in the same place, they were sometimes talking about one room. It is important to note that the decision to live in such cramped conditions is often an economic necessity. Some migrants earn enough to live in slightly less overcrowded conditions but this would eliminate the scope for saving which would negate the value of remaining in Durban. The choices of shared accommodation also express a preference for temporary and flexible accommodation over a commitment to a more permanent home.

Rent is usually paid in a lump sum such that bills remain in the name of the primary tenant. Registrations with the Estate agent, municipality and through utility bills also bear the same name. Rooms in these types of accommodation are often doubly or multiply occupied, even where the room size is meant only for one. The highest reported number of people in a room like this was 4. Household sizes in the shared flat were typically reported to be between 6 to10. I was able to confirm this in several cases.

It must be noted however, that for some Nigerian migrants, finding accommodation is a challenge. While the majority seem to arrive with an address of friends or family, many Nigerian migrants may arrive without an address or contact. Some find initial

accommodation at shelters near Victoria Embankment and Point Road, but few are likely to be able to afford this for longer than one or two nights.

5.3. Finding Accommodation with Friends and Family

Social networks are essential in Nigerian migrants' initial orientation in Durban. Most new migrants depend on someone else for their first job, place to stay or are themselves in the process of helping someone else migrate and find work or accommodation. Some houses or rooms have a number of friends from the same town staying together. One respondent referred to this group as his ―team". Several respondents explained systems of mutual support within similar units to this _team', such as offering to put up friends rent free in their rooms, putting in a good word with one's boss to get a job for a friend, and even just bringing home sandwiches from work for other team members. It is clear that some migrants, especially ones who have been here for longer, are acting as ―intermediary", providing or facilitating access to work, accommodation or other support and orientation to others. New migrants might become connected through association with access a node through connections to friends or kin (Lucas, 2005). These intermediary people might be sought out specifically or are individuals who take up the role of an intermediary in specific situations for limited periods of time. It is important to note, however, that these social networks are extremely informal, flexibly structured and spontaneous, and there are no direct economic returns on settled migrants' activities.

5.4. Housing Impact

Most migrant groups maintain larger households than South Africans, and are generally made up of additional family members or unrelated people living together as shown in the table 13. Nigerian migrants in Durban also show a similar pattern. This involves a greater need and demand for living space. However, Nigerian migrants like other migrants generally have lower incomes and still have an obligation to remit a portion of their income to support the family members left in Nigeria. Therefore, it is difficult for Nigerian migrants to afford extra space if they desire it. The greater number of additional single adults living in Nigerian married migrant households also suggests that they are a potential source of new household type. Reasonably, Nigerian migrants are expected to live together initially as they adjust to a new society and gain their economic stability in Durban. With time, after meeting a certain degree of stability in Durban and with the help of settled migrants' new independent households emerge. However, Nigerian migrants' willingness and ability to form independent households is a function of factors beyond just household composition.

5.5. Single male households

Very few single male and females can afford to live alone or with a partner in a flat in Durban. Usually one will find other migrants to share a flat with. Among the 8 households composed by single males that I visited during the course of data collection, showed diversity in the composition of their members. Firstly, the diversity was seen in the mixture of migrants from different African countries including South Africans living with Nigerians. Secondly, some of these households were composed of migrants from the

same Nigerian towns or villages. These single male households were composed as follows; 5 were occupied by both Nigerians and migrants from other African countries, of the 5 households; only 2 had South Africans sharing with foreigners. The remaining 3 households were occupied by Nigerian migrants only. From the 8 migrants, 2 were originally from Abuja, 4 from Lagos, 1 from Kanu and 1 from Sokoto. They mentioned having arranged accommodation prior to their arrival in Durban. They all knew where they would be staying on arrival. 7 out of 8 respondents came straight to Durban from which 3 stayed with their family members and 4 with long term friends who had already settled in Durban. One out of the 8 migrants first stayed in Johannesburg and later relocated to Durban to open an internet café on John Miller Road.

These initial accommodations provided them with either long term or short term places of residence. 6 out of 8 migrants remained in their first accommodation setting for at least six months and the remaining 2 stayed for at least one year. The nature of these accommodations varied according to the areas in which they were situated. In Point Road and Berea, they lived in flats and around Umbilo where Nigerian migrants are mainly found living in cottages or houses.

Single male households are commonly found in neighbourhoods with a large foreigner population. On the one hand, therefore, they benefit from living in the neighbourhoods more familiar to their ethnic diversity, while on the other hand, they are faced with increasingly overcrowded accommodations.

5.6. Single Female Households

A similar pattern was recorded among the 3 single female households. The formations of these households were also through informal relations and verbal agreement. Information about available accommodation was circulated through word of mouth and access was negotiated through direct contact with the landlord. A distinguished trend in single female households was that all members were originally from the same Nigerian city and were either related to each other or were friends. In one of the households 6 females were from Benin City and are long term friends. The second household had 8 single females, with 2 siblings living with 6 friends from Lagos. The last household had 4 females renting from a pensioner in Umbilo and they were long term friends who knew each other before taking the decision to migrate to South Africa.

The following case studies give a descriptive account of how migrants use social network to get accommodation and finally settling in Durban.

5.6.1. Case study 4

James is a Nigerian male in his early 30s who arrived in Durban seven years ago as an asylum seeker. His case was under consideration for one year but his claim was rejected. He considered an appeal but was advised by lawyers that his case was not strong enough. He decided to stay in Point Road and continued working in the restaurant industry. While he is doing very well financially, his main objective is to secure status by getting married to a South African citizen. According to the South African Law one can only get permanent residence if he stays with his wife for at least two years.

When he first arrived, James stayed with family friends from home for two months. As soon as he had found work in Happy's Fast Food and a Supermarket owned by a Nigerian migrant, he decided to rent with Nigerian migrants, mainly due to familiarity of backgrounds, the fact that Nigerian "are helpful to each other" and because he needed to be with Yoruba speakers. Three of them shared one bedroom in South Beach Durban. One of them paid the landlord the deposit, rent and utilities and the other two paid their friend their share. Over the course of three years, one of the roommates married and left and the other, who was also an asylum seeker, decided to leave when his case was rejected. James then found

a man who shared a flat with his brother and was looking for a flatmate. James rented from him and has been living in this flat for the past three years, sharing a room with one man. He is quite comfortable with the living arrangement and explained that "the image of crowding among Nigerian migrants is sometimes misunderstood by outsiders. Single men have to share and live comfortably but it is different for married couples because they have to live on their own".

James feels that living arrangements in Durban are quite different than the experience at home where his family owned a spacious family house, a garden, and a farm, among others. In Durban, however, he is living with non-kin which means no matter how close he is to his flatmates, the relationships remains professional. In addition to that he finds accommodation in Durban quite expensive compare to Nigeria, particularly when he first arrived.

In general, James feels that there is a very supportive Nigerian community in Durban. But by no means do those compare to the richness of social life at home. He distinguished between two types of relationships: "friendship" and "colleagueship". His life in Durban has made him develop the latter instead of the former. Long hours of work mean that he spends so much time around people at work that they develop ties. But those remain formal to an extent. In contrast, "friendships are based on reliability, transparency, trust and the ability to share secrets. The nature of our work has not enabled us to develop such relationships". As he described his notion of "friendship" James expressed his longing for his family and friends back home who he has not seen in seven years: "I miss my neighbours and chatting to elderly people in the village. I miss walking by farmers and helping them. Sometimes I call my family and an old neighbour sends his regards and I feel that… if only I were there. Life here is about a routine that can be painful. Life is just faster and people are busy with their own lives. Sometimes I just wonder how the last seven years passed". As for starting a family, he has no plans and has decided to "leave it up to fate". But James feels that he will need to secure a house and status in order to build a family. Once that happens, he is open to staying and establishing a business here or leaving to do it somewhere else.

James's life is currently centred in and around Durban. He works long hours in a restaurant on Fisher Street usually from 12 am to 10 pm which means that he gets up quite early, has a meal and then goes to work. He only has one day off a week and it is on this day that he meets friends and goes out to socialise. When they go out, they visit Nigerian owned night clubs such as New Light at the Marine Parade, Scala's café. Alternatively, they visit each other's houses, have a meal and play cards. On religious occasions, he goes to a mosque on West Street to attend prayers, but apart from that, he stays within the boundaries of Point Area.

James works 11 hours a day, gets one day off per week and can eat for free. In other words, he is not only allowed a limited number of meals per duty but can eat whenever he feels hungry. From his personal experience, as result, James feels that "Nigerians do stick together and are supportive of each other". Despite having good relations at work with his employers and colleagues and a general perception that there is minimal exploitation by Nigerian restaurant owners, James still believes that there are disadvantages to his status; there is risk of being sent home during the low working season because he does not have a work permit. Moreover, employees cannot ask for holidays and generally have minimal rights which, in case of breaches, cannot be sorted through formal channels such as taking the employer to the labour court. The well being of employees seems to depend on the personalities of the business owners and on oral contracts rather than established rights.

The case study below gives a descriptive account of Jenny's life in Durban.

5.6.2. Case study 5

Jenny is a 23 year old Nigerian from Sokoto. She arrived in Durban in May 2007. She came to South Africa to "get away from home and family and see a bit of the world". She lives with her other Nigerian female on Point Road. She came to Durban for the first time in May 2007 and then travelled to Swaziland and Mozambique before coming back to look for work. She would like to stay in Durban for 2 years before returning home and starting university.

She lives in a small room with six other females in South Sea Flat on Gillespie Road. The rooms are fitted with bunk beds and she sleeps in a bottom bunk. She complains that the rooms are crowded and lack privacy. She gets dressed in the bathroom and tries to spend as much time as possible outside of the room. She has changed flats five times since she arrived one year ago. She pays an average of R300 per month, in her opinion the shared flats are not as well cared for compared to renting one's own flat. She likes Durban because there are so many green spaces and she can walk to most of the cultural venues.

Jenny has relatives in Durban and contacts them for advice and moral support. However she was warned by her family not to bother her too much because she has her own life. Therefore, she visits a few times, but has not asked to stay with them because they have other friends staying with them and there is no room for her. If her money runs out she may call again and ask to stay with them. She is not outgoing person and has not made many friends since arriving in Durban. Even though the place she stays has lots of people from everywhere staying in it, she tends to keep to herself. She does go out occasionally, but finds it very hard to meet people with whom she can confide in. Most of the people she has met are other Nigerians, Cameroonians, Ghanaians, among other foreigners. She likes the fact that Durban is so multi-cultural because she has had a chance to experience the restaurants and other things the city's diversity offers.

She arrived with R20, 000 and has spent most of that since arriving. She travelled around Swaziland and Mozambique for a while spending her money quite freely. She said "I really enjoyed myself, but now I have to be very careful until I find a job". She confines her job search to online sites. She has been told by other Nigerians to take her CV around, but she has not done that yet. She is starting to get depressed and is beginning to think she may have to return home sooner than expected. She is giving herself another 4 to 6 weeks to find work before deciding what to do. She does not want to work in a bar, though she has been told that it is the easiest work to get. While walking around, she saw a worker wanted sign in a sports shop in Berea centre. She went in to get more information and left with a contact number. She finally got a job in hair saloon on Commercial Street in Durban.

At the moment she is focused on making money. She plans to stay in the Durban for about two more years to save enough money to travel around South Africa and see more of the world before deciding on a course of study and returning to Sokoto. She said that her family is "crazy" and she is in no rush to go home. She left Nigeria in part to get away from them. Her aspirations are rapidly changing she finds it difficult to get a better job in Durban. Working in the saloon day after day is not making her feel good and Durban is proving to be tougher than she had thought. Like many other migrants she is lowering her expectations.

At the moment she has not had a chance to focus on her life in South Africa because she is preoccupied with finding a better job. Everything has become dependent on that. To some extent her story proves the rule that the partying, nightlife, travel, and experience which so defines the discourse of the Nigerians in Durban is also dependent on the economic factors which allow them to happen.

Both James and jenny show how supportive the Nigerian community towards making sure that the newcomers find the process of integration in Durban's social, cultural and economic life as easy as possible. From these case studies it is evident that Nigerian migrants rely on different network of friends or family members during their first few month of settling in South Africa.

5.7. Finding Accommodation

The single Nigerian migrants interviewed were characterised by increasing residential mobility, as they sought to move house in a bid to resolve problems that emerged with their accommodation and/or to seek out more preferable situations. These respondents often relied on informal, word of mouth communications for information about housing opportunities. Linked to this fact, evidence of a local Nigerian accommodation circuit emerged, with respondents disengaged from formal channel (such as using estate agencies like Maxprop; Trafalgar; Remax; among others) to get accommodation and relying instead on informal alternatives. Respondents pass on news of rented properties by word of mouth via friends and family networks. The main method of accessing accommodation as reported by one of the respondents is mainly through acquaintances:

> „Someone told my friends' aunt about it [the rented property] and she „recommended' it to us (John interviewed in Point Road on 05/032008).

The disengagement of Nigerian migrants from formal channels and procedures was also facilitated by the reliance of some respondents on informal arrangements with Nigerian landlords (without a formal tenancy agreement). In these cases there was a tendency for respondents to move frequently between different properties owned by the same landlord. The benefits of these informal arrangements were reported to include ready access to affordable housing, with potential barriers, such as the requirement that tenants provide character references and proof of identity in the form of bank account details or household bills, being absent:

> „Ididn't have my bank account, I didn't have bills with my name, I didn't have any kind of reference…it would be very difficult for me to find a house because you need to have a reference…„I remember I went to two property dealers …and when they asked me if I need a house they say "have you got employment letter".

I said we haven't got a formal job, we want to find accommodation first and then get a   job….they said "no sorry can not give you…'.
(Hakim, interviewed on 30/07/2008 in Berea)

However, problems were also reported to be associated with living in the informal rented sector, with poor conditions and limited security being two particular concerns and the risk of eviction hanging over tenants, as:

"*Nothing signed, nothing on paper, nothing agreed, the tenancy was by word of mouth".*

5.8. Single male and female household

During the course of my fieldwork I managed to visit 6 households occupied by both single males and females. The age range of members of these households is between twenty to thirty five but consisted mainly of newly arrived single migrants who are working in Durban for survival. Most of them mentioned had arranged accommodation prior to migrating to South Africa. From the 6 households 2 have single males and females from the same village in Nigeria and live as a family. They make a collective contribution to all the households' needs and mutual help to the newly arriving members. The living arrangements differ from one household to another, 3 households had members living independently and only share the facilities within the flat together with the rent. Even though some knew each other from Nigeria and from sharing the same apartments, members did not share food and other personal items. One household had members from the same family including cousin, sisters, brother, among others. They all financially contributed to the household needs except students and younger members of the household.

The diversity of the household composition and living arrangement is illustrated in Malik's case study below.

5.8.1. Case 6

Malik is 22 years old and grew up in a town near Lagos. Having arrived in Durban 2 years ago he has dedicated his time working in a saloon and internet café. So far he has not been lucky and Malik admits that finding a job is a lot harder than he had imagined before coming.

At the time of the research there were 8 people living in a 2 bed roomed flat where Malik lived. A week later there were 12 people living there with 4 females among them. At any time, he explained, there may be 2 or 3 additional guests when friends stay over. All of the residents were Nigerians whose age ranged from 21 to 35 with most in their early 20s. The flat is rented from a Nigerian migrant. Malik knows that the landlord does not own the flat himself and that he organises three other sublets in the same way mainly to Nigerian migrants. Malik does not know whether the landlord knows that some people are staying in the flat without paying rent but he says he does not care, he just turns up every month end to collect rent. None of them have ever met the owner of the flat.

Malik does not have any family in South Africa. He left behind his parents and two older brothers in Nigeria. Malik's roommates and close friends in Durban are Abibu and Mohamed, both college friends from Nigeria. They have taken the place of his family during his stay here and he refers to them as his team. Support within the team is essential to Malik's survival in Durban since his friends accommodated him rent free until he found a job.

The team had also just expanded to include Anna, another mutual college friend who had just arrived from Nigeria and who was now staying with the team rent free until she finds a job. Malik feels that he may now be in a position to help new arrivals find work. Malik does not socialise much outside the team and he says he does not trust the other Nigerians sharing the flat. Although he used to look down on people who work in saloons, circumstances forced him to take up work as a hair dresser after his search for a job failed.

Working in Durban is a means to a specific end for Malik. His goal is to save enough for his tuition in Boston College. Malik is planning currently to become a fitness instructor and his plans are to finish and get a job with a reputable employer and one day to open his own fitness studio. Malik sees his stay in Durban and his time working as a step to achieving this goal.

5.9. Married couple with and without children

Among the 26 households visited in this study, 4 were occupied by married couples with children. One of the 4 lived in North Beach Durban. They find the place convenient as it is close to where their daughter attends primary school. In another household, two couples share their apartment either with a single male or female who they both carefully select before taking the decision to share with them. One of the married couple has two children and lives in a rented cottage in Umbilo. Families with children who decide to share their apartment with other migrants mentioned that these decisions were based on relationships they maintain with them. Married couples be it with children or not, tend to carefully choose who to share an apartment with. This is for a number of reasons; the following quote expresses how married couples select people to share a place of living:

> ―I trust my wife, but I'm not going to stay with people I don't know because they might take advantage of her. People I stay with witness the fight and hardship that my wife and I experience. Some people will want to take advantage of her when we are both at our lowest point. But people I know and close to will respect her as a sister in law and consider my children as their own."

> "I prefer to share with people who have fear of God. You know men are easily temped. With beautiful ladies in the house he can easily fall for them but when they respect the Lord. They will also respect my husband."

Based on the above quotations, it is clear why married couples unlike single migrants carefully select people to share accommodation with. What counts the most is trust and long term relationship to make sure there are no conflicts of interest within the household.

The case study below describes Tomas' family life and his experience as Nigerian migrant in Durban.

5.9.1. Case 7

Tomas is a 31 year old web developer; he lives in Durban (North Beach) with his wife and 8 year-old daughter. Tomas's story of migration is a success story. He came 2 years ago after he had had to close down his company in Nigeria due to financial difficulties. Like many other Nigerians he first came two years ago without a job, to stay in an overcrowded flat share with friends from Nigeria. Tomas is a very practical thinker and knows exactly what he wants. Unlike many others in his position, he has never strayed away from his career path and has turned down work outside his profession. Tomas worked his way up the salary scale and saved until he knew he had enough money to bring his family over. Now they are living in their own 2 bedroom flat and lead a life like many other young families in Durban and have started planning for another child. Tomas's ambition is to set up a company based in South Africa and outsource work to Nigeria. Tomas's motto is "every man for himself" - a principle he applies to his life in Durban, his politics, to his business and to raising his daughter.

When Tomas first arrived in South Africa, he lived in a Nigerian shared 3 bed roomed flat in South Beach with 5 others. All of his flatmates were friends and from the same town (Kaduna). Tomas did not pay rent for the first month which was the time he was giving himself time to find a job. After 2 months, 2 people in the flat moved to a new property in Umbilo where the ration became 4 people in 3 rooms. The most complicated thing about living in a flat share was putting together the rent and shopping collectively for food.

When his wife and daughter first arrived they lived together in one room for a short while until they moved into their own place in Davenport. Now Tomas and his family are renting a 2 bedroom flat with a lounge in North Beach. Tomas often works from home, which is especially useful when a deadline is approaching and he wants to work at night. Tomas chose the area for his family to live in for the local school (Addigton primary) which his daughter now goes to. The school was recommended to him by another Nigerian friend with school age children. While he enjoys the diversity of the neighbourhood he can not imagine staying here forever. Tomas thinks it will be dangerous once his daughter starts becoming more independent. After she finishes primary school the family plans to move to much safer areas such as Glenmore or Morningside, for the sake of their daughter's safety.

Tomas brought his wife and daughter after living in Durban alone for nine months. He says he calculated exactly the costs of having them here and compared them to Nigeria saying he would not bring them over until their

standard of living was better here than in Nigeria. Tomas's wife worked as a teacher and art therapist for children with special needs in Nigeria and is a trained in psychologist. At the moment her life is clearly focussed on Eva, her daughter, and she sorely misses Nigeria. Tomas's parents are unlikely to ever visit him since they have never left the country, however the family living room often serves as a guest room for visiting friends.

Tomas and his family have many Nigerian friends. Most Nigeria people would choose to live in this area, he says "because of the diversity". Most of his friends are Nigerians and many are parents of his daughter's classmates. Weekends are spent visiting the beach and local parks around Durban, Eva and Anna (his wife) go to the International Faith Ministry on Saturday while Tomas works from home or plays video games.

The decision to come to Durban was based on economic factors, says Tomas. Having a small business is almost impossible in Nigeria, while in South Africa there are many benefits. He likes the market economy in South Africa, believing in its business opportunities and working hard to move up the pay scales in his profession. His own economic situation has steadily improved to his current situation in which his family is being supported and he rent a two bed roomed flat on his own. He feels he has achieved more than his compatriots.

5.9.1. Case 8

Robert is a 25 year-old delivery truck driver. He came to Durban with his wife from a village near Sokoto Nigeria. He enjoys his job especially the flexibility and freedom which allows him to plan his day, and the excitement of meeting new people in central Durban. It can also earn him good money which he is saving in order to pay for his and his wife's studies. Robert plans to stay in Durban until his wife completes her medical studies at the University of KwaZulu-Natal. Delivery work driving is dangerous, the income is volatile and he is fed up with his employer. Robert and his wife live with eleven others in a 4 bedroomed house just outside Point Road. They sublet from another Nigerian migrant. Robert feels frustrated and hostile to many Nigerians who „have some power', after having had bad experiences in different jobs and in his housing.

Robert is connected to the people he shares accommodation with through kinship or friendship. These kinds of webs of connections demonstrate that Nigerian migrants often mobilise all contacts in order to find jobs or accommodation. Robert was promised a job by an elderly friend of Robert's mother in law. This man has been running a cell-phone and computer repair shop in Durban for the past three years. He in turn brought his daughter, her husband and a middle-aged cousin with him to Durban. The main tenant in the apartment is a woman in her early twenties who actually only sometimes stays in the house with her boyfriend but collects all the rent. Robert recalled that when the boiler had broken down, this young woman had called the landlord to come over and had told everyone to

stay in their rooms and not to come out, even to use the bathroom. Robert expressed extreme frustration with this and felt a sense of powerlessness at the fact that he "didn't even know who he was really renting from". Moreover, he said he knew that the subletter's parents were renting and letting out two other properties in the same way, with a family member living with each one.

Robert's wife is working as a waitress in Ocean Basket in Ushaka Marine World. Robert's closest friend who also lives in the house, comes from the same village as Robert and together with Robert's wife, they form a team of mutual support and care.

In order to come to Durban, Robert and his wife borrowed each from their parents. Him and his wife have agreed that while her earnings will pay for their spending, his salary which is much higher but also more fluctuating, will be set aside as savings for their studies. They share food together with Robert's friend and buy most things in bulk keeping their spending on food down for all three of them.

5.10. Married couple living with extend family

There were 8 married couples living with members of their extended family. These extended family members ranged from parents, brothers, cousins, nephews among others. Elderly family members in South Africa visit for a number of reasons but mainly for medical treatments and holidays. Two households with elderly members were in South Africa for medical attention. James' father was seeking help from a cardiac specialist from St Augustine hospital, in Nigeria he could not get proper medical attention. He shared the flat with his two daughters and his sister who is also contributing to cover their father's medical cost. Phillips and his wife also stay with both his parents in a two bed roomed apartment in Point Road, Durban.

The remaining 6 households have members from either the husband's or wife's family. Similarly Dorothy stays with her nephew who joined her to help in the Nigerian

restaurant he owns on Fisher Street in Durban Point Area. It is a common trend among married couples with successful businesses to call for their family members to join them in South Africa and give them employment in their businesses. They provide them with accommodation and jobs. Nigerians feel the need to keep income within the family and make sure that they can all contribute to family needs back in Nigeria.

The following case study gives a descriptive account of how Dorothy and her family negotiate the daily living in the country they call home away from home.

5.10.1. Case 9

Dorothy, together with her husband, run several small businesses from the city of Durban, among them an internet café, a saloon and a Nigerian restaurant. While she has been in the South Africa for over 15 years she is very much in touch with the new generation of migrants as large numbers of them pass through her restaurant and cafe as staff and as customers. Dorothy tries to support them whenever she can, although she is adamant that she has nothing really to do with the Nigerian community here.

Dorothy shares a privately rented 2 bed roomed flat in Umbilo with her husband, son and now her nephew. She has been living in Durban for the past 15 years. Her husband is from Benin City whom she met in Durban.

Dorothy lives with her husband and business partner, her 16-year-old son and her nephew who is 21. Dorothy says of her son that he is a "100% South African boy", although he himself says that he feels South African in South Africa and Nigerian in Nigerian. When Dorothy first opened her restaurant she had been desperate for help, so she phoned her sister and asked her to send over her son to help out. Dorothy says her nephew is a hard working boy and that it is a good opportunity for him to live in Durban. She also thinks he is good influence on her son, who has grown up as an only child. Her son and her nephew are now doing "boys things" together, she says, like playing video games, surfing the web and working out at the gym and she clearly feels that her nephew is putting her son in touch with Nigerian culture. Dorothy has always lived in Durban and she enjoys the ease of getting from her house to her café and restaurant by bus. The office she shares with her husband is also located in Durban so she spends most of her day moving between these four points. Once a week she does a weekly shop for Nigerian goods for her restaurant with her husband.

Dorothy brought the chef from Nigeria. Clearly many of the non-material resources like support networks and knowledge of bureaucratic procedures, among others are shared between her and her husband's businesses. Similarly

Dorothy helps in staff matters in her husband's internet, sewing business. Although Dorothy is not a business partner in these, she often ends up helping out in the hiring process and utilising personal contacts to locate suitable Nigerian employees. She also steps in when there are disputes with the staff since many of them feel more comfortable speaking to Dorothy.

Dorothy's own economic situation is complicated but it is important to recognise the role she plays in the economic lives of many other Nigerian migrants. Her restaurant and café both employ a large number of young migrants or speculative migrants as kitchen and waiting staff. She acts as a mentor, finding them work, advising on housing and in some ways acting as a mother to the many young people removed from their homes in Nigeria. In a very real way she provides the very mechanism by which people find living in Durban possible. She provides jobs, information, orientation and not unimportantly, a familiar space with a familiar cuisine, for scores of migrants. Dorothy has lived in 4 different places in Durban. She enjoys the ease of getting from home to work on a quick bus trip.

5.11. Conclusion

The length of time spent in South Africa tends to dictate migrants' economic status. This chapter has highlighted that living arrangements vary from tiny rooms, to larger homes of families who have managed to save enough to put deposits on their own houses. In Point area for example, Nigerian migrants tend to be those who have arrived more recently and those with business activities in the area.

Overall the quality of Nigerian Migrants accommodation is not pleasing to tenants. Many respondents indicated that their living condition in Durban is very cramped. Respondents described living conditions as appalling in that individual rooms accommodated two families. The rooms are described as small and clustered around steep staircases which add to a sense of claustrophobia. *"No one would want to stay in Point for very long"* one said, *"We have been here for a year and I think it is a long time."*

CHAP 6: FICTIVE KINSHIP AMONG NIGERIAN MIGRANTS IN DURBAN

6.1. Introduction

The Nigerian family, similar to the stereotypical African family is often extended and multigenerational, with a cooperative and collective family structure (Wilson et al., 1995). Included within the family networks are immediate family members, extended family members, friends, neighbours, fictive kin, and church members. There is diversity in living arrangements that is beyond marriage, parentage, and children including other adults and children in shared-residential situations. African children may live in households with grandparents and other adults who are not members of the immediate family. Nigerian households in Durban show similar and diverse living arrangements and family relations. The family unit is not only organised along genetic lines as people also identify themselves as family based on place of origin, religious affiliation, childhood friendship to name a few.

This chapter explores the value and formation of fictive kinship systems among Nigerian migrants in Durban. I deconstruct the concept with the use of case studies from the migrants who contributed to this study. Respondents were aware that sharing of households arise out of a distinctive need and therefore cannot lead to an automatic affiliation to genealogically based family unit. People may live in the same house but do

not necessarily consider themselves as family. The table below shows what is likely to influence Nigerians to organise themselves as a family unit.

6.2. Number of people living as family based on locality, religion, friendship and school relation

	Same locality	Religion	Family friend	School friend
Married couple	4	3	4	
Single male	8	5	2	5
Singe female	10	6		3

Table 14

Table 14 shows that the main factors that influence Nigerian fictive relations are places of origin, religion, and friendships. People from the same place are more likely to get together as family and act as emotional support systems.

Table 14 shows that Nigerian migrants replace their absent extended family with ―fictive kin" members of the same ethnic or national community who somewhat play the role that family would at home. Members of the Nigerian community may counsel, mediate during domestic conflict, provide moral and financial support at times of crisis or death, and help celebrate joyous events such as weddings and births. For example, members of the well known Nigerian Association resolved financial problems between a Nigerian woman and her business partner over financial mismanagement within their shop. In many cases the entire community functions as a kind of an extended family. A family organizing a traditional Nigerian wedding extends an open invitation to all members of the Nigerian

community of Durban, many of who are unknown to one another. The death of a young new comer inspired an outpouring from the larger Nigerian community both in sympathy and funds to repatriate the body.

Solidarity and close cooperation are hallmarks among Nigerians' social relations in Durban, especially if they belong to the same religious denomination, or are from the same locality. For instance, the young, new comers, low-income, and single migrants also are likely to share accommodation with other migrants from the same locality as they consider themselves as family. Wilson et al. (1995) noted that fictive family arrangements can provide resources and be a positive factor for migrant families. The fictive family members provide needed support and assistance in caring for, nurturing, and rearing child. The fictive family promotes the welfare of dependent family members in dealing with both normal and unusual life events. The presence of an adult who is not the children's parent can provide additional economical and other types of help. The presence of a caring grandparent may be especially beneficial and serve to buffer children against stresses that may be prevalent in homes where a single parent may be rearing a child without adequate financial and emotional resources.

There is a strong sense of family membership among Nigerian migrants' parents in Durban. Their relationship does not extend only to Nigerian migrants but also to South African families with whom their children attend school.

6.3. Married couples

As seen in table 14, 4 married couples that I spoke to have family relations based on the locality of origin. People who are coming from the same village and town in Nigeria regroup to form family units in Durban. Married couples unite with others to help each other and to provide emotional support for their children.   Four couples considered people from their hometowns as family members. From these 4 couples, 1 couple received help from friends to finance their journey to South Africa. The husband relocated to Durban and was accommodated by one of the fictive family member.

Three couples started their relationship from attending the same Nigerian church on Fisher Street in Durban Point. Sharing the same faith made them understand one another and consider themselves as family. In addition to religious affiliation their children attend the same school at the Addington Primary. The children see each other as bothers and sisters and look up to the elders as uncles and aunts. Of the 3 couple, 2 share a two bed room flat on Rutherford Road in Durban Point area. One couple has two school going children while the other is newly married and childless. The last couple lives in Sky Park on Gipsy Street and have three children, two girls aged thirteen and eleven with a boy who is 7 years old. Table 14 shows how family tie among Nigerian migrants developed over time based on different indicators such as same locality; religion; family friends; school friend. These indicators are the primary cause of the formation the fictive family unit among Nigerian migrants. For instance two couple mentioned having met through family members on the same plane from Johannesburg to Lagos. She mentioned that she is from visited her nephew in Durban. On his return to South Africa he got in contact

with the lady's family member and their relationship developed over time to the level of

regarding each other as one family.

The case study below describe how Fatima become member of a fictive family relation

6.3.1. Case study 10

Fatima lives in flamingo court on Sydney Road in Umbilo, a thirty-minute walk to her university. Currently, she and her husband share a two bed room flat with a Nigerian family of four whom they consider as "close relatives" although they are not kin. They have a common kitchen and bathroom. The couple moved to Umbilo in August 2006 when Fatima found a job as a cashier Spar supermarket in Queen's Mead Mall. Her husband, also a student, however, still has to pay his share of rent. On their arrival in Durban, the couple first lived in Point Road. Compared to their previous living arrangements at home, Fatima said that there was a huge difference in terms of size, price and the concept of space because houses in Durban are much smaller and more expensive than in Nigeria. This means that one has to either compromise on living quality and space, if one wishes to stay in the centre, or is forced to move to the periphery. Also, Fatima observed that in Durban, the understanding of location differs as people move on in their life cycles. Young couples, like herself, prefer to stay in the centre. As soon as they have children however, they opt to move out of the centre in search of a better quality of life, and better schools for children. Despite the fact that their current accommodation is smaller than their previous flat, they are satisfied with the lower rent, the location which spares them transportation expenses to school.

Fatima does not have children of her own she and husband is both focusing on their studies. She and her husband have already defied traditional cultural expectations by starting a new life in Durban as students in their mid-thirties. One of her concerns is that they need financial stability to have a child and that can only come after they have secured jobs once they graduate. Another is the temptation to enjoy life with her husband for a few more years before conceiving, since the last few years were marked by hard work and financial instability to afford their international student fees and costs of living in Durban. Fatima voiced some concerns that are not yet resolved for her and her husband on whether they should have children. They would like to stay in a suburb but have to consider the affordability of houses and schools for children. A major concern is whether to put children in private schools or public one. This includes fear of having their children being indoctrinated in local cultural values which they might not agree with at school. While Fatima does have Nigerian friends she considers as family apart from the couple they share a flat with she does not necessarily seek them out often. Her closest friends are the ones she has made in her university and these come from different nationalities, Ghanaians, Cameroonians, Kenyans to a name the few. She considers them as family.

Fatima's social life is concentrated mainly in Umbilo, especially the West End. She takes some routine trips to the shopping malls, food markets and visiting friends in Point Road and St Georges Street. She informed me that before their arrival to Durban she and her husband were advised to stay on Point by friends at home. Fatima stated that the Point Road is "the default destination for Nigerians, particularly those who are not rich enough to live in suburbs. They decided not to stay within Nigerian community because they wanted to experience the real South African way of life. They felt that living among their fellow countrymen was similar to the life they left in Nigeria. There are two types of migrants: those who choose to immerse themselves in their own local community and those who detach themselves, almost totally by marrying foreigners and changing their names. She reported that they wanted to be in-between, to live in Durban as a multicultural city and to stay connected with Nigerian communities.

During their first year of living in Durban the couple found themselves frequenting Point Road, mainly for shopping and for food but soon realised that the same products are sold by other communities and at much cheaper prices. , Fatima also felt that "the area did not have a local feel". She distinguished between a "local feel" and an "ethnic feel". She felt that the Point had a Nigerian and "ethnic feel" because of the shops and restaurants. For social and cultural purposes, Fatima spends much more time in Point area which she believes offers a wider exposure to different cultures. She listed what she values most: pubs, clubs, diversity of food, markets, and culture, including museums, concerts, and theatre; all available on a daily basis.

6.4. Single male and female

Single males and females are also part of different family arrangements and units. Single migrants' fictive families are organised around places of origin, religion, childhood friendship, travel companions and roommates to name a few. Single migrants are also part of some married couples' families whom they look up to as mentors. Some single migrants stay with married couples that _adopt' them as brothers and sisters. Nigerians in Durban show strong family bonds. They consider themselves to be big on family unity by virtue of being of Nigerian origin. Some Nigerian single migrants bond with one another differently, some share accommodation and others stay in different places in Durban but still consider each other as members of the same family. The combination of single males

and females in the study revealed that eighteen formed of them had fictive kinship relations based on their places of origin. Of the ten females, 5 came from Kaduna and shared a two bed- roomed flat in New York House on St Georges Street in Durban. Three of them have been living in the same neighbourhood since Nigeria and went to the same school. They have a long family history starting from their parents to grandparents in Nigeria. The other 2 became part of a family unit after meeting at church and finding that they come from the same city. Of the remaining 5, 2 were living together and originally from Benin City where they planned their journey to South Africa together. They have been sharing accommodation since 2007. Three met through friends and work in the same hair saloons in Durban, and considered each other as family based on the bond that has grown over time. Male migrants also show fictive family bond similar to female and married couple even though there are slight differences. For male migrants it is mainly business that bring them together and with long business relationship they may rich the level of considering each other as brothers. Unlike married couples and single females, single male migrants care about each other but the bond is not as close as manifested in the other two groups. It is more of a business relationship than just family bond. Male migrants are more likely to form close relationships with people with the same business interest as theirs. For instance, it is easy for computer shop or saloon owners to become close because they share the same interests.

The case study below presents how effective relationship created from Nigeria becomes effective when Nigerian meet in Durban:

6.4.1 Case study 11

Jacobs came to South Africa 3 years ago using a network of contacts built in Nigeria and along a route which required a level of trust amongst associates. These kinds of relationships are not strictly 'friends' relationships but they are

one of mutual trust, obligation and exchange. He says that there are many ways to come to South Africa. One's connections and resources will determine how it is done. Most importantly, Jacobs came to Durban with somewhere to go. A friend of his, who was in a shared flat in Point road allowed him to set himself up when he arrived, with basic needs such as a mobile phone and a place to sleep. He chose Durban because he already had some contacts here. There is no special reason, he says, for coming to Durban as opposed to any other South African city, other than the existing relationships. These kinds of existing relationships allowed Jacobs to meet potentially well connected people (all Nigerians), to assist him to find his way to potential work sites. Jacobs is married and his wife and young daughter live in Nigeria. They cannot yet join him because of financial constraints and he is also unable to visit them for the same reason. He is totally isolated from his family who assisted him with his journey. His large family raised the money together to fund his travel to South Africa and many have a stake in his financial success. On his days off, Jacobs spends a large proportion of his time on the internet, chatting to his wife and daughter which tends to affect him emotionally as he misses them. In spite of that he finds solace and peace from contacting his family. His greatest pain is expressed through the detachment from his family as he says: "I have not seen my daughter since she was 6 months old. She doesn't really know who I am." She is three and half years old.

Jacobs started off in rural Kano in Nigeria before moving to Lagos. It was in the city that he heard of the ways of coming to South Africa. He travelled to Mozambique while a friend he considers a brother arranged his entry to South Africa. He first lived in Umgeni Road, staying in a crowded room with several other migrants. He had one friend there living with him. Conditions in this place were cramped and uncomfortable. There was a constant flow of people in and out of the house as people sought accommodation elsewhere in the city. Now he lives in one room with his childhood friend in St Georges Street.

Jacobs' aspirations were clear. They were not just his aspirations but the aspirations of a large family in Nigeria and the desire to make enough money to provide a measure of security for his whole family as well as for his wife and daughter. The burden of these expectations and the hopes which have been pinned to his time in South Africa are affecting hi well-being and impeding his will to carry on. He does not want to lose „faœ' and return home without having achieved something and this means that he is in a sense, limited by his own fear of failure. He never thought it would be easy in Durban but he was surprised by the number of people South Africa who live in conditions that are as bad as those in Nigeria. He says the media in Nigeria portrayed South Africa as wealthy, but he never thought he was coming to a life of poverty. He sees this period of his life as one of labour and work for long-term benefits.

The following case study illustrates how Ali's relationships with his childhood friend whom he takes like his own brother.

6.4.2. Case study 12

Ali now lives with his childhood friend who he now sees as his bother. His "bother's" friends own an internet café and offered him a job. One of them brought his wife to Durban where she has found a job as well. He does not pay rent as that is taken care of by his brothers. He describes the flat as comfortable and he feels that he has his own personal space. Ali spends most of his time with his family in the internet café. But he also has many other friends of different nationalities from his college.

Ali works in one of his brother's friend's family's café from 12pm to 8pm every day and all day on weekends. Since his brothers are around, if he needs a day off or needs to be away, it is granted to him. He does not get paid a monthly wage but asks for money from his "brothers" whenever he needs it. In addition, his parents put amounts of money in his bank account periodically. Therefore, financially, he feels he is doing quite well. He does not really enjoy the work itself, but feels obliged to do it anyways.

Ali comes into central Durban on a daily basis for everything from work to education and socialising. He spends four hours, from 8am to 12pm, in a Pc training college and then he heads to the café where he serves and does the accounting until about 8pm when the café closes. After that, he usually heads back to the centre, mainly Point Road where he meets his friends and goes out to clubs, pubs or cinemas. He also goes shopping in these areas. He and his friends also go to places such as the beachfront, soccer matches among other types of social interest.

The main objective behind coming to South Africa is education. Ali has a clear objective of attaining an MSc degree which will enable him to move on. His ultimate dream is to work for an international organisation. Alternatively, he would like to move to Dubai where he anticipates a good job, once he gets his degree. In comparison to Durban, he feels that the standard of living in Dubai is higher, as are salaries. Durban, he feels, is suitable for people who are either establishing businesses or who are there for education. He has no desire to run a business so after completing his masters in computer engineering, he will leave.

In the past year, Ali has realised that life in Durban is very tough and it is "like a race against time, if you waste one minute you will miss out on a lot". But it is "a refined city, where people are respected and there is freedom". Thinking about young men he knows who have sought asylum, Ali feels that it should never be an option because it is humiliating and dehumanising. "I have a degree and I can go to other countries since we know that the situation will not calm down in Nigeria. I would never put myself through the threat of living illegally or having to go through the hassle of bureaucracies". For Ali, the expectation is that the

experience in Durban will empower him with skills so that he can "go strong" to whichever country he moves to.

The above case studies show how migrants build family relations differently and the advantages that these relationships have on the migratory process.

6.5. Nigerian migrants' Support Structure

Family is very important throughout Africa. Families are therefore seen as the building blocks of African society. Most people live in households that include not only the nuclear family (mother, father, and children) but also members of their extended family (grandparents, aunts, uncles, cousins, and others) and members of fictive family (such as father's friend's son, school mate, long term friends, and friends from church, among others). Family members act as an intermediary in terms of economic and emotional network in that they provide individuals with a sense of whom they are and where they belong. Nigerian migrants in Durban express a sense of loss as they are no longer surrounded by their family:

> ―*What I miss most about Nigeria is the extended family structure when I am at home, I feel safe. My children are safe, my wife is safe. Whether I am there or not, they will be taken care of. In South Africa, I don't have that"*

6.6 CONCLUSION
Nigerian household dynamics vary. Many families comprise of a real family, a mother, father, children and grandparents while other families are based on fictive relations. The chapter offers insight into the formation of fictive kinship systems among the migrants. There are diverse living arrangements that go beyond marriages and parentage. Family is not only about blood relations as households and friendships can be identified as families on the basis of place of origin, religious affiliation as well as ethnicity.

CHAPTER 7: NIGERIAN MIGRANTS' FAMILY DYNAMICS IN DURBAN

7.1. Family in the context of Nigerian migrant in Durban

Migration to South Africa has changed the Nigerian family structure. Nigerian families in Durban are very restricted compared to the extended model they would follow at home. Nigerian migrants come with their spouses or children. They thus adopt the nuclear family arrangement common among elite South Africans. Extended family members may, however, stay in their relatives' household temporarily when they arrive in Durban. For example, one migrant explained that both her husband's sister and her brother's wife were staying in her home while deciding what course their new lives would take. And another family willingly played host to a distant relative who migrated to Durban while he became familiar with the place and integrated into the local economy. As newcomers settle into their new lives and find jobs and housing, they move on to form their own households.

In rare cases, grandparents may rejoin the nuclear family group. According to participants in this study; older Nigerians who come to Durban to visit their children and grandchildren have a difficult time adapting to the social isolation and choose to return to Nigeria rather than resettle. A Nigerian woman described her mother's reaction to South Africa like this:

> ―My mother came to visit and stayed a year and that was it, because she did not like it. It was isolating for her. Back home, people are in and out of your house, in and out, friends and families are walking down the street. They stop and say hello."

In Africa old age is looked forward to since elders are generally highly respected and younger people defer to their wisdom and authority. Giving up this status to live in an unfamiliar and youth-oriented society is not a popular option.

Some of the older Nigerians I spoke to did not migrate voluntarily; they resettled as economic and political refugees and/or for health reasons. The Nigerian community in Durban has tried to help older Nigerians adapt and form new social groups through the creation of senior center such as the one at International Faith Ministry (IFM). At IFM's senior center weekly meetings are organised. Older Nigerians meet for choir practice, learn basic literacy if they have never been to school, and get oriented more generally to life in Durban. The center's pastor described these meetings as a:

> *"Social lifeline for those who attend; without this contact, elder Nigerians would have little opportunity to leave the house and socialize."*

Attitudes toward aging shape younger migrants long-term plans. A Nigerian migrant from Sokoto described her view on growing old in South Africa this way:

> *─I don't think I can be an old person in this country. I like the reverence that the youth have for the elderly back at home and the way the community just kind of embraces you. You continue with life in a more gentle fashion as opposed to worrying about Medicaid, if you have heat, and the cost of living. I couldn't grow old here"*

Despite making new lives in South Africa, younger Nigerian migrants dream of returning home after retirement. That way, in their old age they would once again be surrounded by their extended family. Migration changes not only family structure but also the relationships between household members. Married couples often share housework in a more equal way than they would in their country of origin.

Consequently, women become active decision makers in the household. A married male described the shift in household work patterns this way:

> ‒In Nigeria the wife has to take care of the whole house. Here, I cook for my kids, I wash their clothes, I get them dressed. I am the one who takes them to school and then my wife picks them up. Back home a man wouldn't generally do that"

7.2. The younger generation

Nigerian migrants' children born in Durban or who have arrived with parents at a young age face numerous challenges while growing up. They notice the differences between their own migrant households and that of their South African peers. Their family eats differently, speak differently, and socialize differently and they feel self-conscious about this. Adapting more quickly to the new society, children may be called upon to help their parents understand the South African life style. This leads to a reversal in traditional patterns of authority that makes everyone feel uncomfortable. Since their parents may be unfamiliar with the role families are expected to play in their children's education by schools and teachers, younger Nigerians may receive less educational support than their South African counterparts. And parents also have little understanding of the psychological distress their children experience in adolescence when ‒growing pains" are intensified by concerns about cultural identity and belonging. Nigerian parents expect to raise their children as they were raised, often disregarding the different social and cultural context in which they now find themselves. This gives rise to frustration or rebellion on the part of the younger generation. Some Nigerian children even make a concerted choice to leave their Nigerianess behind as part of an attempt to forget the often traumatic events they have experienced back home before arriving in South Africa. Despite the being away from Nigeria and its traditions, the younger generation of Nigerians feels that

they are different from their South African peers. They enjoy their knowledge of two cultures, and feel that they have greater options about where and how they will live their adult lives. They interact well in mixed generational groups, which is the norm for their community gatherings and they have respect for their elders (as opposed to a South African youth-oriented society). A Nigerian high school boy describes his family life in South Africa as follows:

> *"So we young people try to keep the culture, but we also know that there is a lot of culture and traditions that we don't agree with. So you would like to keep some things, like family values and the respect we have for each other, and the closeness we have. Things like that we try to teach."*

For their part, Nigerian parents have a lot of frustrations raising children in South Africa as children are taught about rights at school and through the media. Unlike in Nigeria where children and women rights are only in writing butand not practiced or inforced by the government; in South Africa there are on paper, implemented and put into practice.

Different Nigerian ethnic groups would like to transmit their language and the cultural values they consider the most important, such as self-discipline and respect for authority and elders. A Nigerian mother describes the efforts she and her husband make to bring up their children in what they view as the proper way:

> ‒First, they are Muslim kids so they also have to learn the Koran. We do not have much time, so it does not get done very much. But whenever we get a chance, when they go to Nigeria for two or three months, they will have a teacher who will really teaches them. My son has been very good at taking time to continue reading the Koran. And also, we have dress codes in the family, like not wearing shorts and very short miniskirts for our daughters."*

Nigerian migrants do not wish their children to adapt to the behavior of the average South African child. Nigerian migrants' families do several things in order to slow down this

assimilation process. Children spend more time at home with their families and are generally allowed less freedom of movement than their South African peers. Children that I observed do not socialize very much with their schoolmates.

A Nigerian father describes the routine his children follow and how it limits their activities:

> *"I believe that they might get into trouble. I am trying to work on that and I am not sure what will happen in the future. What they do is that they go to school and after that they go straight home. If they want to go somewhere I take them and bring them home. That is why they joined the children's choir at my church and they also have computer games, these activities and games keep them busy and not spend time on the streets."*

When they do see other children outside of the classroom, it is at an event organized by their community or church. A father who helped found a children's cultural group in his church saw the role that such an organization could play in socializing his children, who have a South African mother:

> *"Now we are beginning to create links between the second and first generations. One of my own motivations for creating the association was that I wanted my own kids to be introduced into the Nigerian community and ways of life."*

The Nigerian community in the Point Area dream of having a daycare center for their members, which would solve problems of expensive childcare and at the same time, provide a safe and culturally appropriate atmosphere for their young children. The Durban Nigerian Association wishes to have a summer school and encourages families to send their children for language and cultural training. In this way, the second generation will learn in a special context what they are missing. Families that are financially stable send their children to spend vacations in Nigeria. This they believe is the best way to

have an understanding of Nigerian culture. Nigerian families try to strike a balance in raising their children in South Africa. They wish their children to succeed according to the South African model but hope to instil in them an appreciation of the home culture. A Nigerian mother described her family's approach to parenting like this:

> *"We have tried to make them realize, to understand where they are coming from. Their backgrounds, beginnings and, some of the Nigerian cultural values. They consider themselves Nigerian- South Africans. They have the sense of who they are and they can choose wherever they want to live."*

This sense of ―who they are‖ is something that many younger Nigerians in Durban seem to have.

7.3. Maintaining close relations with family in Nigeria

Nigerian migrants extend their lives across borders, remaining in constant contact with their families in Nigeria. Most are very honest about longing for home and those they left behind. A young Nigerian woman describes her experience as follow:

> *"I miss the weather in Benin City, the family closeness we had. I am close with my brothers and sisters here, but it is very hard to keep up, with all the work and our busy schedules. I miss my family. Of course, the main thing is I miss my mother."*

The success of migrants' lives can not make up entirely for what they have lost. Nigerian migrants keep in touch with their home countries in many ways. Numerous letters and e-mails are sent back and forth everyday between Durban and their town or village of origin. But nothing can replace the human voice in its ability to conjure up images and emotions connected with home. For Nigerian migrants, the telephone is the preferred channel of communication with home. They call home frequently, and may even reach their relatives and friends who are on the road to South Africa or those still at home waiting to migrate. Public phone shops and internet cafes offer low-cost international

calls and are available around Point Road (Mahatma Gandhi Area) and St Georges. They often compete against each other in terms of offering discounts per minute to attract more customers. Phone cards such as Telkom Worldcall cards and world connect are also on sale in grocery stores and other businesses in these neighborhoods as they have a large migrants' community in Durban.

7.4. CONCLUSION

The chapter discusses the change within migrant families from Nigerian migrants adopting a nuclear family set up to a more flexible and equitable division of labour within relationships. Participants revealed that in Nigeria people still live in a traditional family setting whereby in most household men is the sole provider and with a clear division of labour. In Durban, both men and women contribute to the financial need and equally share the household shores.

CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSION

This study outlined Nigerian migrancy in Durban along four dimensions: social adjustment, voluntary association, remittances and kinship relations. Based on these issues this study addresses migration as an attractive strategy for risk diversification, which is used as a response to uncertainty within households of individual migrants. Since political and economic conditions in Nigeria are volatile and families in the most rural areas live on subsistence informants showed that poor households face serious risks to their well-being. In the absence of other ways to insure against these risks, migration of a family member serves to reduce the overall risk to family income.

Firstly, metropolitan areas all over the world have been attracting migrants. Durban, in South Africa is no exception. With its strong economy it has become a destination of choice especially for African migrants fleeing civil wars and economic hardships. Durban has the second largest economy in South Africa based on manufacturing, commerce, finance and has Africa's biggest port. This drives the economy of the Province of KwaZulu-Natal.

The growing number of African migrants is becoming part of the city's social fabric particularly the inner city's new Durban's harbour known as the Point Area. In terms of social adjustment the research attempted to provide an overview of Nigerian migrants in Durban, the reason why they migrate, their living conditions and socio-economic participation. In addition their interactions with locals and their sense of community with particular focus on their fellow Nigerians.

In Durban there are clear indications of emerging migrant communities, tied by a sense of ethnicity, country of origin and economic benefits, as well as by experiences of xenophobia. Among the Nigerian migrants ethnic and national identities are the basic foundations within which a sense of community is reinvented and enjoyed.

Griswold (1994: 150) indicates that ―in the face of social exclusion a minority group asserts its ethnic and national identity." Abu-Lughod (1991) persuasively argues that ethnic particularism shines over intra-group inequalities, and leads to cultural essentialism. In the context of Nigerian transnational migration, existing social inequalities within the Nigerian and South African communities are obscured when migrants' struggle against negative stereotyping. This gets played out in the media, which often reports Nigerians as a homogeneous and culturally exclusive group. For the current study, I witnessed an important social function in the community: one of the longest members in the community was conferred with a chieftaincy title. A prominent and wealthy Yoruba chief, with a base in Durban who is well respected by the community, addressed the social gathering after he was given a long introduction by the Master of Ceremonies. *(See speech in appendix 5)*

Secondly, voluntary associations such as hometown organizations and churches build relationships across multi-national borders. Other forms of support that transnationals provide for the community are in the form of supplying equipment for hospitals, donating books and stationery for schools, and providing scholarship funds for poor students.

Nigerian transnational associations do not restrict their activities to the development of their homeland, but also help their members in Durban. For instance, the Nigerian Association in Durban has a settlement program for newcomers, which includes legal assistance for members with matters concerning migration. In addition, most voluntary associations organize picnics and various social and cultural activities that attract members of the community, and newcomers have opportunities to mingle with other new and old members of the community.

With transnational theory as the guiding framework, the study examined the decision-making process of migration from Nigeria to Durban, focusing on the role of the extended family and fictive kinship relations. The results of participant observation, informal conversations and in-depth interviews show the way in which migration decisions depend on the decisions taken by their kin. Decision-makers and migrants do not need to be the same persons. Migrants do not solely move to pursue their own goals and fulfil their own purposes, but also those of their extended family. Therefore they have the chance to achieve better personal life conditions. Despite this, they are subject to performing many duties and responsibilities towards their relatives who enabled them to migrate. The basic decision-making unit is the extended family rather than the individual. Without the help, support and financial investment of many relatives and the community at large the migration process would often not have been possible. Potential migrants rely on transnational kinship networks that guarantee access, assurance and safety, but also involve sanctions, strong dependency and often are highly hierarchic in nature.

The information in this work suggests that migration is an investment strategy in human capital that involves specific obligations in return. Families and communities are willing to finance parts of the education and costs for visa, travel requirements, among others. In response they expect future regular remittances, consumer goods and long lasting reliability. The migration of family members as well as investments into one single migrant often is a decision of the extended family and sometimes the community rather than the individual migrant. It is an attempt to augment the chances of successful and sustainable livelihood of all parties involved.

Nigerian migrants mostly come to South Africa in order to support their relatives back home financially. These men and women may feel very isolated in Durban without their husbands, wives, brothers, sisters, children, and extended family network. Single men may get together for tea, listen to music, celebrate national or religious holidays, or simply chat in their native languages. Spending time with co-ethnics or co-nationals helps them to recreate their home context and to recover some of their identity. Fictive family units assist many migrants without real families in Durban. They provide social capital in all aspects of life such as finding jobs, accommodation and emotional support among other issues. The case studies highlighted how important fictive families are in sustaining many isolated migrants.

Two dimensions are relevant. One, migration decision-making in Nigeria is strongly affected by social and cultural institutions such as extended families, larger community

and local associations. The individual migrant depends strongly on the arbitrariness and the goodwill of certain family members. Two, in many cases the decision-making process is motivated by a desire from economic improvement or security, whether via a better education, a better-paying job, or family reunion when one attempts to extend transnational networks. In this sense, then, migration may be partially seen as a strategy of both parties involved, leading to mutual interdependence. The unwritten contract includes obligations and responsibilities, but also promises benefits and gains.

Thirdly, the study also shows that beyond the economic effects, remittances also have social and political dimensions that should not be overlooked. Just as migrants are not just about labour, remittances are not just about money but reflect underlying social relations. Nigerian migrants send gifts in kind to parents and other relatives as a way of preserving social relationships, often in anticipation of eventually returning to their rural home. Also Nigerian migrants' cash remittances reflect some changes in family social relations with women are increasingly becoming active in supporting family members under difficult circumstances. Family and other social relationships and generational and gendered roles are renegotiated as a result of migration. Migration and remittances can also influence broader socio-cultural practices in interesting ways. More broadly, of course, remittances often work well with other forms of transnational engagement such as lobbying and fund-raising for political movements and donations to social projects in migrants' home communities through voluntary association such the Durban Nigerian Association.

Finally the study argues that migrant flows are always from the poorest countries with low probability of employment towards the less poor and more dynamic countries with greater economic opportunities. It shows that over the last two decades, international migration has intensified with the media referring to the regionalization and globalization of migration. It also highlights that after the abolition of the apartheid regime, South Africa has attracted migrants from African countries; including Nigerian and from other continents due to its political and economic stability. It is therefore viewed as a safe haven for migrants, legal or illegal.

References:

Achebe, C. 1983. The trouble with Nigeria. Heimeman, Nairobi.

Adams, R. 2006. ‗Remittances in Poverty in Ghana', World Bank Policy Research Working Paper, nr 3838, World Bank, Washington DC.

Adepoju, A, .1998. "Links between internal and international migration: the African situation" published in selected articles initially published in 1984 to commemorate the 50th Anniversary of International Social Science Journal, UNESCO, Paris.

Adepoju, A. 1995 "Emigration dynamics in Sub-Saharan Africa" International Migration (Special Issue on Emigration Dynamics in Developing Countries) Vol. 33, Nos. 3 and 4.

Adepoju, A, 1988 "Labour migration and employment of ECOWAS nationals in Nigeria" in Fashoyin, T. (Ed.) Labour and Development in Nigeria, Landmark Publications Ltd, Lagos.

Adepoju, A 1983 ―Patterns of migration by sex" in Oppong, C. (ed) Famales and Males in West Africa. London: George Allen and Unwin.

Afolayan, A. 1999. "Emigration Dynamics in Nigeria: Landlessness, Poverty, Ethnicity and Differential Responses," in Appleyard, R., (ed), Emigration Dynamics in Developing Countries, Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999, Vol. I: Sub- Saharan Africa.

Ajakaiye, D.O. and V.A. Adeyeye. 2001. The Nature of Poverty in Nigeria. NISER Monograph Series. No. 13. Ibadan: Nigeria Institute of Social and Economic Research.

Amin, S, 1974. ―Introduction" in Amin, S. (Ed) Modern Migration in Western Africa London: Oxford University Press.

Andersson, J.A. 2001. Mobile workers, urban employment and ‗rural' identities: rural–urban networks of Buhera migrants, Zimbabwe. Pp. 89–106 in M. de Bruijn, R. Van Dijk and D. Foeken (eds), Mobile Africa: Changing Patterns of Movement in Africa and Beyond. Leiden: Brill.

Avango, D. 2000. Beyond Geographic and Cultural Marginality: Settlements in and Artic Resource Frontier Region. Artic Anthropology 46(1-2): 25-39

Baker, J. and T.A. Aina. 1995. The Migration Experience in Africa. Uppsala: Nordiska Africainstitutet.

Baker, C. 1993. The Stress of Settlement Where there is No Ethno cultural Receiving Community. In: Masi et al (eds.) Health and Cultures: Exploring the Relationships, Vol II. Pp. 261-276. Oakville-New York-London: Mosaic Press.

Benmayer,R and Skotnes,A. 1994. Migration and Identity, Vol. 3. Oxford

Bilsborrow, J., McDevitt, M. and Koussoudji, S. 1987. The Impact of Origin community Characteristics on Rural-Urban Out-Migration in a Developing Country. Demograpy 24:191-210.

Bilsborrow, J. 1983. the challenge facing migration research: a case of greater awereness. Westview Press

Bozzoli,B. 1991. Women of Phokeng: Consciousness, Life Strategy and Migrancy in South Africa, 1900-1983. Johannesburg

Bouillon, A, (ed). 1999. Immigration en Afrique du Sud: Les Migrants Francophones des annees 90. Johannesburg

Brockerhoff, M. and E. Hongsook. 1993. Demographic and socioeconomic determinants of female rural to urban migration in Sub-Saharan Africa. International Migration Review 27(3): 557–577.

Castles, S and Miller, M.J. 2003. *The Age of Migration*. New York and London: The Guilford Press.

Chambers,I. 1994. Migrancy,Culture and Identity. London

Chant,S. (ed). 1992.Gender and Migration in Developing Countries. London

Chipkin,I. 2001. ―Review of Foreign Migration to Johannesburg" In Parnell,S. et all. ‗Social Capital & Social Exclusion in the City of Johannesburg,'

Chattopadhyay, A., M.J. White and C. Debpuur. 2006. Migrant fertility in Ghana: selection versus adaptation and disruption as causal mechanisms. Population Studies 60(2):1–15.

Corrine, G. and Alan, P. 1992. Becoming Qualitative Reseachers- An Introduction. Longman. New York.

Cohen,R.,(ed). 1995. The Cambridge Survey of World Migration. Cambridge University Press.

Cohen,R.,(ed).1996. Theories of Migration. Cheltenham

Cohen,R.1997. Global Diasporas: An Introduction. Seattle

Cohen, J. H 2005. Why remittances should not be balanced for rural under-development in Mexico: A collective response to Leigh Binford. Critique of Anthropology, Vol 25(1): 87-96.

De Haas, H. 2008. Migration and Development: A Theoretical Perspective, International Migration Institute Working Paper, nr 9, University of Oxford, Oxford.

De Haas, H. (2007). ‗Turning the Tide? Why Development Will Not Stop Migration', Development and Change, nr 38(5).

De Haas, H 2006. Migration, Remittances and Regional Development in Morocco. Geoforum 37(4), 565-580

De Haan, A. 2000. ―Migrants, Livelihoods and Rights: the Relevance of Migration in Development Policies." Social Development Working Paper No. 4.

De la Garza,R. O. and Lindsay, L. 2002. *Sending Money Home: Hispanic Remittances and Community Development*. New York and London: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

Eriksen. T .H.. 2004. What is Anthropology? London: Pluto Press.

Eriksen, T. H.. 2003. Globalisation Stdies in Anthropology. London: Pluto Press

Gilroy,P. 1993. The Black Atlantic: Mordenity and the Double Consciousness. London

Goddard, A.1974. "Population Movements and Land Shortages in the Sokoto Close-Settled Zone, Nigeria," in Amin, Samir (ed), Modern Migrations in Western Africa, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Goldring, L. 1998. The power of status in transnational social field. Transaction Publisher. London

Gubert, F. 2002. ‗Do Migrants Insure Those Who Stay Behind? Evidence from the Kayes Area (Western Mali)', Oxford Development Studies, nr 30(3).

Gugler, J. and W.G. Flanagan. 1978. Urban rural ties in West Africa: extent, interpretation, prospects and implications. African Perspectives 1: 68–78.

Gurmu, E. 2000. Fertility Decline Driven by Poverty: The Case of Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. Journal of Biosocial Science. 40:339-358.

Glick, S.N; Basch, L and Blanc-Szanton, C. 1992. *Towards a Transnational Perspective on Migration*. New York: New York Academy of Sciences.

Hannez, U. 1992. Cultural complexity: studies in social organization of meaning. New York. Colombia University Press

Harries,P. 1994. Work, Culture and Identity: Migrant Labourers in Mozambique and South Africa, 1860-1910. London

Harris, J. & Todaro, M. 1970. ‗Migration, Unemployment and Development; A two-sector analysis' American Economic Review, 60: 126-142.

Hogan, D.P. and Belay Biratu. 2004. Social identity and community effects on contraceptive use and intentions in Southern Ethiopia. Studies in Family Planning 35(2): 79–89.

Hugo, G.J. 1994. Migration as a survival strategy: the family dimension of migration. In Proceedings of the United Nations Expert Group Meeting on Population Distribution and Migration, Santa Cruz, Bolivia, 18–22 January 1993. New York: United Nations.

Hofmeyer,I.. 1993. ‗We Spend Our Years as a Tale that is told': Oral Historical Narrative in South African Chiefdom. Johannesburg.

Kok, P et al. 2004. Post apartheid patterns of international migration in South Africa. Cape Town: HSRC Publishers

Kyle, D. 2000. *Transnational Peasants: Migrations, Networks, and Ethnicity in Andean Ecuador*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Kyle, D and Ling, Z. 2001. *Migration Merchants: Human Smuggling from Ecuador and China*. The Center for Comparative Immigration Studies at University of California, San Diego. Working Paper No. 43.

Lauby, J and Stark, O. 1988. Individual migration as a family strategy: young women in the Philipines. Vol 42, No 24, pp. 473-486

Leggett, T. 1999. ―The Sleazy Hotel Syndrome: Housing Vice in Durban and Johannesburg" Crime and Conflict. Johannesburg

Levitt, P. 2001. The transnational villagers, University of California Press, Berkeley

Levitt, P. 1998. Social remittances: migration driven local-level forms of cultural diffusion. *International Migration Review*, Vol. 42, No. 4, pp. 65-83

Levitt, P. 2001. *The Transnational Villagers*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press.

Lewis,W. A. 1954. ―Economic Development with unlimited supplies of labour" The Manchester School of Economic and Social Studies.22(1954). 139-191.

Lockwood, V. S. 1990. Development and return migration to Rural Polynesia. International Migration Review 24(2): 347-371.

Lubkeman, S. 2000. The Transformation of Transnationality among Mozambican Migrants in South Africa. *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 34(1): 41-63

Lucas, R. 2005. International migration and economic development: Lessons from low-income countries. Stockholm: Expert Group on Development Issues.

Lucas, R and Stark, O. 1985. Motivations to remit: Evidence from Botswana, The Journal of Political Economy 93(5) (1985), pp. 901-918.

MacDonald, J and MacDonald, L. 1964. Chain Migration, Ethnic Neighbourhood Formation and Social Netwoks. Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly 42: pp82-97

Makinwa, P.K. 1981. Internal Migration and Development in Nigeria: Lessons From Bendel State. Ibadan: Heinemann Educational Books (Nig.) Ltd.

Martine, G. 1975. Volume, characteristics and consequences of internal migration in Colombia. Demography 12(2): 193–208

Massey, D.S. (ed). 1996. _Theories of International Migration: A Review and Appraisal,' in Cohen, R. (ed), Theory of Migration. Cheltenham.

Massey, D. 1990, ―Social Structure, Household Strategies, and the Cumulative Causation of Migration," Population Index, 56: pp. 3-36.

Massey, D.S. 1989. _International migration and economic development in comparative perspective' Population and Development Review. 14:383-414.

Massey, D. 1987. The ethno survey in theory and Practice, International Migration Review 21(4) , pp. 1498-1522.

Mayer, P. and Mayer, I. 1974. *Townsmen or Tribesmen. Conservatism and the Process of Urbanization in a South African City.* Cape Town: Oxford University Press.

Mayer, P(ed). 1980. Black Villagers in industrial Society: anthropological perspectives on labour migration in Southern Africa. Cape Town: University Press, 1980, 369pp

Mazzucato, V. 2003. Asante transnational relations: Historical renegotiation or changing structure of social relationships? In Paper presented at CERES Summer School, June 23-26, 2003, Amsterdam.

Miles, A. 2004. *From Cuenca to Queens: An Anthropological Story of Transnational Migration*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Mitchell, J. C. 1969. *The Concept and Use of Social Networks*. In Social Networks in Urban Situations, Edited by J. Clyde Mitchell, pp 1-50. Manchester, England: Manchester University Press.

Morris, A.1994. The Desegregation of Hillbrow, Johannesburg, 1978-82' Urban Studies.

McDonald,D. (ed). 2000. On Borders: Perspectives on International Migration in Southern Africa. Ontario.

Nigerian Institute of Social and Economic Research (NISER). 1997. Nigeria Migration and Urbanization Survey 1993. Ibadan.

Nwankpa, E. 1998. This is the generation. In D. Dimoji (ed.), This Is the Generation: Messages of Our Time. Enugu: Intercessors for Nigeria.

Ohagi, J.E. 1995. Urban–rural migratory turnaround: implications for rural development in Eastern Nigeria. Ph.D dissertation, Department of Sociology, University of Ibadan.

Olurode, L. 1995. Women in rural–urban migration in the town of Iwo in Nigeria. Pp. 289–302 in J. Baker and T.A. Aina (eds), The Migration Experience in Africa. Uppsala, Sweden: Nordiska Africainstitutet.

Orozco, M. 2005. ―Transnationalism and Development: Trends and Opportunities in Latin America." In Samuel Munzele Maimbo and Dilip Ratha, eds.,*Remittances: Development Impact and Future Prospects*. Washington, DC: World Bank.

Osili, O. 2004. Migrants and housing investments: Theory and evidence from Nigeria, Economic Development and Cultural Change 52(4) (2004), pp. 821-849

Oucho, J.O. 1998. Recent internal migration processes in Sub-Saharan Africa: determinants, consequences and data adequacy issues. Pp. 89–120 in R.E. Bilsborrow (ed.), Migration, Urbanization and Development: New Directions and Issues. New York: UNFPA and Kluwer Academic Publishers.

Peberdy, S. 2009. Selecting Immigrants: National Identity and South Africa‗s Immigration Policies 1910-2008. Wits University Press. Johannesburg

Peberdy, S and MAjodina, Z. 2000. Just a roof over my head?: housing and the Somali refugee community in Johannesburg,‗ *Urban Forum,* 11(2): 273-88.

Peberdy, S. 2005. ―South Africa: Experiences and Attitudes Towards Migration," background paper for the Global Coalition for Africa.

Peil, M. 1985. Changing structures: a democratic comparison. Contemporary Urban Research 10(2): 76–91.Pittin, R. 1984. Migration of women in Nigeria: the Hausa case. International Migration Review 18(4): 1293–1314.

Piore, M. 1979. Birds of Passage: Migrant Labour in Industrial Societies. Cambridge.

Pittin, R. 1984. Migration of women in Nigeria: the Hausa case. International Migration Review 18(4): 1293–1314.

Popkin, E. 2003. ―Transnational Migration and Development in Postwar Peripheral States: An Examination of Guatemalan and Salvadoran State Linkages with their Migrant Populations in Los Angeles." *Current Sociology* Vol. 51(3/4): 347-374.

Portes, A. 1999. ―Conclusion: towards a new world: the origins and effects of transnational activites." *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 22:2.

Putman, R. D. 2000. Bowling alone: America's declining social capital. Journal of Democracy 6:1, Jan, 56-78

Putnam, R. D.1993. ―The Prosperous Community: Social Capital and Public Life," *The American Prospect* no. 13.

South African Human Rights Commisssion (SAHRC), 1999. *Illegal? report on the arrest and detention of persons in terms of the Aliens Control Act 23-25.* Johannesburg: South African Human Rights Commission

SAMP (The Southern African Migration Project), Series Editors, Crush, J. and Williams, V.

>   Challenging Xenophobia: Myths and Realities about Cross-Border Migration in Southern Africa. The Southern African Migration Policy Series, No 7 (Cape Town, 1998)

>   Emigration, Xenophobia and Human Rights in South Africa. The Southern African Migration Policy Series. No 22 (Cape Town, 2001)

>   The New South African Immigration Bill: A Legal Analysis. The Southern African Migration Policy Series. No 2 (Cape Town,2001).

Stapleton, G.1959. ―Nigerians in Ghana" West Africa 2184, 21 February, p. 175, in Afolayan, A Emigration Dynamics in Nigeria: Landlessness, Poverty, Ethnicity and Differential Responses, London: Routledge, 1999, Vol. I: Sub-Saharan Africa.

Santen, G. 1998. Islam, gender, and urbanisation among the Mafa of Northern Cameroon: the differing commitment to ‗home' among Muslims and Non-Muslims. Africa 68(3): 403–424.

Stark, Oded and David Bloom .1985. ―The New Economics of Labor Migration."
The American Economic Review, Vol. 75 (2): 173-178.

Stark, O. 1984. ‗Migration descision making: A review article' Journal of Development Economics. 14(1984). 251-259.

Stark, O. 1991. ‗Migration incentives, migration types: The role of relative deprivation' The Ecomonic journal, 101 (1991) 1136-1178.

Stark, O and Lucas, R. 1988. Migration, Remittances and the family, Economic Development and Cultural Change 36(3) (1988), pp. 465-481

Taylor, J. 1986. differential migration networks, information and risk' in Stark, O, Research in Human Capital and Development, Vol 4. Migration Human Capital and Development. (Greenwich 1986). 147-171.

Todaro, M. 1976. Internal Migration in Developing Countries. Geneva

Van Onselen, C. 1996. The Seed is Mine: The Life of KasMaine, A South African Sharecropper, 1894-1985. Cape Town.

Udo, R.1975. Migrant Tenant Farmers in Nigeria, Lagos: Africa University Press.

World Bank 2005. Global Economic Prospects 2006. Economic Implications of Remittances and Migration. Washington: World Bank.

White, M., Moreno, L., & **Guo, S.** (1995) "The interrelation of fertility and geographic mobility in Peru: A hazards model analysis". *International Migration Review 29:* 492-514.

Zacharia, K. et al. 2001. Impact of migration on Kerela's economy and society. International Migration, Vol. 39, No. 1, pp. 63-88

Zachariah, K.C. and J. Conde.1981. Migration in West Africa: DemographicAspects. A Joint World Bank OECD Study. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Photo

http://www.sa-venues.com/searchkzn/durbanpoint.php   (accessed 04/11/2009)

News paper article
Smith, C. 2002. On a High'. Mail & Guardian, 8-14 Nov 2002, p.6.

Appendix 1: interview guide

1. What was your occupation in Nigeria? Is it helpful to you in South Africa?

2. What was your preferred destination when you left Nigeria?

3. How did you come to South Africa? Can you reconstruct your route? How did you make the trip to SA?

4. Do you cover your expenses and those of your family in your current economic situation?

5. Do you send remittance home? If you did not send remittances, what would you spend your money on?

6. If you still send remittances, do you think you will continue sending them for sometimes? Why?

7. What is your occupation and how did you find it?

8. How long have been in South Africa and would you prefer to live in South Africa or in Nigeria? Explain?

9. Do you feel it is important to be in contact with other Nigerian in Durban and in other South African cities? Explain

10. Are you a member of any Nigerian organization or take part in activities planned by the group? Why or Why not?

11. Do you have access to news from Nigeria? What are your main sources of information?

12. What is your housing situation? Are you satisfied with it?

13. How do you feel living in South Africa as a migrant? Share your experience?

14. In your opinion, what has the SA government done or what should it do in favour of African migrant living in South Africa?

15. What do you think of Nigerian compare to other African migrants in Durban?

Appendix 2

By Martin Ströhm

The Nigerian Connection

Hillbrow, an area of Johannesburg

The investigation took Insp. Steinhöbel into Hillbrow, an area of Johannesburg that once was cosmopolitan in a good sense but has since deteriorated into a cesspool, and into its belly of drugs and prostitution. It led to at least one arrest. Onyebachi Mbanefo, a 33-year-old Nigerian and known drug lord, was taken into custody on October 9, 2003, in Hillbrow. Although he was arrested on drug charges, the Flowerdays were notified of his arrest and a source revealed that he was being investigated in relation to Tanya's murder. The police refrained from any meaningful comment, but the suspect's computer hard drive and several video cassettes were confiscated and sealed in evidence containers.

The criminal element of Nigeria seems to have found fertile soil in the post-1994 free and open society of Africa's southernmost country. Drugs and — oftentimes forced — prostitution are the preferred methods of making money on the streets of South Africa's cities.

During October of 2004, police received information from a girl that her sister was being kept as a child prostitute in Durban in the province of KwaZulu-Natal. Following her rescue, police learned that it was part of an organised Nigerian syndicate dealing in drugs

and child prostitution. A special task force was formed, including members from the Durban and Johannesburg Child Protection Units. They investigated the syndicate for a month and then began a series of crackdowns.

During the second half of November, 28 child prostitutes were rescued and 67 Nigerians arrested in Durban and Johannesburg. Most of the Nigerians were illegal immigrants. Almost all of the girls were between 10 and 15 years old. Some were lured with money or drugs, some were runaways, some had been sold by their parents, and others were kidnapped.

The syndicate targets the poorer communities. Once they have a girl, she is immediately moved to another city, and the girls are also ferried between the cities of Johannesburg, Durban, Bloemfontein and Cape Town, depending on the demand for sex. Detectives were concerned that girls may even have been taken to Nigeria.

A 14-year-old girl freed in Durban related how she was systematically lured deeper and deeper into debt by a Nigerian drug dealer in Gauteng. When she owed him thousands of rands, he demanded payment. Since she couldn't repay him, she had to work for him. At some point he gave her to other Nigerians until, finally, she ended up in Durban. Here her life consisted of sex and drugs, as she told the *Rapport* of November 27, 2004: "Our wakeup call is three rocks [cocaine crystals], which we get each morning for free. Then we have to earn money to buy more rocks. You just want more and more and all the money you get is given for rocks."

Many of the girls are imprisoned in flats where they are controlled through drugs, usually heroin or cocaine. The Nigerians lock them inside a room and always keep the key in their pockets. Here they pimp the girls, easily making R2,000 ($328) a day with one girl, of which she only gets enough to buy the drugs she needs.

Following the revelation that a snuff movie might have been made of Tanya Flowerday, the *3rd Degree* team conducted their own investigation into the Nigerian sex trade. They also spoke with a former drug addict who used to be involved in the Nigerian drug scene. He gave the following account:

"The Nigerian dealer will offer you money for the lady friend. They'll normally say, 'At some stage you came in with ... with a friend or a girlfriend'. They'll say, 'That girl you had here last week, I'll offer you a thousand rand cash and cocaine and heroin worth two-

thousand rand if you just bring her around.' When you ask what they're gonna do with the lady, they'll say, 'No, we're just gonna chat to her and smoke with her upstairs. We're gonna give her free drugs.' On the one occasion I arrived in time and the lady was crying hysterically. I asked her what happened. She said to me she's just been raped by five guys. I said, 'How'd this happen?' She said, no, she went upstairs and ... they gave her some heroin, some cocaine, the next thing five guys came in, they kept her mouth closed and then raped her."

He also stated that such acts are recorded, using a laptop computer and a camera, often in hotel rooms. "So, yes, they film it." He also claimed to have taken such CDs to the airport or to other Nigerians.

In a world of forced child prostitution and filmed gang rape, is producing a snuff film really such a stretch? In the final analysis, there is only one way to know for certain, and that is to find the tape

Appendix 3

Carpe Argus (weekend Edition)
'brothers' make their move on Durban
22 May 2002, 10:20
Related Articles

- Police 'computer geeks' crack web cafe scam
- 'Nigerians have cracked SA's drug market'
- Pack your bag and pray you make it
- KZN cops dial in to global Nigerian syndicate
- SA's biggest scam cracked in townhouse raid
- KZN cops declare war on Nigerian gangs
- 20 arrested in massive Durban drug crackdown

Durban-based Nigerian cartels are generating billions of rands in the drug trade across the country and have seized control of areas of Durban's Point.

Police say that drug barons have taken over entire buildings on the Point for drug-dealing and accommodation for their "staff" and parts of the city centre are also being targeted for take-over.

Operation West police, comprising Durban Metro Police and South African Police Service detectives who are cracking down on West African crime syndicates, have identified a number of druglords who own luxury homes in upmarket suburbs.

The detectives are tracking West African crime organisations that generate R1,4 billion a year through drug trading in the Point area alone. This money, which does not include profits from the street sale and export of drugs, is used to fund front companies targeting Durban businessmen.

Police estimate Nigerian criminals control more than 80 percent of the city's drug trade.

Operation West project manager Superintendent Willie Louw said the city was fast being taken over by "a Nigerian brotherhood"

"Each member of the brotherhood controls a part of the city and is responsible for organising the drug trade in his area. Members of the brotherhood will not hesitate to kill

one another if they cross into another's territory."

Louw said the brotherhood used "staff" to take over buildings. "The money earned from the buildings is then used by drug-lords to fund front companies which target businessmen and con them out of millions of rands through financial scams," he said.

Louw said the druglords used email to send scams to their victims.

The best-known confidence trick was "the 419 scam", he said. Once a victim had been chosen, the criminal emailed him stating that Nigeria had been overrun by a coup.

"The criminal tells his victim that he needs to smuggle a large sum of money out of his country and that he would like the victim's banking details so that they can deposit the money into the victim's bank account. The con artist then promises the victim a percentage of the money if he or she hands over their banking details."

Louw said that, once in possession of the banking details, the criminals then withdrew all their victims' money before closing the accounts.

Another trick was "the Black Dollar scam", in which victims were conned into paying for chemicals to remove dye-stains from money supposedly smuggled out of Nigeria during a coup. A percentage of the "clean" money was offered as an incentive.

"These scams are on the increase. We have received a flurry of calls for help from business people who have been conned out of millions of rands," Louw said. He said police had made several arrests. "We need people to immediately contact us if they come across the scams."

Appendix 4

KZN cops dial in to global Nigerian syndicate
1 April 2002, 10:37
Related Articles

Nigerian arrested with 145 blank SA passports

Nigeria, SA team up against drugs

Durban faces ban on some international calls

Cape drug baron boasts of the plush life

Syndicates tap into Telkom to value of R300m

Cocaine kingpin booted out of SA

UN links Nigerians to Hillbrow drugs

4-1-9 Nigerian scam still operating

Durban police made an arrest this Easter weekend which they believe will lead to cracking an international crime syndicate involved in drug smuggling, cellphone fraud and money laundering.

Interpol and other international law enforcement agencies are being informed.

A Nigerian man was arrested at the offices of Global Net in Gillespie Street in Durban's Point area. Police confiscated 73 cellphones and removed thousands of banknotes in US dollars and British pounds.

Superintendent Willie Louw from the Organised Crime Unit and manager of Project West (aimed at ridding Durban of drug syndicates) said police attached to the project arrested the Nigerian on Thursday.

He is apparently married to a local woman and was using the cellphone shop as a "front company" for money laundering and drug smuggling.

Louw said the cellphones will be sent for forensic tests to find out whether they had been stolen or tampered with.

Nigerian syndicates operating in Durban and using state of the art technology are involved in "hijacking" cellphone lines and re-activating blocked cellphones. Louw explained that the criminals used a code to tap into someone else's cellphone line and made calls that were billed to the unsuspecting cellphone owners. They also had the technology to unblock a stolen cellphone and re-activate it to be used on any of the three cellphone suppliers' networks.

Further searches of the cellphone shop uncovered thousands of dollars and pounds that had been stashed away. Deposit slips indicating business with people or companies operating in well-known drug trading countries like Bolivia, Venezuela and the Netherlands were also found and will be investigated. One slip was for a $50 000 (R575 000) transaction.

Louw said thousands of rands were also paid into a Johannesburg account every day.

It was believed other international syndicates were involve. Further investigations will include the help of the US Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA) and Interpol.

Louw said initial investigations indicate the cellphone shop was being used as a front for money laundering and drug trading. The Asset Forfeiture Unit and customs officials will also assist in the investigation.
http://www.dailynews.co.za/index.php?fSectionId=3532&fArticleId=ct20020401103747 182N265847 (accessed 23 June 2007)

APPENDIX 5

Unlike Europe and several regions of Africa with peerage, lordships and other titles, where people could buy lordships and other titles, the honour was given to him purely on merit, and merit alone nothing to do with the size of his purse…Ilosho, which is about three hundred years old is having the first Ajagun . . . by the way Ilosho is older than South Africa. . . . Ilosho is about 300, 400 years old. The of Nigeria, to our guests here, the Nigerians are a very enlightened race, as a matter of fact, history and writers attest to the fact that they are the most urbane of all the people in Africa, and their organization dating back to pre-colonial times and in several books written, which you might check in the library…the urbanization index is higher than that of France, it's higher than that of Poland, it's higher than that of Germany. They've always lived in cities while they go to farm and work, and so on. The Yoruba are about 31 million people within Nigeria . . . and worldwide we are talking about some 48 million of them. So when you talk about a Yoruba person speaking the Yoruba language, it is not a dialect, it is not vernacular, it is a language spoken by some 40 million people . . . according to World Bank sources it's the 28th largest collection of people in the world . . .