Bonds of opportunity or constraint?

Understanding the impact and use of social networks
amongst urban migrants in Johannesburg

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DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis is my own, unaided work. It is submitted for the degree of Masters of Arts in Forced Migration Studies, at the Graduate School for Humanities and Social Sciences, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted for any other degree or examination at any other university.

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Abstract

This study looks at the importance of social networks amongst urban migrants in Johannesburg. The aim of the study was to look at how the social networks of international migrants function, and how migrants make use of these networks in an urban setting; examining whether this differs between migrants with established social networks available at their final destination before departure, and migrants without such social networks, and if so, how it differs. The study looks at the importance of social networks throughout the entire migration process, more specifically investigating their impact on the decision-making, journey, arrival and adaptation conditions. The literature review highlights research within the areas of social capital and social networks, research which was used to develop the definition of social networks used in this thesis. The literature review further shows that most research on the subject has emphasised the advantages of having friends or family available at the country of destination. This chapter also establishes a set of important indicators which formed the framework of areas which needed to be included in the analysis of adaptation.

In order to analyse the importance of social networks, a mixed methods approach was adopted. This approach allowed the quantitative section to establish particular relationships between variables, while the qualitative section explained these relationships further. The comprehensive quantitative data which was used came from the African Cities Project (ACP) which was a comparative and longitudinal survey conducted in 2008. To further explore the findings from this data, a case study was conducted using in-depth interviews with the most interesting migrant group identified in the ACP data; the Somalis. The decision to select the Somalis as the subject of the qualitative case study was based on the findings of the quantitative analysis, and in particular the fact that the Somali respondents in many ways contradicted much of the previous literature on social networks.

The findings of this thesis suggest that the significance of social networks during the migration process has often been exaggerated in the literature. According to the data used in this study, migrants without social networks tend to be more successful in many areas, especially when it comes to adapting to the new country. Having personal networks at the country of destination before departure seems to be less important than the cultural knowledge needed to find and make use of the networks and assistance available.

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Acronyms and Abbreviations

ACP	African Cities Project
ACMS	African Centre for Migration and Society
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
FMSP	Forced Migration Studies Programme
FMO	Forced Migration Online
IDP	Internally Displaced Person
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
RENEWAL	Regional Network on AIDS, Livelihoods and Food Security
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

Chapter 1: Introduction

Background to the study

Understanding how migrants construct their social world is vital in order to understand how they adapt to a new society and how they perceive the environment which they have moved to. Historically, there has been a gap in research on adaptation and integration. Landau (2004 citing Bascom, 1995, p. 207) points out that "The integration of urban refugees is one of the most poorly understood and under-researched topics in forced migration (along with repatriation)." Another aspect of the integration process which has received little attention has been the role of social networks. Boyd (1989) argues that understanding the role which social networks play in the integration of migrants into the host society deserves much more attention. This has also been emphasised later on by Crisp, Head of the Policy Development and Evaluation Service of United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), who stated that "...social networks have been slow to find their way into the [Refugee] literature, reflecting the longstanding division (both intellectually and institutionally) between the field of 'refugee studies' and the study of international migration." (Crisp, 1999, p. 1)

During the past decade, this gap in research has received much more attention (see for example: Radka, 2010; Stewart, et al., 2008; Hamer and Mazzucato, 2010). Willem (2003) however, argues that this research, focusing on how refugees politically and socially (re)organise themselves, has mostly been conducted within refugee camps in emergency settings. Willem's (2003, p. 10) study also points to a gap which exists within the research field in stating that: "Despite theoretical recognition of the close link between forced migration and social networks, empirical research, in terms of the collection of actual social network data, seems to have lagged behind". Hence, there is still a need for more research into the role which social networks play in urban settings.

Research analysing the role of social networks when it comes to migration has to this date often focused on the impact of such networks on the decision to migrate (e.g.; Massey et al., 1987; Boyd, 1989; Adepoju, 2006; Bakewell, 2009; and Klvanova, 2010), or on the impact of these networks on the integration phase (e.g., Massey et al., 1987; Yucel, 1987; Koser, 1997; Willem, 2003; and Landau et al., 2011). However, few studies have looked at the whole migration process, looking at the effects which pre-departure social networks might have on decision-making, the journey of migrants and their adaptation to the new location. Understanding the role of the social networks of migrants, throughout the entire migration

process, is important since such an understanding would explain how migrants make use of their social networks in decision-making processes and in developing adaptation strategies. These are further aspects which may bring us closer to an understanding of whether, and if so how, social networks are linked to the success of the migrant during the arrival and adaptation periods.

Research objectives and question(s)

This study aims to look at how the social networks of international migrants impact on the migration process and how migrants make use of these networks in an urban setting; examining whether this differs between migrants with established social networks before departure, and migrants without such social networks, and if so, how it differs.

This study aims to investigate and discuss the following questions;

How do pre-departure social networks at the final destination affect the choices to migrate, the migration journey and the arrival conditions at the final destination?

How does the level of adaptation differ between migrants who had established social networks available at their final destination before departure, and those migrants who did not have such networks?

Additional objectives are to:

- Examine and compare the pre-departure decision-making of migrants who have established social networks available at their final destination with the decision-making of migrants without such social networks available before departure, looking at for example: reasons for migrating, information received from others, the choice of final destination, and information conveyed to other migrants.
- Examine how the migration journey and arrival experience differed between the migrants who had social networks at the destination before departure, and those who did not, looking more specifically at: route taken to the final destination, time spent en route, assistance received during the migration journey, and assistance received upon arrival.
- Examine how the level of adaptation differs between migrants with and without social networks, looking at factors such as: employment, living conditions, availability of social support, remittances sent, and views on the host government.

- Examine whether any national group differs significantly when it comes to decision-making, migration journey, arrival, or adaptation, and if so how.

Rationale

This study is partly built on previous work conducted by the African Centre for Migration and Society (ACMS), in that it makes use of data from the *African Cities Project (*ACP), a survey which was carried out in 2008. This data has been used in several different reports[1] which will be discussed further on. Nevertheless, none of them has focused mainly on the importance of social networks. Hence, this study intends to use the ACP dataset to analyse, more specifically, the importance of social networks during the migration process.

The ACP dataset provides a very useful quantitative overview which in this thesis will be used to establish relationships between social networks and certain socio-economic, quantitatively measurable factors. The data will further be used to create typologies for the qualitative data collection and analysis. For the purpose of further investigating the questions which might arise from the quantitative analysis when it comes to the role of social networks, the qualitative data is a necessary supplement, in providing answers to some of those questions. By adopting a mixed method approach in this thesis, it will be possible to establish the relationship between social networks and the migration experience, but also to explain this relationship to some extent. As Tashakkori and Teddlie (2003, p. 15) argue, mixed methods can accomplish two goals, namely: "(a) demonstrate that a particular variable will have a predicted relationship with another variable and (b) answer explanatory questions about how that predicted (or some other related) relationship actually happens."

Previous research concerning the social networks of migrants has mainly dealt with the relation between existing networks and the decisions involved when migrating (see e.g. Crisp 1999; Adepoju 2006; and Bakewell 2009), or with the role of social networks in abetting the integration processes of migrants at their final destination (see e.g. Massey et al. 1987; Banarjee 1983; and Caces 1987). This study aims to fill an existing gap by investigating the social networks of migrants in relation to their migration processes as a whole. This will result in descriptions of the migration processes; starting with the initial social networks available before departure, and ending with the social networks available throughout the adaptation processes at the final destination.

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[1]See for example; Gindrey, 2010; Landau, et al. 2011

Chapter 2: Literature review

Introduction

This literature review will focus on literature concerning social capital and social networks, areas which have a clear linkage to this thesis and to migration studies. The aim of the literature review is to provide a basic understanding of the key concepts, as well as a much needed conceptual framework for this thesis.

This chapter is divided into four sections: the first two sections explore concepts and definitions, while the later two review the different roles which social networks play during the migration process. The first section will elaborate on existing conceptualization of social capital, explaining its importance and how it relates to the concept of social networks. The second section will provide an overview of definitions and theories concerning social networks and migrants in general. The third section will provide an understanding of the importance of social networks in influencing migration decisions and migration flows. Finally, the fourth section will deal with the importance of social networks during the integration process.

Social capital

The concept of social capital has a long history within the social sciences, dating back more than 80 years to the work of Lyda J. Hanifan (Woolcock & Narayan, 2000). Understanding the concept of social capital is therefore a difficult task. It is often more easy to give examples of social capital than to provide an exact definition (Dasgupta & Serageldin, 2000). The term has throughout the years been used in a wide variety of contexts, depending on the field of study. In political science, sociology, and anthropology, social capital has generally been referred to as the "sets of norms, networks and organizations through which people gain access to power and resources that are instrumental in enabling decision-making and policy formulation (Dasgupta & Serageldin, 2000, p. 45)." However, the recent increase in popularity when it comes to discussing the subject of social capital can be attributed to the contemporary writers Pierre Bourdieu (1986), James Coleman (1988) and Robert Putnam (1993). In order to better understand the concept and its sudden popularity we need to better understand the recent development of the term.

Bourdieu (1986, p. 248) defines social capital as "the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition" Coleman (1988, p. 98) on the other hand,

defines social capital by its function and sees it as a "variety of different entities, with two elements in common: they all consist of some aspect of social structures, and they facilitate certain actions of actors - within that structure." Finally, Putnam (1995, p. 67) emphasises that social capital is the: "features of social organization such as networks, norms, and social trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit."

The increased attention which these authors have paid to the concept of social capital has resulted in a plethora of definitions and ideas. The critics have argued that a single term is inadequate to explain the wide range of empirical situations which the concept claims to clarify (Woolcock, 1998). It has further been argued that one single term confuses sources with consequence, that the theory can be used to justify contradictory social policies, and that it understates corresponding negative consequences (Woolcock, 1998). However, instead of completely dismissing the term, this thesis will concur with Woolcock (1998, p. 159) who claims that one possible solution would be that: "...there are different types, levels, or dimensions of social capital, different performance outcomes associated with different combinations of these dimensions, and different sets of conditions that support or weaken favourable combinations."

Instead of engaging in the debate, and rather than to further explore the definitions of social capital, a more pragmatic approach will be adopted in this thesis. The different conceptual approaches which may be used will be explained individually and the different dimensions of the concept discussed.

A common approach when conceptualising and analysing social capital has been to focus on the differences between Bourdieu, Coleman and Putnam (see Schuller et al., 2000). However, this thesis will conceptualise social capital using the more recent work of Woolcock and Narayan (2000), who argue that research on social capital and economic development can be approached using one of four distinct perspectives:

- **Communitarian view:** Equals social capital with local organisations such as clubs, associations and civic groups. According to this view, all social capital is inherently good; the more you have the better.
- **Network view:** Stresses the importance of both vertical and horizontal associations between people, and relations within and amongst organisational entities, such as community groups and firms. This view sees social capital as a double-edged sword, which can be both positive and negative, depending on the context.

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- **Institutional view:** Sees community networks and civil society mainly as products of the political, legal and institutional environment. While the communitarian and network views see social capital as an independent variable, this view rather sees it as a dependent variable. The institutional view further argues that the capacity of social groups to act depends on the quality of the formal institutions under which they reside.

- **Synergy view:** This view attempts to integrate the ideas of both the network and institutional views.

In order to answer the research questions posed in the beginning of this thesis, the best approach would be to adopt the network view. The reason for this is that this view does not adhere to that idea that social capital is inherently good. Simultaneously, it does not perceive institutions as the most important variable. This is very relevant when it comes to studying migrants, since they may not feel as closely connected to the national institutions, or perceive themselves as residing under those institutions. The network view, which builds on the work of Granovetter (1973), stresses the importance of having both vertical and horizontal ties. It also acknowledges the conflicting roles which social networks might have for individuals.

Woolcock and Narayan (2000, p. 231) associate the "network view of social capital closely with the works of Burt (1992, 1997, 1998); Fafchamps and Minten (1999); Massey (1998); Massey and Espinosa (1997); Portes (1995, 1997, 1998); and Portes and Sensenbrenner (1993)". Looking at these influential writers, some of their research is particularly interesting for this thesis, as it is directly related to migration studies. Massey (1998); Massey and Espinosa (1997); Portes (1995, 1997, 1998); and Portes and Sensenbrenner (1993) all write about the impact which social networks may have on migration, which will be elaborated upon in the upcoming sections.

Woolcock and Narayan (2000) further argue that the network view is characterised by two key propositions: Firstly, social networks can provide a range of valuable services for community members, but may at the same time create obligations and commitments, something which may have negative consequences. Secondly; "...the sources of social capital must be distinguished from the consequences deriving from them" (Woolcock & Narayan, 2000, p. 231). By merely looking at the positive outcomes of social capital, one ignores the possibility that these outcomes are attained at the expense of another group (Woolcock & Narayan, 2000). These characteristics and their impact on migrants will be elaborated on

further in the following sections, looking specifically at the dual role which social networks have as facilitators as well as constraining factors.

Having adopted a specific perspective for this thesis, the different levels of social capital and social ties need to be explored further. Woolcock (1998, p. 186) presents social ties as present on four different levels:

 I. Within local communities;

 II. Between local communities and groups with external and more extensive social connections to civil society;

 III. Between civil society and macro-level institutions;

 IV. Within corporate sector institutions.

Ager and Strang (2008, p. 178) combine the above levels of social ties with the work of Putnam (1993), thereby presenting a distinction between three different forms of social connections: "social bonds (with family and co-ethnic, co-national, co-religious or other forms of group), social bridges (with other communities) and social links (with the structures of the state)." This thesis, which is concerned with the role of social networks for the individual, will adopt a micro-perspective, looking primarily at the interactions which take place within and between migrant communities, and more specifically, the social bonds and bridges which exist between family and friends.

In order to understand the social bonds which tie a community together, there is a need for a more thorough understanding of the factors which might affect these bonds. In their study on the entrepreneurship of immigrant communities in the United States, Portes and Sensenbrenner (1993) propose that social capital is abundant in groups which:

 I. Have a cultural characteristic which distinguishes the group from the rest of the population. This leads to greater level of prejudice (discrimination) towards the group and reduces the ability to exit the situation.

 II. Experience protracted periods of oppression, especially in a no-exit situation which undermines the resources available to the group to construct an alternative definition of the situation.

 III. Experience external discrimination when there is no alternative route to social respect and economic opportunity. This forces members of a group to bond.

IV. Possess highly developed internal communication skills and are able to confer unique rewards upon its members.

A commonality of these four propositions is that they suggest that the characteristics of the host society and the context in which migrants find themselves are strong factors which affect the solidarity within migrant groups.

This section has provided a basic introduction to the concept of social capital and has further elaborated on the conceptual approach which will be adopted in this thesis. It has also provided factors to look for in the South African context which might explain the strength of social bonds within migrant communities. The following section will continue to look at the social worlds of migrants and theories concerning social networks.

The social world of migrants – Understanding social networks

This section will give an introduction to the social world of migrants; describing the actors of their social networks and presenting different characteristics of relationships which can be observed theoretically.

The broad concept of the social networks of migrants can be approached from a variety of different perspectives. Marx (1990) provides an approach to understanding the social world of migrants in his paper The Social World of Refugees: A Conceptual Framework. This approach has received much attention and is often cited in research papers[2]. In it, Marx states that:

> The social world is the sum of all the migrants' relationships and of the forces impinging on them at any moment. It can be explored through the social networks of migrants and the changes they undergo during migration and resettlement (Marx, 1990, p. 189).

This approach provides an understanding of how the social worlds of migrants change during the migration process. One way to understand this change is by tapping into the social networks which migrants have.

A basic understanding of what is involved in migrant networks is provided by Massey, et al. (1993, p. 448) who define it as; "sets of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants, and non-migrants in origin and destination areas through ties of kinship, friendship,

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[2] See papers such as; Willelm, R. 2003; and Lubkemann, S. C. 2001

and shared community origin." A similar definition is provided by Begum and Mahmood (1997, p. 1), where "The concept of networks can be understood from affiliations existing among blood relations, relatives, friends, neighbours, fellow townsfolk, people with shared ethnic interests, common organizational membership such as community or sports clubs, similar religious denominations."

These two definitions present us with a basic understanding of the actors involved in migrants social networks, but still leave us without a more comprehensive theoretical reasoning which could be used as an analytical tool to analyse networks and the different roles of actors. The actors presented in the definitions above clearly have very different characteristics and can provide support to the individual in a variety of ways. Understanding their different roles and inter-connections is therefore vital in order to understand how social networks function.

The relationships which form social networks consist of interpersonal ties. These can be different in nature, serve various purposes, and ultimately vary in what commonly has been labelled as "strength"[3]. In personal networks, each person has a certain number of family members and close friends who form a dense network, referred to as strong ties[4], including persons who regularly meet and keep in touch. These relationships are complemented with a network of people who are less close, such as acquaintances, the acquaintances of relatives, and colleagues, people who usually do not know one another (Hamer & Mazzucato, 2010). Such relations are referred to as weak ties (Granovetter, 1973).

In order to better understand these concepts and the differentiation between strong and weak ties within social network theory, we need to explore this subject more in-depth and go back to the pioneering work of Mark Granovetter (1973) *'The Strength of Weak Ties'*. In this paper he argues that one of the most fundamental weaknesses of sociological theory is that it does not relate micro-level interactions to macro-level patterns in a convincing way. He points to the fact that:

> Large-scale statistical, as well as qualitative, studies offer a good deal of insight into such macro phenomena as social mobility, community organization, and political structure. At the micro level, a large and increasing body of data and theory offers useful and illuminating ideas about what transpires within the confines of the small

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[3] See for example; Granovetter, 1973; Hamer & Mazzucato, 2010
[4] See for example; Boyd, 1989; Granovetter, 1973; Wilson, 1998; Willem, 2003

group. But how interaction in small groups aggregates to form large-scale patterns eludes us in most cases. (Granovetter, 1973, p. 1360)

Granovetter continues by arguing that the analysis of the processes of interpersonal networks provides a meaningful bridge between the micro and macro perspective. It is "through these networks that small-scale interaction becomes translated into large-scale patterns, and that these, in turn, feed back into small groups. (Granovetter, 1973, p. 1360)

His notion of the *"strength"* of existing interpersonal ties is that: "The strength of a tie is a (probably linear) combination of the amount of time, the emotional intensity, the intimacy (mutual confiding), and the reciprocal services which characterize the tie". (Granovetter, 1973, p. 1361) Even though these characteristics are independent from each other, they are at the same time highly correlated to one another. In his paper he is content with not analysing the weights attached to each of these four different elements, but rather argues that most of us can agree that ties can be either strong, weak or absent[5].

One of the main arguments in Granovetter's paper (1973) is that weak ties are more important than strong ties when investigating certain social network-based phenomena. Since weak ties provide the connections between different strong networks, they function as the bridge between parts of social systems which would otherwise be disconnected.

Even though there is a theoretical separation between the aspects of *weak* and *strong ties,* it is important to understand that these are interconnected. Woolcock and Narayan (2000) acknowledge that the combinations of *strong ties* and *weak ties* vary between different contexts and individuals. They present this as a dynamic process where people activate different types of networks, depending on their needs at different times.

This section has supplied a basic theoretical framework on how social networks can be viewed. This study defines social networks as interpersonal ties to friends, family, organisations and society in general. These ties in turn have different strengths and functions which affect their value as a connecting relationship and which affect how they are used.

Hamer and Mazzucato (2010) argue that research conducted related to migration studies, has stressed the important role which social networks play at three stages: the facilitation of the

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[5] He presents that the absence of ties includes "Both the lack of any relationship and ties without substantial significance, such as a 'nodding' relationship between people living on the same street, or the 'tie' to the vendor from whom one customarily buys a morning newspaper. That two people 'know' each other by name need not move their relation out of this category if their interaction is negligible. In some contexts, however (disasters, for example), such 'negligible' ties might usefully be distinguished from the absence of one. This is an ambiguity caused by substitution, for convenience of exposition, of discrete values for an underlying continuous variable." (Granovetter, 1973, p. 1361)

journey[6], the support given to newcomers during their integration process[7], and the influence they have on the strategies which migrants develop over time. It is to these different stages which we will look in the following sections.

The impact of social networks on the migration experience

This section will focus on the role which social networks play in the pre-migration phase where the decision to migrate is made. It will provide an understanding of how social networks influence decisions, of how they sustain migration patterns and of how information is conveyed through social networks.

Many studies on the importance of social networks conducted within the field of migration studies have focused on the role which networks play in migration decision-making and as a facilitator in the migration process[8]. The impact which social networks have, serving as a pull factor, has to a large extent been agreed upon, as this has been extensively explored in various studies on international migration[9] (Chatelard, 2002).

Crisp (1999, p. 5) points to these networks as an important source of information for prospective asylum seekers, "providing them with details on issues such as transport arrangements, entry requirements, asylum procedures and social welfare benefits, as well as the detention and deportation policies of different destination states".

The networks which evolve between migrants in the host society and friends/relatives in the sending area provide exchange of information, assistance and to some extent obligations (Boyd, 1989). One of the most common explanations of the impact which social networks have on international migration, is that they decrease the costs and risks of movement, which in turn increases the expected net returns for migrating (Massey, et al., 1993). This can be seen as a continuum; networks grow, which reduces the costs even more, which in turn increases the migration flow to encompass broader segments from the sending society (Massey et al., 1993).

Explanations of the importance of social networks in providing mobility opportunities can also be found in Granovetter's (1973) *The Strength of Weak Ties,* where weak ties are seen as an important resource with an important role to play in affecting social cohesion. Granovetter

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[6]Hamer and Mazzucato (2010) giving the example of; Massey and Goldring, 1994; Courade, 1997; Engbersen and Leun, 2001; Alitolppa-Niitamo, 2004; and Cheng, 2009

[7]See for example; Koser, 1997; Willem, 2003; Landau and Duponchel, 2011

[8] See for example; Crisp, 1999; Adepoju, 2006; Bakewell, 2009

[9] As the basis of this statement, Chatelard makes reference to: Van Hear, 1998; Faist, 2000; Portes A. , 1995; and Vertovec and Cohen, 1999

(1973) gives the example of a man who changes jobs, stating that the man is thereby not only moving from one network to another, but that he is also establishing a link between these networks. This relates to the continuous networking process described by Massey et al. (1993) above, where migrants who move to a new country establish a link to their old country and later facilitate the journey of others.

The effects of having social networks established with people in the host country before departure is however not always positive, as the information exchange which occurs between migrants and friends/relatives may not always be based on genuine facts. Ghosh argues that:

> As a rule, migrants pretend to be better off than they actually are. Failure abroad is not readily admitted. Thus, the information is often transmitted through informal channels, and at each new link in the transmission process, the success story tends to be further magnified, with the result that the distorted information serves as a strong incentive for outmigration. (Ghosh, 1998, p. 67)

Somerville also states that the "immediate effects of reliance on globally dispersed networks are more negative and are contributing to a cohort of frustrated migrants who receive misinformation through the migrant network designed to facilitate their migration transitions" (Somerville, 2011, p. 7). It is however important to note that Somerville talks about globally dispersed networks. Gunatilleke (1996, cited in Begum & Mahmood, 1997, p. 4) on the other hand, found that there "was far less misinformation in case of persons who moved through friends ' network,", and that these migrants had a higher level of satisfaction. This again highlights the difference between having strong and weak ties.

Nevertheless, it seems that the information provided by social networks may prove to be disadvantageous for migrants as it leads to decisions being made based on misconceptions. It is not only in the information exchange taking place before departure, that a negative aspect of social networks can be observed. Another negative aspect is that the information can create false or unrealistic expectations on the ability of the social network to deliver assistance. Hamer and Mazzucato (2010, p. 7), in their study of West African newcomers in the Netherlands argue that: "misinformation led to false expectations with regards to the capability of a support group to provide a service." They also pointed to the fact that support should not be taken for granted, as it largely depends on the quality of the personal networks.

This section has focused on literature describing the role which social networks play during the pre-departure phase. Literature has shown that social networks both facilitate information flow and give support during the journey. It has however also shown that the information provided to future migrants is often exaggerated, and that this can lead to false expectations of the capabilities of the social network to provide assistance upon arrival. It is this arrival phase which we will look at more closely next, in order to examine the impact of social networks during the adaptation phase.

The impact of social networks when adapting to the host country

This section will elaborate on the role which social networks play during the adaptation phase, dealing with both positive and negative effects. Adaptation in this section will be considered one stage of the integration process, which also consists of acculturation and assimilation of individuals and groups in the receiving society (Boyd, 1989). Adaptation will therefore focus more on the ability to survive and establish oneself upon arrival, and hence does not take into consideration how well the migrant integrates with the host population as such[10].

According to Koser (1997), most literature[11] within the field of forced migration studies concerning the role of social networks in the migration process focuses on the adaptation period, when migrants recently have arrived in the host country. Koser (1997) further states that this research specifically deals with the role which networks play in providing short-term assistance during the initial period (defined as the period during which asylum claims are pending); an adaptive assistance focused on the provision of housing and employment advice.

A study conducted by Willem (2003); *Embedding The Refugee Experience: Forced Migration And Social Networks In Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania,* explores how urban refugee men and women, of different nationalities and ages, cope with a situation of forced migration and how they rebuild their personal social networks. In this study, Willem concludes that "they rely heavily on their personal social networks, members of which provide them with financial and material assistance as well as emotional support in the form of friendship, advice and companionship" (Willem, 2003, p. XV).

Massey (1987, p. 170) also points to the importance of having social networks in stating that: "personal contacts with friends and family gave migrants access to jobs, housing and financial

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[10] For this thesis, the choice was made to look only at the migrants' ability to adapt in the new country, since the concept of successful integration depends on the host population as well as the migrants. Castles et al. (2002, p. 113) argue that integration can often be viewed as "a two-way process: it requires adaptation on the part of the newcomer but also by the host society. Successful integration can only take place if the host society provides access to jobs and services, and acceptance of the immigrants in social interaction."
[11] In his analysis of the literature he refers to; Massey, et al.1987; Banarjee, 1983; and Caces, 1987

assistance". Social support has further been found to influence the feelings which migrants have of belonging or being in isolation in the host country (Kelaher, 2001) and has been shown to "significantly lower blood pressure levels" (Walsh & Walsh, 1987, p. 577). To conclude the positive sides of social networks Boyd (1989, p. 651) cites[12] several publications stating that "These personal networks provide money to finance moves. They also provide food, shelter, job information and contacts, information on health care and social services, recreation and emotional support."

It is clear that there are many advantages to having a strong network in place when arriving in a new country, as this can provide much needed support during the adaptation phase. While it is important to understand the opportunities which these social networks provide in terms of access to desirable resources and achieving certain goals, Klvanova (2010, p. 106 referring to Portes et al., 1993) points out that "the possible limitations and constraints resulting from embeddedness in some types of social networks should not be disregarded"

Singh and Robinson's (2010, p. 24) study of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) in an urban setting in Georgia, also concludes that social networks are not always able to help by stating: "While refugees and migrants may come into contact with numerous social networks in urban settings, the connections they develop with them may be too weak to be meaningful."

These arguments emphasise the constraining factors of social networks and the significance of the strength of a particular network. To understand the key components of the capacity and strengths of different social ties, Granovetter's (1973) theory concerning *strong* and *weak ties* is useful. As previously discussed, *strong* ties consist of family and friends, persons whom you regularly see or are in contact with. This group of *strong* ties can also be considered *social bonds,* as defined in the social capital section. Constraint in certain social networks, due to embeddedness as Klvanova (2010) describes it, often occurs with persons who only have *strong* ties. As Granovetter (1983) argues, this is common when individuals only have a few weak ties. Such individuals will be deprived of information from other social systems and will be limited to the views of their close friends. Burt (1992) also argues that the degree of constraint of personal networks often depends on the multiplicity of the ties. He continues by arguing that a larger number of strong ties amongst the network members, along with overlapping social roles, make the network more confined, as it is difficult to acquire alternative information and to meet new people. It has further been documented that this lack

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[12] Boyd refer to publications from; Cornelius, 1982; DaVanzo, 1981; Tienda, 1980; Massey, et al. 1987; and Yucel, 1987

of *weak* ties creates a disadvantage on the labour market, as news of appropriate job openings will be missed more easily (Granovetter, 1974). Furthermore, those with only a few weak ties may find it more difficult to organise and integrate into political or goal-oriented organisations, as members typically are recruited by friends (Granovetter, 1983).

Constraining networks can leave migrants stuck in a position with few hopes of social promotion, where they run the risk of being abused by peers (Hamer & Mazzucato, 2010). Another negative effect of a constraining network is that the individual may be faced with the dilemma of having to choose between community solidarity and individual freedom, as community norms clash with influences from the outside culture (Portes & Sensenbrenner, 1993). Stewart, et al. (2008, p. 126) for instance argues that "although kin relations and the receiving community are generally supportive, roles, expectations, and conflicting values within families may be burdensome and isolating". Even though Wilson (1998, p. 401) does not discuss the possible negative effects of social networks, she notes that many researchers[13] have concluded that recruitment through social networks can also lead to greater vulnerability and exploitation of workers, since they are more inclined to accept oppressive labour conditions without protest, due to loyalty to relatives or friends who assisted in recruiting them.

Hence, social networks may have negative effects on migrants during the adaptation phase, when they become embedded and constraining. The embeddedness and the constraints which sometimes exist within social networks can be viewed as the lack of *weak* ties or what sometimes are defined as *Social bridges*. However, in the discussion on the importance of *weak ties* (*Social bridges),* it is easy to neglect the power of having *strong ties* and the important role which these ties play. As pointed out by Granovetter (1983 p. 209); strong ties provide a "greater motivation to be of assistance and are typically more easily available". He further concludes that people in insecure positions are more likely to develop strong ties for protection and to reduce their insecurity. Pool (1980 cited in Granovetter, 1983) similarly argues that strong ties are more useful when individuals are in an insecure position, and that the family size affects the number of weak ties, since larger families have more connections. The preferred position for the individual is therefore to have a social network consisting of both weak and strong ties (Woolcock & Narayan, 2000).

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[13] Wilson referencing to; Browning and Rodriguez, 1985; Rodriguez, 1987; and Thomas, 1982

Woolcock et al. (2000 p. 227) further argues that: "the poor, for example, may have a close-knit and intensive stock of "bonding" social capital that they can leverage to "get by"[14] but they lack the more diffuse and extensive" bridging" social capital deployed by the non poor to "get ahead"[15]."

One of the most recent studies within migration research dealing with social networks, is the study of Landau and Duponchel (2011). This study discusses the importance of social networks, with very interesting findings. In it, the authors conclude that: "The most significant factor in explaining urban 'success' (i.e., accessing food, jobs, housing, and physical security) is social networks". In all cases, those who were joining friends or relatives already in a city were considerably more successful than those who migrated without such support already in the city (Landau & Duponchel, 2011, p. 13)." This report was based on the data collected during the African Cities Project, a dataset which will also be used in this research. The authors acknowledge that more work is needed to fully understand the role that these networks play. Nevertheless, they argue that judging from their study, social networks rather than legal status or welfare interventions constitute the most important lynchpin of protection.

As has been presented above, social networks play an important role during the adaptation phase and might be one of the most important factors in explaining success. In order to create a viable framework to analyse the success of adaptation, it is important to understand which indicators are the most significant. Strang and Ager (2008) identify four general themes; in their paper *Understanding Integration: A Conceptual Framework* (See Appendix 1: Ager and Strang's conceptual framework), themes which they found through reviews of literature and fieldwork. These themes correspond to the most central perceptions of what constitutes 'successful' integration or adaptation. The first theme which is relevant to this research is the *markers and means* theme, where Strang and Ager review potential indicators of integration, highlighting that; *"'Employment', 'Housing', 'Education' and 'Health' were recurrently key issues in analyses"* (Ager & Strang, 2008, p. 166). These issues are therefore specified as separate domains in their integration framework. The second theme which will be used is that of *social connections,* where the authors distinguish between *Social Bridges, Social Bonds* and *Social Links*. All of these social connections describe different dimensions and levels of social networks. Strang and Ager (2008) define *social bonds* as the connections which link

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[14] Woolcock et al. (2000) referencing; Briggs, 1998; Holzmann & Jorgensen, 1999
[15] Woolcock et al. (2000) referencing; Barr, 1998; Kozel and Parker, 2000; and Narayan, 1998

members of a group, *social bridges* as the connections between groups and *social links* as the connections between individuals and structures of the state, such as government services.

Conclusions and definitions of concepts

The literature review has provided an overview of the concepts of *social capital* and social *networks*. It has also elaborated on the effects of social networks as these have been described in the migration literature.

Social networks, with their different purposes and strengths, may constitute facilitators, but may also serve as constraining factors for the individuals. The literature has argued that the ability to draw on strong and weak ties is determined by context, and that both strong and weak ties are often simultaneously available to individuals. As these different ties exist simultaneously, and as it is difficult to assess their importance, a differentiation between s*trong* and *weak* ties will not be made when approaching the data of this study. Rather, a differentiation will be made between migrants who had ties upon arrival, and those with no such ties (adopting the *absent* definition presented by Granovetter, 1973). Ties in the case of an arriving migrant will mostly consist of social bonds rather than social bridges or social links, seeing as social links have not yet been formed, and since social bridges which may have existed before departure, would rapidly be redefined as social bonds in the absence of other ties.

The term *social networks* will be used frequently in this thesis. In defining *social networks,* the definition which Strang and Ager (2008) put forward will be used; that a social network is the connections which link members of a group together. The term will therefore mainly refer to *social bonds,* which, all the same, could have been considered *social bridges* before arrival. This connection *(social bonds)* has also been defined by Putnam as; the connection between family and co-ethnic, co-national, co-religious, or other forms of groups. It is however important to highlight that when the term *social networks* is used in this context of migration, these networks are, by the definition adopted, social bridges until migrants arrive at their destination, whereby social bridges are transformed to social bonds.

In this thesis, *social networks* is a term used to define migrants who did have social bridges established in South Africa before departure, and who, as a consequence, gained social bonds upon arrival. Social networks which developed later on in the adaptation process will therefore be labelled as *social bonds*, while links to contacts not living geographically close to the respondents, will be defined as *social bridges*. This distinction is made in order to clearly

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separate the different concepts. It is by using these definitions that the research questions have been created and it is according to the same definitions that the findings will be analysed.

In conclusion, the conceptual approach which will be used in this thesis is to look at how social networks, defined as established social bonds in South Africa before departure, affect the migration process. More specifically, this thesis will look at how they affect the: *expectations, social bridges, social links, employment, housing, education* and *health* of the migrant (See Figure 1: Conceptual framework).

Figure 1: Conceptual framework

As the aim of this thesis is to look at the effects of social networks on the migration process, a definition of what is included in this concept is in order. Demuth (2000) presents an analytical tool which he argues helps in understanding the complexities of migration. In this model, Demuth (2000) proposes that the migration process should be divided into four phases. The first phase is where the migration starts and the decision to migrate is made. The second phase consists of the actual journey. The third phase is the phase during which the migrants arrive at a certain destination. The fourth and final phase reflects the status of the migrant in the new host society in every aspect. This thesis will adopt these four phases, hence the analytical chapters will be divided into decision-making, journey, arrival and adaptation. In this regard the first three phases are relatively straight-forward and are not as important to describe in detail as the last phase, adaptation, might be.

Adaptation is a term which is used widely in publications, often without a clear definition. Dermot et al. (2008, p. 2) do however state that the term "refers to the process through which persons reorganize or rebuild their lives after relocating to a new socio-cultural context." As previously presented, Koser (1997, p.602) looks at the importance of social networks in the short-term adaptation process, defining this period as; "the period during which the result of asylum claims are pending, in other words, in the Dutch case normally between one and two years." This definition presents a time frame for the short-term adaptation process which is difficult to apply to the South African context, where many asylum seekers may have their claims pending for several years. Even when asylum is granted, permits may still need to be renewed on a regular basis, thereby placing the migrants in an insecure position.

Nevertheless, these two concepts provide a certain understanding of the term adaptation, defined as a process where migrants are rebuilding their lives during the first years following arrival. However, Montgomery (1996, p. 682) takes this one step further by dividing this rather lose concept into categories, namely: *"economic adaptation", "socio-cultural adaptation" and "subjective adaptation".* Instead of going too far into the debate concerning the concept, this thesis will define adaptation as the period during which migrants in Johannesburg rebuild their lives. No strict definition of the adaptation process will be made, limiting adaptation to the period before migrants receive notification on their asylum claims. Rather, it has been noted that none of the respondents had received South African citizenship. Based on these preconditions, it can be argued that all respondents are still in the process of adapting to a new context. This thesis also subscribes to the fact that there are several categories of adaptation, as presented by Montgomery (1996). All of these categories have been incorporated in the analysis. Nevertheless, a different type of categorisation was found more useful for this thesis, namely the integration framework presented by Ager and Strang (2008). It is however good to keep the categories proposed by Montgomery (1996) in mind, as many of the indicators used later on can easily by placed within one of his categories.

An understanding of the impact of social networks during the migration process will be attained through the analysis of existing data, as well as through the gathering of new data. The new data will be qualitative data, collected with the purpose of explaining questions arising from the quantitative analysis. The next chapter will outline the methodological approach used to examine how migrants are affected by social networks (social bonds).

Chapter 3: Methodology

Research design

As previously stated, the aim of this study is to *look at how the social networks of international migrants function and how migrants make use of these networks in an urban setting; examining whether this differs between migrants with established social networks available at their final destination before departure, and migrants without such social networks, and if so, how it differs.*

The literature review presented a thorough background on how social networks might have an impact on the migration process. One of the most important findings which influenced the research design for this thesis was the access to data which had been produced and used by Landau and Duponchel (2011). This paper from Landau and Duponchel (2011) was based on the surveys conducted during the African Cities Project, resulting in a database which is relatively extensive. In this paper, they argue that the most significant factor in explaining urban 'success' was social networks. Their paper did however not focus directly on the importance of social networks, but rather on protection issues[16]. This means that there are still many unanswered questions with regards to social networks, questions which could be explored using the same data. The fact that many of the interview questions included in the survey were relevant for more in-depth analysis with regards to the importance of social networks, made the database a significant source of information for this thesis. However, this survey did not include any qualitative elements and also lacked descriptive data, which would help in gaining a more in-depth explanation of findings from the quantitative data. The main reasons behind adopting a *mixed methods approach* were therefore the need to further explore the comprehensive data produced by the African Centre for Migration and Society (ACMS), but also the need to complement findings from this data with qualitative data through interviews. The decision to design this thesis as a mixed methods approach was therefore much based on the view of Tashakkori and Teddlie (2003, p. 15) who argue that this kind of study can accomplish two goals namely: "(a) demonstrate that a particular variable will have a predicted relationship with another variable and (b) answer explanatory questions about how that predicted (or some other related) relationship actually happens."

Greene et al. (1989) were amongst the first to present a theoretical foundation for the design of mixed methods and to elaborate on how it could be implemented in research (Li, Marquart,

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[16] In their paper they look more specifically at protection issues relating to: physical security in public places; access to stable housing; an adequate and dignified means of subsistence (i.e., economic security) and the expectation of semi-permanent settlement.

& Zercher, 2000). Their framework identified five common purposes for adopting mixed-method designs (Greene, Caracelli, & Graham, 1989, pp. 256-260), aspects which are important to include in this methodology chapter, in order to explain why this type of design is suitable for this study.

I. *Triangulation* which classically implies adopting multiple methods with the purpose of counteracting bias and to strengthen the validity when investigating the same phenomena.

II. *Complementary* which seeks elaboration and the enhancement of the understanding of the phenomenon studied, where the second study method is used to clarify results from the previous one.

III. *Development* where the results from one method help to inform or play a role in the development[17] of the other method.

IV. *Initiation* which seeks to discover paradoxes and contradictions, and new perspectives of frameworks, which can provide fresh insights to the studied phenomenon.

V. *Expansion,* as the word implies, seeks to expand the width and range of inquiry by using different methods for different inquiry components.

This study was based on the belief that the use of two different methods would strengthen the research, mainly with regards to the aspects of *development, complementary* and *expansion* explained above. This use of two different approaches was also chosen as it might help in uncovering contradictions (through *Initiation*). This paper therefore adopts a mixed methods approach referred to as the sequential explanatory strategy. Creswell (2003, p.215) refers to this method as one of six major mixed methods approaches; "characterised by the collection and analysis of quantitative data followed by the collection and analysis of qualitative data… integrated during the interpretation phase of the study." He further states that "the purpose of the sequential explanatory design typically is to use qualitative results to assist in explaining and interpreting the findings of a primarily quantitative study (Creswell 2003, p.215)".

In writing this thesis, this sequential character meant that the quantitative material was analysed in order to discover unexpected findings, while an in-depth qualitative study was conducted later on, in order to explain these findings. In this regard, the qualitative interviews

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[17] Greene, Caracelli, & Graham (1989) defines development as including sampling and implementation, as well as measurement decisions.

also functioned as *complementary,* making it possible to explain many of the questions which arose from the quantitative analysis.

To make use of the advantages of a mixed-methods approach, this research was therefore designed to be conducted in two phases. During the first phase, the nationalities within the existing data provided by the African Centre for Migration and Society[18] (ACMS) were analysed and compared. The second phase meant conducting a case study with in-depth interviews, in order to explain the most interesting findings from the quantitative analysis, thereby gaining an improved understanding of the results. The research design for each chapter was therefore different. The approach in the quantitative chapter was to do a comparative study amongst the nationalities, in order to look for interesting findings which would need to be explored further. For the qualitative data gathering and analysis, the most interesting nationality with regards to social networks was singled out, and a case study was conducted on that specific group. The section below will provide an introduction to the data used for the quantitative analysis.

The quantitative approach - Analysing existing data

The datasets which were initially intended for the use of this thesis, consisted of data collected by ACMS during the 2006 survey for the African Cities Project (ACP), the survey for the project *Regional Network on AIDS, Livelihoods and Food Security* (RENEWAL) from 2008, and finally, the *Vulnerability, Mobility and Place* (Vulnerability*)* survey conducted in 2010. These datasets have resulted in several reports such as: Vearey et al. (2009); Vearey et al. (2010); Misago et al. (2010); Gindrey (2010); Landau et al. (2011). However, an initial review of the datasets showed that the RENEWAL study only included respondents from Zimbabwe and South Africa, while the Vulnerability study did not include the most important variable, namely the presence of social networks at the time of arrival. Based on these findings, the statistical analysis was based merely on the ACP survey (see appendix 5: ACP survey questionnaire).

The reports produced from this dataset have contributed to different research areas within migration studies, ranging from residential sampling technique (Vigneswaran, 2009) to looking at the capabilities and the determinants of effective protection (Landau & Duponchel, 2011). The finding which is most relevant for this study is included in a study by Landau and

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[18] The African Centre for Migration and Society (ACMS) was previously known as The Forced Migration Study Program (FMSP) but changed its name in the beginning of 2011.

Duponchel (2011), stating that the most significant factor for explaining urban 'success' (i.e., accessing food, jobs, housing, and physical security) is the presence of social networks.

This finding provides the impetus for this study. Since the previous report did not focus directly on the importance of social networks, this is an area which can be explored further, using the available dataset. The previous report did also not provide information on how migrants portray their own network structures, an aspect which will be explored in this study.

One of the greatest advantages of having a mixed methods approach is that the analysis of the quantitative data will help in the development of typologies used for the qualitative approach, thereby using available data to improve and direct the case study. Caracelli and Greene (1993) describe this analytical strategy to integrate the quantitative and the qualitative, as an analysis which enables the creation of *typologies* which can be used later on as a framework for the analysis of contrasting data. This means that the quantitative analysis and findings to a large extend will influence the design of the qualitative case study.

African Cities Project - Methods used and the data collected

The data which will be used in the quantitative chapter is based on the African Cities Project (ACP) survey, which was conducted in 2006. An overview of the data is presented in: Appendix 2: Quantitative data overview. The study was designed as a "comparative and longitudinal study of refugees, asylum seekers, and non-nationals in four African cities: Johannesburg, Maputo, Nairobi and Lubumbashi (Vigneswaran, 2009, p. 443)." The aim of the study was to gain an improved understanding of the characteristics of migration-related dynamics in African cities. A comprehensive closed-ended survey formed the primary content (see appendix 5: ACP survey questionnaire).

The main reason for using this dataset in this thesis is to provide information about the characteristics of the migration experience, as well as the impact of social networks on the migration journey. The dataset will further provide information on the adaptation process of migrants. These are issues which are closely connected to the three themes of the dataset: "a) the nature and course of migrant journeys; b) the economic and social links within the migrant diaspora; and c) the interactions and relationships between migrants and their host environment (Vigneswaran, 2009, p. 443)."

Due to the lack of previous research of this kind in Johannesburg, the ACP study was also intended to be a means to experiment with, and to refine, methodologies. The choice of

sampling techniques was limited and the researchers did not feel that a suitable frame existed (Vigneswaran, 2009). In the survey for Johannesburg, rather than taking a pure random sample approach, a fixed migrant group quota was therefore divided between 600 non-nationals (200 Somali, 200 Congolese, and 200 Mozambicans) and 200 South Africans (Vigneswaran, 2009). In order to generate a representative sample, an area cluster approach was chosen, where the field site was divided into 'enumerator areas' (EAs), containing approximately 200 households each. This systematic approach resulted in eight respondents being chosen from each EA, representing the sample ratio (3:1) of the categorical group (respondents who had migrated to South Africa from abroad) and the control group (South Africans who had migrated internally) (Vigneswaran, 2009). To ensure a systematic selection process, the survey started at a random spot in the EA, the surveyor only knocked on each third door, and he or she did not interview more than one person in each residence.

The sampling approach used to conduct the survey was described by Vigneswaran (2009, p. 445) as:

> A particular version of area cluster-sampling, a multi-stage cluster approach. Operating with limited resources, and moving from the assumptions that a) migrant populations were concentrated in particular areas; and b) that these areas could be located through preliminary consultative work, it was decided to limit the survey to a small number of suburbs, rather than to waste resources combing a wide range of inner-city areas where the chosen groups were thought not to reside.

The assumption made before the survey was undertaken was therefore that migrants residing in Johannesburg would be concentrated to particular neighbourhoods. Looking at where different respondents resided according to the dataset, this seems to be a correct assumption in that there was a clear distinction corresponding with nationality. There was a clear concentration of Congolese in Yeoville, Berea and Bertrams, hosting 94% of the Congolese respondents in total. Of the Mozambican respondents, 87% resided in Rosettenville, Bezuidenhout Valley, or Bertrams. The Somalis were basically concentrated only in Mayfair or Fordsburg, two areas where 99% of the Somali respondents lived.[19]

Some of the problems encountered during the ACP survey was: "1. Limited representativity and unknowable/inestimable forms of error due to incompatibility of cluster model with

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[19] It is not very surprising in itself that the areas included in the survey hosted a large migration population. Nevertheless, the clear geographical distinction between migrants of different nationalities is striking.

distribution of residences; 2. Limited representativity and unknowable/inestimable forms of error due to uneven and unpredictable conditions of access to residences; and 3. Limited capacity for replication due to diversity of urban planning data across cases and volatility of migrant settlement patterns over time (Vigneswaran, 2009, p. 453)."

The problems encountered resulted in two restrictions being lifted; the fieldworkers were allowed to interview one individual from each household within a residence and were also allowed to exceed the number of the original quota for an EA, as long as the total numbers between EAs remained the same (Vigneswaran, 2009).

Even though there are many advantages to using secondary data for analysis, this approach also has its limitations and disadvantages. One such disadvantage is that errors which were made during the survey or the coding process are no longer visible (Kiecolt & Nathan, 1985). Another problem related to secondary analyses of surveys, is that the material will often lack one or more of the variables which the researcher is interested in (Kiecolt & Nathan, 1985). This has also been the case in working with this thesis, leading to the exclusion of two seemingly interesting datasets, as they lacked the necessary variables. The African Cities Project survey also lacked some of the aspects which were initially intended to be included, such as *education* and *health*. The use of secondary data also meant that this thesis was limited to the questions which had already been included in the survey. In some cases, these questions would have been framed differently, had the survey been designed for the purpose of this study. The comprehensive dataset also meant that all of the questions could not be used or analysed in this thesis.

Quantitative variables and regression methodology

In order to describe the data material in a comprehensible manner, the questions from the survey were categorised according to the areas of: *decision-making, journey, arrival, or adaptation*, as elaborated on in the literature review. After having reviewed the material, it was decided that the questions relating to decision-making, journey and arrival were to be presented in a descriptive manner, using tables. These tables are meant to present the migrant experience emerging from the material, describing: how migrants came to the decision to migrate, how their journeys differed, and what their arrival in South Africa was like. The section on the migration experience is also meant to describe the differences found between the nationalities, as well as the difference between those who had social networks in South Africa before departure, and those who lacked such networks. Initially, the tables will present

the characteristics of the dataset by comparing the nationalities. Later on, the differences between those who had social networks and those who did not will also be taken into account. This univariate analysis was designed to identify the relevant independent variables, while at the same time enabling a deeper understanding for the experience of migrants in Johannesburg. The later section, on the impact of social networks on the migration experience, contains an initial bivariate analysis of the access to social networks before departure, in order to better explain and explore the areas where these networks might be significant.

The section describing the adaptation period has been designed to include a more in-depth analysis, with multivariate analyses on significant findings from the data. The available predictor variables or independent variables in the dataset which were chosen for the logistical regression models were identified in the migration experience section. These were variables such as: *nationality, sex, age, marital status, highest level of education, migrated with other household members, social networks upon arrival, time in South Africa, currently refugee or asylum seeker,* and *knowing a South African language.* The reasons for using these particular variables will be explained further on. However, the selection was generally based on the fact that they were some of the most frequently identified indicators in the literature, often used to analyse socio-economic success. These variables were also the most relevant indicators available within the dataset to answer the research questions posed.

The dependent variables which were initially chosen were selected to represent each of the eight categories presented in the literature review from Ager and Strang's integration framework (2008): *expectations, social bridges, social bonds, social links, employment, housing, education,* and *health*. However, the output variables of *education* and *health* were not included in the statistical analysis, as there was no relevant data from the survey dealing with education and health aspects. The dependent variables finally included in the multivariate analysis were therefore chosen based on their reliability and availability within the dataset. Six areas matched these criteria: *expectations, employment, housing, social bonds, social bridges,* and *social links*. The term *expectations* will not be used in this thesis, but is represented through the choices of migrants and will therefore be included within the concept of decision-making throughout the text.

In order to further analyse the impact of the independent variables on the selected dependent variables (chosen to represent adaptation success), a regression model was needed. The most

suitable way for further analysis was to perform a logistical regression model. This model was chosen considering that all of the selected dependent variables could easily be transformed into dichotomous variables. Simply put, the "logistic regression estimates the odds of a certain event (value) occurring (Garson, 2012, p. 1)." All of the statistical analyses were conducted using SPSS v.19. One of the problems with presenting statistical models is, as Garson (2012) argues, that: "there is surprisingly little consensus on exactly what should be reported in journal articles." Garson therefore agrees with Peng et al. (2002) in saying that most of the information should be included and presented. The recommendation which Peng et al. (2002, p.9) give is that: "In presenting the assessment of logistic regression results, researchers should include sufficient information to address the following: an overall evaluation of the logistic model statistical tests of individual predictors goodness-of-fit statistics." They further recommend that the reporting should be in a table format, including: the b parameter, its standard error, the Wald statistic, degrees of freedom, p significance level, and the odds ratio (exp(b)) for the constant and each predictor in the model (Peng, Lee, & Ingersoll, 2007). This thesis will follow their recommendation when it comes to presenting the results.

Before we look closer at the qualitative approach of this study, it should be mentioned that it is less important in this study, whether the binary logistical regression models in their entirety capture the phenomenon of adaptation success. Rather, their main purpose is to identify the independent variables which seem to have an impact on the dependent variables, and to establish whether this impact is positive or negative. Even though this thesis will not present a comprehensive analysis of the model as a whole, it will still present the goodness of fit for the model by including: the Hosmer and Lemeshow Test, Cox and Snell's R^2, and Nagelkerke´s R^2. These tests present us with an estimate of how well the independent variables which are included in the model are able to predict the outcome of the dependent variable. In the Hosmer and Lemeshow Test, the significance level should be above 0.05[20] if the model is to predict the outcome better than chance. Cox and Snell's R^2 and Nagelkerke´s R^2, which are pseudo R^2s, can determine to which extent the included variables can explain a relationship. As this thesis is not concerned with how accurately the whole model is able to capture the relationship, it will not engage in the debate concerning these tests, but rather subscribe to the arguments made by Djurfeldt and Barmark (2009) who argues that the numbers in the Nagelkerke´s R^2 test can be interpreted as percentages, which in turn tell how many percentages the included variables are able to explain.

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[20] This might appear to be strange since only a significance level under 0.05 is accepted normally. Nevertheless, when it comes to Hosmer and Lemeshow Test, the opposite ideas applies.

The qualitative approach - Conducting interviews

The purpose of using a qualitative approach in this thesis was to explore and describe in detail how migrants with and without social networks experienced and described their migration experiences and adaptation processes. These qualitative interviews complement the quantitative data by adding the experience of the individual migrant, but perhaps more importantly assist in answering some of several questions which the quantitative material left unanswered. Some of the most important questions, which were selected for further analysis through interviews, were: How do migrants view social networks? Why does the period of time needed to travel to South Africa differ so significantly between the nationalities? Why is the Somali population in many regards more successful in the adaptation process than other nationalities? Why are migrants without social networks generally more successful than those with social networks upon arrival? And; why are men more likely to be successful than women? The qualitative interviews also helped in further describing the situation of migrants in Johannesburg, and in creating a more substantive understanding for how their networks functions.

The best way to answer these questions, which surfaced in the quantitative chapter, was to conduct a case study. For this purpose, this thesis subscribes to the definition of Gerring (2004, p. 341), where he states that a case study is an; "in-depth study of a single unit (a relatively bounded phenomenon) where the scholar's aim is to elucidate features of a larger class of similar phenomena." Gerring (2004, p. 342) further elaborates on his definition of a case study, by stating that the term *unit* refers to a "spatially bounded phenomenon, which can be a nation-state, a political party, a revolution, or a person-observation at a single point in time, or over some delimited period of time".

In this study, the Somali migrant community, in the urban setting of Johannesburg, constitutes the case. Gerring (2004) states that case studies can be one out of three possible types where; Type I studies examine the variation in a single unit over time; Type II studies break down the primary unit into subunits; and Type III combines both temporal and within-unit variation.

In order to answer the research questions for this thesis, a distinction was made within the single case of the Somali migrants (N), distinguishing between migrants who had social networks throughout the migration process and those who lacked social networks. The qualitative study will therefore examine a total of two sub-cases (N=2): (a) Migrants with

social networks at the final destination before departure, (b) Migrants without social networks at the final destination before departure.

The quantitative chapter also revealed that *sex* was a significant variable which had an impact on the adaptation process. This variable was therefore also used as a sub-category. In order to attain relevant descriptions from the migrants, an in-depth interview approach was adopted. Using in-depth interviewing involves seeking "deep" information and knowledge, which is usually not sought after in surveys, informal interviews, or focus groups (Gubrium & Holstein, 2002). The in-depth interviews were conducted using a semi-structured interview guide, which outlined the topics and provided broad, open-ended questions (Kvale, 1996). An interview guide may be evaluated with respect to its thematic as well as dynamic dimensions. Kvale (1996) describes the thematic dimension of questions as related to the research theme, while the dynamical dimension of questions concerns the facilitation of the interpersonal relationship during the interview. Interview questions should therefore contribute thematically to the knowledge production, but should also be dynamic in order to create the suitable interview interaction between the researcher and the respondent (Kvale, 1996). The interview guide for this study, which is presented in Appendix 3: Qualitative interview questions, took these concepts into consideration and divided the questions into categories. Within these categories, questions were related to the two themes identified by Strang and Ager (2008)*; markers and means* (with the exception of *education* and *health*).

The interviews were mostly conducted in the shops where the respondents worked, or at a café of their choosing, which the respondent and the interpreter normally agreed on. The reason for conducting the interviews at these locations, was the presumption that these settings would make the respondents feel more comfortable during the interview. All the interviews were electronically recorded since this increased the ability to freely conduct a dialogue, as well as helped in creating a more intimate climate, undisturbed by note-taking. In collecting the qualitative data, the recorder was also a vital instrument in order to capture the content of the interviews as correctly as possible, avoiding assumptions and pre-emptive conclusions on behalf of the researcher. In order to make sure that the respondents felt comfortable and that they understood that they were being recorded; all respondents were requested to give their written consent. Most of the respondents had no problems with being recorded. One respondent was initially hesitant, but after having been given a more thorough explanation from the interpreter, she agreed to being recorded and showed no particular signs

of discomfort. An ethical clearance for this qualitative data collection was approved by the Human Research Ethics committee on 12 August 2011.

According to the interview approach of Kvale (1996), interviews should be conducted until a point of saturation has been reached, where, as Kvale argues, additional interviews would yield little new knowledge. The number of interviews conducted in this study was twelve. Although the possibilities to conduct further interviews were limited, due to a lack of time and resources, this number was sufficiently adequate in order to examine the questions which arose from the quantitative chapter. The in-depth interviews were conducted within two different groups of respondents; one group where the migrants did not have a social network at the final destination before departure, and one group where the migrants did have a social network available. This was established before the interviews were set up, using the question of whether the respondents knew someone in South Africa before arriving. These two groups were also subdivided, with the aim of attaining equal numbers of male and female respondents. The decision to create this additional subdivision was made according to the findings of the quantitative chapter, which proved that a significant variable in explaining successful adaptation was *sex*. Having an equal number of male and female respondents also meant that a more diversified picture could be acquired, which provided a better understanding of the reasons behind the increased likelihood of success amongst men. In the end, the respondents interviewed were: 6 with social networks (3 men and 3 women) and 6 without social networks (2 men and 4 women). Since the interviews were conducted with members of two different groups,[21] the number of interviews needed to reach saturation might be larger according to Kvale (1996). However, after having conducted 12 interviews, few new insights surfaced with regards to the questions posed, and there was sufficient material to answer the questions which had arisen from the quantitative analysis.

It is important to point out at this stage, that the choice of conducting in-depth interviews was made in order to explain the findings from the quantitative analysis and at the same time to provide insights for further research. Even though the size of the sample of respondents was not sufficient to allow for a strict hypothesis testing or generalisation, the process still aimed at producing a material which would accurately represent the characteristics of the most

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[21] The quantitative phase might distinguish more categories which might be of interest to explore further.

interesting group, the Somalis[22]. The area which surfaced in the dataset, and which hosted the largest Somali population was Mayfair.

During this procedure of selecting respondents, a purposive sample approach was used, meaning that the selection of respondents was based on an assessment of their appropriateness, or on the fact that they would provide specific information which would be important for the purpose of the study (Gliner & Morgan, 2000). Gliner and Morgan (2000) state that purposive sampling resembles a quota sample, where one must attempt to select a sample that is representative for the population of interest. The rationale and desired results of a purposive sample are explained well by Rodriguez et al. (2007, p. 63): "The desired end result is a sample whose characteristics are as similar as possible to those of the universe as a whole or whose characteristics differ from those of the universe in ways that are known."

Seeing as the qualitative phase was meant to build on the conclusions of the quantitative analysis, the sample of respondents was based on the characteristics found within the dataset. This resulted in all of the interviews being conducted in Mayfair, which hosted 68.3% of the Somalis in the dataset, and in the interviews being held with an equal amount of women and men, since there were significant differences between the two in the ACP dataset.

The idea of conducting a snowball sample, a method often used when looking at social networks (Scott, 2007), was discarded for this study, as this method would only provide access to a few social networks. This sampling approach would have been useful if the research had been focused on obtaining deep knowledge of the dynamics of one specific social network. However, the aim of this study was to understand the importance of networks from the perspective of the individual. Hence, it was important to gain access to individuals who were members of as many different networks as possible.

In order to gain access to these individual networks, a purposive sample approach was used, on two separate groups in Mayfair; migrants with social networks and those lacking networks, as explained earlier. Gaining access to the Somali community was however not easy; in order to be trusted by the community, the role which the gatekeepers[23] played was significant. In the case of this study, the interpreter, who was Somali and who was well known from within the community, played a significant role as she was able to find respondents willing to participate. In coordination with the researcher she helped in finding suitable respondents,

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[22] The Somali population stood out as the most interesting group in the quantitative analysis with regards to most of the dependent variables. This will be elaborated upon later on.
[23] In this thesis the definition of Sage will be used, defining a gatekeeper as:"the person who controls research access." (SAGE, 2012)

matching the criteria set, but also in setting up interviews at locations where the respondents felt comfortable. It is difficult to assess the impact which the interpreter had on the selection of the respondents and how this might have influenced the results of the qualitative chapter. However, one thing is certain; the researcher would not have been able to obtain any material had it not been for this interpreter, who was accepted and trusted by the Somali community.

Analysing the qualitative data

To make the results of the qualitative research accessible to others, a method of organisation and presentation is needed (Miles & Huberman, 1984). In working with this thesis, the data was organised and analysed using a thematic analysis. Thematic analyses and content analyses share many principles. Boyatziz (1998) even uses the terms "code" and "theme" interchangeably. Nevertheless, Boyatziz (1998, p. 5) argues that the reason behind adopting a thematic analysis is that it:

> ...enables scholars, observers, or practitioners to use a wide variety of types of information in a systematic manner that increases their accuracy or sensitivity in understanding and interpreting observations about people, events, situations, and organization.

When analysing data by means of a thematic analysis, a conceptual tool is needed in order to classify and understand the phenomenon which is being studied (Marks & Yardley, 2004). This tool is often referred to as the coding frame. The purpose of the coding frame is to enable a systematic comparison between the texts that are being analysed (Marks & Yardley, 2004).

According to Marks et al. (2004, p. 63), coding involves noting patterns in the data and labelling these patterns to allow distinctions to be made and research questions to be answered, while allowing categories to be refined by splitting, splicing and linking codes. Further, coding frames are produced which describe the different code labels and their detailed definitions. The purpose of the coding frame is to enable a systematic comparison between the sets of text which are analysed (Marks & Yardley, 2004). Based on the frames, questions can be posed related to the data.

The coding frame for this study was developed using the literature review. The frame was refined following the quantitative data analysis, and was finalised once the interviews had been conducted. The codes (themes) which emerged from the literature review were the indicators of integration which Strang and Ager (2008) identified as the most common. The

codes adopted in analysing the data for this thesis were *Expectations, Employment, Housing, Social Bonds, Social Bridges and Social Links*. The code for having social networks was considered to be that the respondents had a friend or family already in South Africa before departure, and is therefore distinctly separated from the other codes adopted. The category of expectation falls under the section of decision-making in this thesis, while the other categories are included both in the arrival and in the adaptation section. In the adaptation section, these categories were distinctly separated, allowing for an in-depth individual analysis of each theme.

Ethical considerations

Undertaking social science research within displaced populations presents many ethical challenges which must be taken into consideration. Social science which involves refugees or IDPs is commonly conducted in complex and sometimes difficult situations with participants who may be traumatised or vulnerable (Mackenzie, McDowell, & Pittaway, 2007). This study, which was conducted in an urban context in Johannesburg, did not directly involve the type of difficult situations which might arise in conflict zones, even though personal safety considerations still needed to be taken into account. It further needed to be taken into consideration that the respondents may have been severely affected by their previous experiences as well as their living conditions in South Africa.

Before going back to the challenges present when dealing with displaced populations specifically, the cornerstones of research ethics need to be explored further. There are four widely accepted philosophical considerations which should be taken into account when discussing research ethics: "Autonomy and Respect for the dignity of Persons, Nonmaleficence, Beneficence, and Justice" (Wassenaar & Mamotte, 2008, p. 6). These principles are often transformed into the requirements of *consent, risk/benefit determination*, and *fair subject selection*. As these concepts are well known and have been largely agreed upon, they will not be described in detail, except through a short summary. These four principles are elaborated on by many philosophers, where Tom Beauchamp and Jim Childress (2001) are some of most prominent. Roger Watson (2008) elaborates on the pillars of Beauchamp and Childress and presents the four themes as:

- *Respect for Persons/Autonomy* is the acknowledgement of a person's right to make choices and to hold his/her own views. The autonomy implies that they should be able to choose their own course of action, based on their own personal values and plans.

- *Justice* implies that there should be fair opportunity for all participants. It also emphasises the importance of inclusion, regardless of gender, language, age etc. This includes not favouring certain elements of the data for analysis or dissemination.

- *Nonmaleficence* concerns the fact that the research should not inflict evil or harm. This principle includes not doing harm during the data collection, but also the aspect of storing data appropriately, so that sensitive data is protected and kept confidential. The practical issues are often associated with the need for the researchers to consider anonymity, confidentiality, etc. The responsibility to do no harm is also an important factor when the research is being published, as prior commitments and agreements need to be honoured.

- *Beneficence* is the principle of promoting good and to provide benefits to persons. In many instances, the participants may not benefit directly from the study, in which case it is important that they understand how the study contributes to the overall good of the wider population.

As previously discussed, when working with displaced populations it is extremely important to take ethical consideration seriously, because of the specific context in which displaced populations live. Mackenzie et al. (2007, p. 300) highlight that the use of the four principles already mentioned "...is often abstract and as such they provide insufficient concrete guidelines for both researchers and ethic committees." It has also been argued that much of the research conducted within the field of forced migration is methodologically unsound, making it flawed and ethically dubious (Jacobsen & Landau, 2003). Mackenzie et al. (2007) argue that researchers need to move beyond the principle of do no harm and recognise the obligation to design and conduct research so that it brings reciprocal benefits for participants.

In this study, these considerations have been taken seriously throughout the research. The most important ethical consideration when dealing with displaced populations can be said to relate to the principle of *Autonomy*. As outlined above, these populations are often vulnerable and are not in a situation where they can exercise political and socio-economic power (Mackenzie et al. 2007). In this research, extra precaution needs to be taken to ensure that consent and the voluntary nature of the research is truly understood. One of the approaches to ensure this, is to try to conduct the interviews at a location where respondents feel comfortable. The context of Johannesburg is fortunately less dangerous than that of many conflict situations, and displaced populations are not enclosed or dependent on international humanitarian assistance to the same extent as in a camp setting.

This does however not imply that the respondents are not in a vulnerable position, or that they have not been through difficult experiences. The interview questionnaire (see the final questionnaire in: Appendix 3: Qualitative interview questions) was therefore developed in order to be open-ended and to leave room for adjustments with the help of the migrants themselves, in order to improve questions and minimise potential harm. Before the interview was conducted, a consent form was presented and thoroughly explained. This consent form needed to be signed before the interview was conducted (see Appendix 4: Informed consent form). The methodological design, which was to do in-depth interviews, created a good discussion climate and enabled multiple meetings with the same respondents, which enabled the participant to ensure that his/her views were presented correctly. The character of in-depth interviews also presents a high degree of ethical considerations, since the interviews often become very personal. The interview material was therefore kept confidential.

Ensuring justice, in terms of providing a fair opportunity for everybody, proved to be difficult, as the sampling of participants was based on data which had already been collected. However, the surveys, which were conducted in a randomised manner, should represent the population in the included areas, which should ensure a just sample.

With regards to the principle of *Nonmaleficence,* there were no aspects of this study which seemed to have the potential of doing any particular harm. The questions asked generally did not concern sensitive matters. The most likely scenario, with regards to potential harmful situations for the participants in this study, would be a scenario where a respondent revealed private information or views concerning members of his/her community or network, and this information was overheard. Precautions taken for such situations were, as previously discussed, to conduct the interviews at a location which enabled confidentiality. The survey approach also helped in not revealing that participants had talked about others in their network, since snowball sampling was not used.

Concerning the principle of *Beneficence,* this study will unfortunately not provide the participants with any immediate benefits. Therefore, a strong emphasis was placed on the significance of this study in understanding the importance of social networks, in giving the participants an opportunity to be heard, and on the fact that their information might help future migrants in making more qualified decisions. Due to the limited scope of a masters thesis, this study will most likely not have an extensive impact on the policy development or discourse within forced migration studies. The greatest benefit for the individual migrants is

probably the aspect of getting their stories told. Since the strongest *beneficence* for migrants included in this thesis was the opportunity to share their stories, emphasis was placed on creating a good atmosphere and a meaningful dialogue during interviews.

This study subscribed to the view presented by Mackenzie et al. (2007, p. 316) concerning situations where there is a choice between retrieving research material and assisting a person in need,: "When a human being is in need and the researcher is in a position to respond to that need, non-intervention in the name of 'objective' research is unethical." However, no such situation occurred during the qualitative interviews, nor did any of the respondents mention any discomfort during the interviews. In fact, several of the interviewees had previous experience of being participants in research studies and felt comfortable in such a context.

Chapter 4: The quantitative data

Introduction

The sections within the remaining chapters have been structured according to the different stages of migration: decision-making, journey, arrival, and adaptation. This chapter will look at the African Cities Project (ACP) data which was collected during 2006, the methodology for which was described in the previous chapter. This first section will describe the demographic profile of the data used for this project. The second section on the migration experience has been divided so that it represents three parts: the decision to leave the country of origin and the journey towards South Africa; the arrival phase; and lastly the effect of social networks on decision-making, journey and arrival. The third and final section of this chapter looks at the structures of the networks and analyses how different independent variables affect the adaptation to the new country; looking at how different independent variables affect the five defined indicators of adaptation presented in the theoretical framework created by Ager and Strang. The indicators which will be used in this section are: *employment, housing, social bridges, social bonds,* and *social links*.

Describing the data – Understanding the demographic profile

The African Cities Project (ACP) survey resulted in a total of 847 respondents in Johannesburg, with different countries of origin[24]. This thesis aims at mapping out the importance of social networks to international migrants at the time of arrival, as well as the effects of such networks on the decision making process and journey. Hence, the participants in the survey who were South African (n=191) were not included in the analysis. Individual participants (n=15) who did not belong to either of the three major nationalities, were also removed, since the small number of respondents made generalisations impossible. The groups of nationalities which were significantly large, and which were included in this thesis, were respondents originating from the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) (N=253), from Mozambique (N=202), and from Somalia (N=186). These groups made up a total of 641 respondents who will be analysed further in this chapter. Of these 641 respondents, no one had attained South African Citizenship at the time of the survey. Out of the 641 respondents, 63% were male and 37% were female.

As presented in table 1, the respondents within the dataset were relatively young; over 70% of them ranged between the ages of 18 and 35. The ages within the data sample were evenly

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[24] As was mentioned earlier, the quota set initially was intended to include: 600 non-nationals (200 Somali, 200 Congolese, and 200 Mozambicans) and 200 South Africans.

distributed between the different nationalities. The age distribution of the respondents indicates that they could be considered, for the most part, to be of working age. The young age was also reflected in marital status, which was similar across nationalities, in that over 50% of the respondents were single during the time of the interview. What stands out when it comes to marital status however, is that a larger proportion of the Somalis interviewed were married, but not living with their partner at the time of the survey. The respondents from DRC had the lowest number of children; 1.4 children per family on average, while the Somali migrants had 2.18 children per family on average. Even though this difference was significant when comparing the groups (p = 0.00), this variable was still disregarded for further analysis, as it appeared to be less relevant for the aim of this study than the other variables.

The highest level of education obtained also differed between nationalities. Even though the data does not establish when and where this education was obtained (i.e. in country of origin or in South Africa), it is still important to note that within the dataset, migrants from DRC on average had the highest level of education. The Somali population displayed the largest proportion of migrants without formal education, but simultaneously contained more individuals who had finished tertiary education than the Mozambican population.

The most important difference between the nationalities is with regard to their time spent in South Africa. On average, the persons coming from DRC had spent the shortest amount of time in South Africa, followed by Somalis and Mozambicans, in that order. Over 64% of the migrants from DRC had spent less than three years in South Africa, while the majority of the Mozambicans had spent more than nine years in South Africa. Migrants coming from Somalia were relatively evenly distributed across time. This wide time-span, when it comes to how long the respondents of different nationalities have been staying in South Africa, makes the analysis of social networks somewhat more complicated, as it seems likely that the time spent in a country will affect the socio-economic living conditions of migrants. However, within the dataset there are questions which refer to the conditions which the migrants encountered during the first weeks in the country. Even though time might have affected the perception of the arrival conditions in South Africa, the respondents should still be able to recall their arrival period accurately enough, which would enable an analysis of the importance of social networks upon arrival.

Table 1: Percentage distribution of respondents by background information across nationality

	DRC (N = 253)		Mozambique (N = 202)		Somalia (N = 186)		Total (N = 641)		Chi-Square
	n	[%]	n	[%]	n	[%]	N	[%]	p-value
Respondent's sex									
Male	162	[64.0%]	102	[50.4%]	142	[76.3%]	406	[63.3%]	**0,000** ***
Female	91	[35.9%]	100	[49.5%]	44	[23.6%]	235	[36.6%]	
Total	253	[100%]	202	[100%]	186	[100%]	641	[100%]	
Age									
18-25 Yrs	51	[20.5%]	46	[23%]	36	[19.3%]	133	[20.9%]	**0,002** ***
26-30 Yrs	77	[31.0%]	58	[29%]	47	[25.2%]	182	[28.7%]	
31-35 Yrs	75	[30.2%]	32	[16%]	45	[24.1%]	152	[23.9%]	
36-40 Yrs	32	[12.9%]	34	[17%]	34	[18.2%]	100	[15.7%]	
41+ Yrs	13	[5.2%]	30	[15%]	24	[12.9%]	67	[10.5%]	
Total	248	[100%]	200	[100%]	186	[100%]	634	[100%]	
Marital Status									
Living alone	127	[50.1%]	110	[54.4%]	86	[46.2%]	323	[50.3%]	**0,000** ***
Living together	120	[47.4%]	84	[41.5%]	65	[34.9%]	269	[41.9%]	
Temporarily Living Apart	6	[2.3%]	8	[3.9%]	35	[18.8%]	49	[7.6%]	
Total	253	[100%]	202	[100%]	186	[100%]	641	[100%]	
Highest Level of Education									
No formal schooling	2	[0.7%]	4	[2.0%]	40	[21.5%]	46	[7.2%]	**0,000** ***
Primary Education	13	[5.1%]	75	[37.8%]	46	[24.7%]	134	[21.0%]	
Secondary Education	127	[50.1%]	99	[50%]	75	[40.3%]	301	[47.2%]	
Finished Tertiary	95	[37.5%]	17	[8.5%]	25	[13.4%]	137	[21.5%]	
Postgraduate degree	16	[6.3%]	3	[1.5%]	0	[0%]	19	[2.9%]	
Total	253	[100%]	198	[100%]	186	[100%]	637	[100%]	
Time in South Africa									
0 year - 3 years	164	[64.8%]	31	[15.3%]	59	[31.7%]	254	[39.6%]	**0,000** ***
3 years - 6 years	64	[25.2%]	50	[24.7%]	61	[32.7%]	175	[27.3%]	
6 years - 9 years	17	[6.7%]	44	[21.7%]	32	[17.2%]	93	[14.5%]	
9 + years	8	[3.1%]	77	[38.1%]	34	[18.2%]	119	[18.5%]	
Total	253	[100%]	202	[100%]	186	[100%]	641	[100%]	
Number of Children									
Mean	1,40		1,52		2,18		1,66		**0,000***
Std. Deviation	1,99		1,62		2,63		2,12		

***, **, * significant at 1%; 5%; 10%.

The demographic variables which will be included in this thesis are: *nationality, sex, age, marital status, highest level of education*, and *time spent in South Africa*. These variables have quite a similar statistical dispersion between the nationalities, except for *education* and *time spent in South Africa*. The decision to include these demographic variables was partly based on their availability in the dataset but also on the fact that literature on the subject often includes them in analysis to account for their possible effect on the outcome.

Besides these independent variables, variables describing whether the migrant was *currently refugee or asylum seeker,* and whether he or she *knew an official South African Language,* were also included. These variables were found to be important for reasons which will be explained further on. The variable of *migrating with members of one's household* was also included, since it is closely linked to the issue of social networks, and since this might have an impact on the migration experience and the adaptation. This variable will also be elaborated on further on. However, the most important variable for this thesis is whether the migrants *had social networks upon arrival* or not. This will be the most important independent variable in answering the research questions and in analysing the importance of social networks for migrants.

The migration experience

Before we look at the possible effects which social networks might have on the migration experience, a more descriptive section is needed, explaining the migration processes of the population included in the dataset.

Migration choices and the journey

Looking at the reasons as to why migrants chose to leave their country of origin, and using the common distinction between voluntary and forced migration (See table 2), the primary reasons stated for leaving the country of origin were voluntary, without any threats or imminent dangers. What is interesting in this dataset is that the first and second responses which were given to the question: *Why did you ultimately decide to leave your country of origin (q 223-224),* in many cases were contradictory to one another, that is; respondents often stated both "voluntary" and "forced" reasons[25] for their migration decision. This is not surprising, since such simplified categorisations of migrants have often been questioned, or as argued by Haas (2011); these concepts ignore the fact that all migrants have agency. Haas (2011) argues that there is a weak foundation of theoretical models which study migration determinants uncritically. He argues that migration should be viewed rather as based on the *capabilities* and *aspirations* of migrants. Using these concepts would mean that migrants inherently have agency and are capable of making their own decisions, while the end result is determined by their capability to follow through with their aspirations.

Even though this categorisation of migrants as either forced or voluntary, often lacks substance in failing to describe the real situation of migrants, it still gives some indication of the primary reason for migrating. Being threatened and fearing persecution can be the main factor behind the decision to move, however, improving ones living conditions may still play an important part in the decision made to actually migrate. Re-encoding the data into the categories of voluntary and forced migrants and looking closer at the different nationalities, it is not surprising that more than 50% of both Somali and Congolese migrants stated a forced migration related reason as the sole reason for migrating, considering the political context in these countries[26]. However, 36% of the Congolese stated voluntary reasons as the only reasons for choosing to migrate, which is surprising. More than 95% of the Somalis felt that

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[25] This thesis will not engage in further debate concerning these two concepts and the different distinctions which are often made, but rather simplifies the discussion, by defining forced migrants as those who stated in the questionnaire that they had escaped from war, conflict, political oppression, or persecution/discrimination (most of which are included in the 1951 refugee convention), while voluntary migrants are defined as those who decided to leave on a different basis.

[26] This thesis will not elaborate further on the political conditions in these two countries, but will rather take its starting point in the fact that the Uppsala Conflict Database (Uppsala Conflict Data Program, 2012) states that these countries have had ongoing armed conflicts for more than 20 years.

the decision to migrate was based at least partially on what would be considered forced migration reasons. Only 5% mentioned only voluntary reasons behind the decision to migrate. In contrast to the Somali and Congolese populations, almost all of the Mozambicans migrated on a voluntary basis. What is further interesting to see, is that 7% stated that one of the reasons for leaving their country of origin was to be reunited with family and relatives. This indicates that family and friends might not be the primary reason for choosing to leave, but that it still plays an important role when deciding on which country to migrate to.

One major difference between forced and voluntary migrants appears to be the period of time which it took for the migrants to decide to move. Those motivated by forced migration reasons generally made the decision quicker than those motivated by voluntary migration reasons ($p=0.000$). What is further interesting to note, is that when re-encoding the time used to make the decision to leave into a period shorter or longer than three months, the Congolese in general required a shorter period of time than the Somalis, which could indicate that the Congolese have felt forced to come to a decision quicker, due to more pressing external threats. Mozambicans generally took longer to make a decision, which most likely reflects the voluntary nature of their decisions.

As seen in table 2, the majority of the migrants did not travel with other members of their household and interestingly, the one group which most often did were the Mozambicans. This might be due to the geographical proximity of Mozambique to South Africa or due to the voluntary nature of their departure. The respondents who felt forced to migrate, to a larger extent, brought their own families (spouse, children) with them, even though they more seldom brought their immediate family (mother, father, sister or brother). In considering which county to migrate to, 62% of the respondents did not consider any other place than South Africa, which is interesting in that it indicates that the country of destination was mostly decided upon before leaving. Amongst the forced migrants, it was generally not as clear that South Africa was the only choice; the majority did consider other places to migrate to. This might however relate to the fact that these countries are geographically further away from South Africa than Mozambique, and that South Africa was therefore not as obvious a choice. These findings are summarized in table 2 below:

Table 2: Percentage distribution of migration conditions by nationality

Variables	DRC (N = 253)		Mozambique (N = 202)		Somalia (N = 186)		Total (N = 641)		Chi-Square
	n	[%]	n	[%]	n	[%]	N	[%]	p-value
Reason for leaving									
Voluntary	90	[36.2%]	169	[84.0%]	8	[4.3%]	267	[42.0%]	**0.000** ***
Forced	125	[50.4%]	2	[0.9%]	101	[54.3%]	228	[35.9%]	
Voluntary and Forced	33	[13.3%]	30	[14.9%]	77	[41.3%]	140	[22.0%]	
Total	248	[100%]	201	[100%]	186	[100%]	635	[100%]	
Time Considering Leaving									
Under 3 Months	151	[62.9%]	73	[37.0%]	78	[47.5%]	302	[50.2%]	**0.000** ***
Longer than 3 Months	89	[37.0%]	124	[62.9%]	86	[52.4%]	299	[49.7%]	
Total	240	[100%]	197	[100%]	164	[100%]	601	[100%]	
Left With Other Household Member									**0.002** ***
Yes	65	[25.7%]	83	[41.2%]	58	[31.1%]	206	[32.2%]	
No	187	[74.2%]	118	[58.7%]	128	[68.8%]	433	[67.7%]	
Total	252	[100%]	201	[100%]	186	[100%]	639	[100%]	
Left with own family	44	[17.7%]	31	[15.3%]	39	[20.9%]	114	[17.9%]	**0.352**
Left with children	33	[13.3%]	19	[9.4%]	33	[17.7%]	85	[13.3%]	**0.055** **
Left with immediate family	19	[7.7%]	47	[23.2%]	23	[12.3%]	89	[14.0%]	**0.000** ***
Left with extended family	10	[4.0%]	16	[7.9%]	11	[5.9%]	37	[5.7%]	**0.207**
Considered Other City/Place?									
Yes	125	[50.4%]	36	[17.9%]	74	[40.2%]	235	[37.1%]	**0.000** ***
No	123	[49.5%]	165	[82.0%]	110	[59.7%]	398	[62.8%]	
Total	248	[100%]	201	[100%]	184	[100%]	633	[100%]	
Stayed Elsewhere en route									
Yes	81	[32.2%]	23	[11.4%]	92	[49.4%]	196	[30.7%]	**0.000** ***
No	170	[67.7%]	178	[88.5%]	94	[50.5%]	442	[69.2%]	
Total	251	[100%]	201	[100%]	186	[100%]	638	[100%]	
Source of money for trip									
From own Work	131	[51.7%]	122	[60.3%]	96	[51.6%]	349	[54.4%]	**0.122**
Family / friends in country of origin	102	[40.3%]	102	[50.4%]	60	[32.2%]	264	[41.1%]	**0.001** ***
Family / friends abroad	33	[13.2%]	52	[25.7%]	62	[33.3%]	147	[23.0%]	**0.000** ***
Means of transportation to SA									
Walking	5	[2.1%]	7	[3.5%]	31	[16.6%]	43	[6.8%]	**0.000** ***
Bus	126	[49.8%]	89	[44.0%]	148	[79.5%]	363	[56.6%]	**0.000** ***
Airplane	108	[42.6%]	9	[4.5%]	12	[6.5%]	129	[20.1%]	**0.000** ***
Own Car	2	[0.9%]	46	[22.7%]	9	[4.83%]	57	[9.4%]	**0.000** ***
Number of months en route									
Mean	1,41		0,57		9,82		3,59		
Std. Deviation	7,44		3,16		29,76		17,23		

***, **, * significant at 1%; 5%; 10%.

The journey to South Africa, not very surprisingly, differed between the nationalities. Almost all Mozambicans came directly to South Africa, spending half a month on average en route, which is likely a result of the proximity of Mozambique to South Africa. Migrants from DRC stayed en route for one and a half months on average, while the Somali stayed en route the longest; ten months on average. In this regard, the Somali population spent the longest time en route, even though most of the Somali migrants came straight to South Africa, or spent less than a month in another country. Why the Somalis stayed en route for such a long time, on average eight months longer than the Congolese, is something which was investigated further during the qualitative interviews.

Looking at how the migrants managed to pay for their journey to South Africa, most of the funds were gained from working, or through the support of friends and family within the country of origin. Funds were also gained from friends and family abroad, although not

necessarily from people living in South Africa. The means of transportation most often used was bus, followed by airplane, which was a much more common means of transport for the Congolese, than for any of the other nationalities. The fact that only 12 out of 186 Somali respondents arrived by airplane goes a long way when explaining why they generally spent a longer time en route than the Congolese migrants, who arrived by airplane more frequently.

Arriving in South Africa

The previous sections have described many of the characteristics of the departure of the migrants from their country of origin, as well as their journey to South Africa. However, after arriving in South Africa, the journey is far from over, as the challenge of adapting to a new setting, in a new country, and in a new city, begins. Some of the most pressing needs upon arrival, except for protection, are the need for accommodation and the need to obtain a livelihood.

The borders which the migrants crossed in order to get into South Africa were, not surprisingly, very different. The majority of the migrants from DRC (59%) used the Zimbabwean border, followed by O.R. Tambo airport (29%). The Mozambicans (88%) mostly used their own border between Mozambique and South Africa, as did the majority of the Somalis (62%), who also to some extent used the border to Swaziland (18%). Very few of the Mozambicans (2.5%) and Somalis (4.8%) entered the country through O.R Tambo airport. The patterns shown indicate that the journey to South Africa for the Congolese mostly went through Zimbabwe, while the Somalis crossed a larger amount of borders, travelling through Kenya, Tanzania, Mozambique, and sometimes Swaziland in order to get to their final destination.

As seen in table 3, the first contact for the majority of the respondents upon their arrival in South Africa, was with people from their country of origin, followed by friends or family. The least frequent response was that the respondents had chosen to turn to South African persons or organisations. As was observed in the collection of the data, the different nationalities were often drawn to specific neighbourhoods following their arrival in South Africa. Within the survey, the first neighbourhood or residential area for the Congolese was primarily Yeoville (34.3%) or Berea (22.3%). The Somalis mostly settled in Mayfair (68.3%), followed by Fordsburg (22.6%). The migrants from Mozambique were more scattered than the others, even though Rosettenville, Central Business District, Hillbrow and Soweto were some of the most common first residential areas encountered in the survey. Why migrants chose to go to

these particular neighbourhoods was not explained by the quantitative data. This was therefore something which was looked into further during the interviews.

Table 3: Arrival conditions in South Africa

	DRC		Mozambique		Somalia		Total		Chi-Square
	n	[%]	n	[%]	n	[%]	N	[%]	p-value
First contact in South Africa									
Family or Friends	104	[41.4%]	88	[43.5%]	60	[32.2%]	252	[39.4%]	**0.000** ***
Member from country of origin	92	[38.1%]	127	[62.8%]	78	[41.9%]	297	[47.2%]	**0.000** ***
South African person or organisation	61	[24.1%]	37	[18.3%]	50	[26.8%]	148	[23.1%]	**0.120**
Neighbourhood of first residence									
Berea	56	[22.3%]	15	[7.5%]	0	[0%]	71	[11.1%]	**0.000** ***
Fordsburg	0	[0%]	0	[0%]	42	[22.6%]	42	[6.6%]	
Hillbrow	11	[4.3%]	23	[11.4%]	1	[0.5%]	35	[5.5%]	
Mayfair	0	[0%]	0	[0%]	127	[68.2%]	127	[19.9%]	
Rosettenville	9	[3.6%]	31	[15.4%]	0	[0%]	40	[6.3%]	
Yoeville	86	[34.3%]	2	[1%]	0	[0%]	88	[13.8%]	
Stayed With During the first week in Johannesburg									
Friends or family	207	[82.5%]	162	[80.6%]	58	[31.2%]	427	[66.9%]	**0.000** ***
Did not know them from before	44	[17.5%]	39	[19.4%]	128	[68.8%]	211	[33.1%]	
Total	251	[100%]	201	[100%]	186	[100%]	638	[100%]	
English Spoken and Understood									
Yes	162	[64,0%]	123	[60,8%]	154	[82,7%]	439	[68,4%]	**0.000** ***
No	91	[35,9%]	79	[39,1%]	32	[17,2%]	202	[31,5%]	
Total	253	[100%]	202	[100%]	186	[100%]	641	[100%]	
Official SA Language Spoken and Understood									
Yes	164	[64.8%]	188	[93.0%]	154	[82.7%]	506	[78.9%]	**0.000** ***
No	89	[35.1%]	14	[6.9%]	32	[17.2%]	135	[21.0%]	
Total	253	[100%]	202	[100%]	186	[100%]	641	[100%]	
Income Generating Activity on Arrival									
Work or Student	154	[61.4%]	148	[77.3%]	136	[74.7%]	438	[69.9%]	**0.006** ***
Unemployed	97	[38.6%]	46	[23.7%]	50	[25.3%]	198	[30.1%]	
Total	251	[100%]	194	[100%]	182	[100%]	637	[100%]	
Currently Refugee or Asylum Seeker									
Yes	230	[90.9%]	2	[1.0%]	170	[91.3%]	402	[62.7%]	**0.000** ***
No	23	[9.1%]	200	[99.0%]	16	[8.6%]	239	[37.2%]	
Total	253	[100%]	202	[100%]	186	[100%]	641	[100%]	
Has Refugee Status									
Yes	71	[30.8%]	0	[0%]	121	[71.1%]	192	[47.7%]	**0.000** ***
No	159	[69.1%]	2	[100%]	49	[28.8%]	210	[52.2%]	
Total	230	[100%]	2	[100%]	170	[100%]	402	[100%]	

***, **, * significant at 1%; 5%; 10%.

With regards to accommodation, most of the migrants stayed with friends or family during their first week in Johannesburg. What is striking is that the Somali migrants often stayed with someone whom they did not know from before, or at a hotel/shelter/guest house. When it came to being proficient in English, the Somali community stood out, with 82.7% feeling confident in understanding and being able to speak it, which was on average 20% more than within the other nationalities (p = 0.00). When it came to knowing an official South African language however, the Mozambicans were most proficient. The nationality which seemed to struggle the most with the language were the Congolese, out of whom approximately 35% did not speak any of the South African languages. It should be pointed out that the amount of time which migrants have spent in a country obviously has an impact on the ability to speak the language, which could explain the difficulties which the Congolese migrants experience. Several Mozambican languages on the other hand, are closely related, or identical to South

African languages. The ability to speak a South African language also seems to relate to having an income-generating activity upon arrival; 73.3% of the respondents who knew a South African language had an income generating activity, as opposed to 56.8% of the respondents who did not know a South African language, a significant difference (p = 0.000). Upon arrival, approximately 77% of the Mozambicans and 74% of the Somalis, the nationalities with the best language skills, had employment or were enrolled as students. Within the Congolese population on the other hand, only 61.4% were employed or had an income-generating activity following their arrival. Knowing a South African language therefore appears to be significant (p = 0.00) when it comes to obtaining an income generating activity upon arrival, hence this variable will be included in the multivariate analysis in the adaptation section.

Looking at the extent to which the migrants had made claims for protection, it is striking that there was no significant relationship between the kinds of documents they had applied for and the reasons they gave for leaving their country of origin. When it came to the Congolese population, the amount of refugees and asylum seekers exceeded the amount of those stating forced migration as a reason for leaving by 45% (72 respondents). On the other hand, only 6% of the Mozambicans who had stated forced migration as a reason for leaving, had applied for or obtained refugee status, to be compared with 95% of the Somalis who had stated similar reasons. The Somali group, which contained the highest percentage of respondents stating forced reasons for migrating, also had the highest numbers of obtained refugee status, followed by DRC. None of the Mozambicans had obtained refugee status at the time of the survey. Since seeking asylum and claiming refugee status appeared to be acts used as a strategy by some of the migrants, and since the document status differed significantly between the different groups (p = 0.00), this variable will be included as an independent variable in the binary logistical regression models.

The impact of social networks on the migration experience

The first sections have described the decision-making process when it came to migrating, and has also described the journeys of the respondents included in the survey. This has provided the background story as to how and why the migrants came to Johannesburg. However, the influence which social networks might have during the decision making phase, and on the arrival phase, has not yet been raised. This section will analyse the replies of the respondents

and look more closely at how their experiences might differ depending on whether they knew someone in South Africa before coming here or not[27].

Within the dataset, 359 respondents, (56.2%), stated that they already had friends or family in South Africa. This indicates that a majority of the migrants had established networks upon arrival[28]. Looking at table 4, the nationality which to the largest extent had friends or family in South Africa were the Mozambicans (74%), followed by the Congolese (55%), and lastly the Somalis (39%). Women were significantly (p = 0.001) more likely than men to have friends and family in South Africa before coming here, with the exception of Somali women who often lacked networks. Considering age, it is interesting to observe that younger members of the population were more likely to have established networks in South Africa, than those who were older. Looking at all respondents aged 18 to 30, the majority had friends or family upon arrival. Interestingly enough, this changed for the respondents aged 31 or older, where most respondents did not have established networks upon arrival. In fact, it seems that the older the respondent was, the less likely it was that he or she should have established social networks in South Africa. This was confirmed by doing a chi-square test, which showed a significant relationship (p = 0.041) between age and having established social networks upon arrival. Even though time spent in South Africa was not significantly (p = 0.408) different between the groups, there was a tendency for migrants who had spent a shorter period of time in South Africa to be more likely to have had friends or family upon arrival. Looking at the nationalities individually in this regard also showed that in the case of the Congolese and the Mozambicans, having social networks upon arrival did not have a significant relationship with the time spent in South Africa. However, within the Somali group, the difference between those who had social networks and those lacking them was significant (p = 0.000) with regards to time spent in South Africa. This could be explained using the argument of Massey (1993), that migration should be viewed as a continuum[29], where previous migration flows provide social networks for more recent migrants. Most of the respondents who had social networks in South Africa, across all migrant groups, were also in contact with them and used their assistance before migrating. Approximately 80% had been in contact with their friends or family.

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[27] In confirming whether the respondents had established social networks with people in South Africa, question 226 from the survey was used: *When you were thinking about leaving your country of origin, did you already have relatives or close friends living in South Africa?* It can therefore not be ruled out that respondents answering that question with a "no" did have friends or relatives in South Africa upon their arrival even though they did not have it before departure. Nevertheless, this is not very likely.

[28] The term *Social networks* is used according to the definition given in the literature review and refers to those having *social bonds* (friends or family) upon arrival.

[29] This argument was presented in the literature review.

Amongst the respondents who did have a social network in South Africa upon arrival, the most common relations to those persons were, in the following order: close friends, first cousin, brother, uncle, and lastly, spouse. Even though some of the most common relations stated were relations to more distant relatives and friends, most of the respondents had been encouraged or helped by their contacts in travelling to South Africa. Having these connections meant having an advantage over those who lacked social networks, as those with connections, to some extent, received help throughout the migration journey. The high percentage (89%) of respondents being helped or encouraged could also indicate that these migrants had a more advanced idea of what their life would be like in South Africa.

The national group which is most interesting when it comes to using social networks are the Somalis, who had the least amount of friends or family in South Africa before departure of the respondents, but who were also in contact with their friends or family most often, before leaving their country of origin. However, they were also the group which had been the least encouraged as well as assisted in coming to South Africa.

Looking at the help provided, a question which was only posed to those who had social networks upon arrival, the most common type of assistance was to provide general information about South Africa. It was also fairly common to provide assistance with accommodation and with the travelling itself; either by buying a ticket, or by providing funding. Very few contacts helped out with employment, the exception of which would be the Mozambicans, out of which 24% received such assistance, followed by the Somalis with 7%. The Somali population appears to be the nationality which received general information about South Africa most often. At the same time, their contacts seemed to be the least willing or least able to help with accommodation This is an interesting finding, which will be explored further in the qualitative chapter. Table 4 provides a summary of the findings in this section.

Table 4: Relationships between having social networks upon arrival and selected variables

	DRC (N = 253)				Mozambique (N = 202)				Somalia (N = 186)				Total (N = 641)				Significance levels between those having social networks upon arrival and those lacking them
	Social Network Upon Arrival				Social Network Upon Arrival				Social Network Upon Arrival				Social Network Upon Arrival				
	No		Yes		No		Yes		No		Yes		No		Yes		
	n	[%]	n	[%]	n	[%]	n	[%]	n	[%]	n	[%]	N	[%]	N	[%]	P - value
Relatives/Friends in Johannesburg before Leaving	113	[45%]	139	[55%]	53	[26%]	148	[74%]	114	[61%]	72	[39%]	280	[44%]	359	[56%]	**0.000 *****
Respondent's sex																	**0.001 *****
Male	82	[51%]	80	[49%]	32	[32%]	69	[68%]	83	[58%]	59	[42%]	197	[49%]	208	[51%]	
Female	31	[34%]	59	[66%]	21	[21%]	79	[79%]	31	[70%]	13	[30%]	83	[35%]	151	[65%]	
Age																	**0.041 ****
18-25 Yrs	19	[17%]	32	[23%]	14	[26%]	32	[22%]	15	[13%]	21	[29%]	48	[17%]	85	[24%]	
26-30 Yrs	31	[28%]	46	[34%]	12	[23%]	46	[32%]	29	[25%]	18	[25%]	72	[26%]	110	[31%]	
31-35 Yrs	34	[31%]	40	[29%]	9	[17%]	23	[16%]	27	[24%]	18	[25%]	70	[25%]	81	[23%]	
36-40 Yrs	19	[17%]	13	[9%]	9	[17%]	25	[17%]	24	[21%]	10	[14%]	52	[19%]	48	[14%]	
41+ Yrs	7	[6%]	6	[4%]	9	[17%]	20	[14%]	19	[17%]	5	[7%]	35	[13%]	31	[9%]	
Time in South Africa																	**0.408 *****
0 year - <3 years	68	[60%]	95	[68%]	9	[17%]	22	[15%]	26	[23%]	33	[46%]	103	[37%]	150	[42%]	
>3 years, - < 6 years	32	[28%]	32	[23%]	12	[23%]	38	[26%]	31	[27%]	30	[42%]	75	[27%]	100	[28%]	
>6 years, - > 9 years	10	[9%]	7	[5%]	10	[19%]	34	[23%]	26	[23%]	6	[8%]	46	[16%]	47	[13%]	
9 + years	3	[3%]	5	[4%]	22	[42%]	54	[36%]	31	[27%]	3	[4%]	56	[20%]	62	[17%]	**Comparison Between migrant groups**
Contact with Relatives before Leaving																	
Yes			108	[78%]			118	[80%]			61	[85%]			287	[80%]	**0.455**
No			31	[22%]			30	[20%]			11	[15%]			72	[20%]	
Person in contact with in SA																	
Close Friends			44	[32%]			45	[30%]			29	[40%]			118	[33%]	**0.318**
First Cousin			24	[17%]			44	[30%]			19	[26%]			87	[24%]	**0.043 ****
Brother			30	[22%]			37	[25%]			14	[19%]			81	[23%]	**0.613**
Uncle			13	[9%]			37	[25%]			6	[8%]			56	[16%]	**0.000 *****
Spouse			22	[16%]			21	[14%]			4	[6%]			47	[13%]	**0.097***
Encouraged / Helped to Come																	
Yes			97	[90%]			110	[93%]			48	[79%]			255	[89%]	**0.013 ****
No			11	[10%]			8	[7%]			13	[21%]			32	[11%]	
Assistance provided																	
General Information			53	[38%]			55	[37%]			41	[57%]			149	[42%]	**0.012 ****
With Accommodation			52	[37%]			85	[57%]			15	[21%]			152	[42%]	**0.000 *****
With travel			39	[28%]			56	[38%]			22	[31%]			117	[33%]	**0.193**
With employment			2	[1%]			36	[24%]			5	[7%]			43	[12%]	**0.000 *****
																	Between social network groups
Journey and arrival																	
Reason for leaving																	**0.000 *****
Voluntary Migration	29	[26%]	61	[44%]	44	[83%]	125	[84%]	5	[4%]	3	[4%]	78	[28%]	189	[53%]	
Forced Migration	67	[61%]	58	[42%]	2	[4%]	0	[0%]	75	[66%]	26	[36%]	144	[52%]	84	[23%]	
Voluntary / Forced Migration	14	[13%]	19	[14%]	7	[13%]	23	[16%]	34	[30%]	43	[60%]	55	[20%]	85	[24%]	
Considered Other City/Place?																	
No	55	[50%]	68	[50%]	44	[83%]	121	[82%]	73	[65%	37	[51%]	172	[62%]	226	[63%]	**0.799**
Yes	56	[50%]	69	[50%]	9	[17%]	27	[18%]	39	[35%]	35	[49%]	104	[38%]	131	[37%]	
Source of money for trip																	
Money for trip through work	56	[50%]	75	[54%]	38	[72%]	84	[57%]	73	[64%]	23	[32%]	167	[60%]	182	[51%]	**0.024 ****
Family / friends in country of origin	41	[36%]	61	[44%]	29	[55%]	73	[49%]	32	[28%]	28	[39%]	102	[36%]	162	[45%]	**0.027 ****
Family / friends abroad	7	[6%]	26	[19%]	0	[0%]	52	[35%]	22	[19%]	40	[56%]	29	[10%]	118	[33%]	**0.000 *****
Time en route																	
Mean	2.12		0.84		1.43		0.27		10.08		9.43		5.23		2.33		**0.006 *****
Std. Deviation	10.440		3.431		5.116		2.016		30.237		29.193		20.861		13.711		
Stayed with first week																	
Friends from country of origin	59	[53%]	45	[32%]	23	[43%]	40	[27%]	17	[15%]	11	[15%]	99	[35%]	96	[27%]	**0.000 *****
Family / kin already in South Africa	9	[8%]	76	[55%]	6	[11%]	75	[51%]	5	[4%]	18	[25%]	20	[7%]	169	[47%]	
Not known but from country of origin	12	[11%]	5	[4%]	13	[25%]	9	[6%]	58	[51%]	17	[24%]	83	[30%]	31	[9%]	
Hotel/ shelter/ hostel/ guest house	7	[6%]	3	[2%]	7	[13%]	3	[2%]	27	[24%]	22	[31%]	41	[15%]	28	[8%]	
Income generating activity on arrival																	
Unemployed	32	[29%]	65	[47%]	6	[12%]	40	[28%]	24	[21%]	22	[31%]	62	[22%]	127	[36%]	**0.000 *****
Income generating activity	80	[71%]	74	[53%]	46	[88%]	102	[72%]	88	[79%]	48	[69%]	214	[78%]	224	[64%]	
Total	112	[100%]	139	[100%]	52	[100%]	142	[100%]	112	[100%]	70	[100%]	276	[100%]	351	[100%]	
Current employment status																	
Income Generating Activity	57	[53%]	67	[49%]	45	[85%]	102	[70%]	77	[68%]	45	[63%]	179	[65%]	214	[60%]	**0.180**
No income generating activity	51	[47%]	71	[51%]	8	[15%]	44	[30%]	36	[32%]	27	[38%]	95	[35%]	142	[40%]	
Total	108	[100%]	138	[100%]	53	[100%]	146	[100%]	113	[100%]	72	[100%]	274	[100%]	356	[100%]	

***, **, * significant at 1%; 5%; 10%.

Looking at the impact which social networks might have on the decisions made throughout the journey, and the impact which they might have on the initial arrival period, migrants with established networks were more likely to migrate due to voluntary reasons ($p = 0.000$). This is understandable, since forced migrants usually have more compelling reasons to leave their country of origin, and since having friends and family abroad might not be their primary motivation for migrating. On the other hand, social networks could be a decisive factor even for forced migrants, in making the decision to leave, and could certainly also affect the choice of destination. Looking at the destinations considered does however give a somewhat mixed result. In the Congolese and Mozambican group it did not seem to matter whether migrants had social connections in South Africa or not, in making the decision to migrate. On the other hand, the Somali respondents who had social networks in South Africa, generally considered alternative destinations to a larger extent ($p = 0.00$). This might correspond with the lower percentages of getting encouragement or help in comparison with the other nationalities, which was significantly different ($p = 0.013$[30]). However, this is an interesting finding and it is an aspect which needs to be investigated further in the qualitative chapter. The information conveyed by social networks of Somalis living in South Africa is not revealed in the data material, but further analysis of this information might give us an explanation as to why Somalis consider alternative destinations more often than the other nationalities. This was therefore an issue which was investigated further in the qualitative interviews.

Another area, in which established social networks in South Africa appeared to be influential, was the issue of funding for travelling. Even though the questions in the survey did not specify whether the respondents obtained money for their travels from friends or family in South Africa specifically, the respondents with established networks in South Africa were more likely to get support from people abroad. Such respondents furthermore stated more often that they had received help from contacts within the country of origin. This may indicate that respondents with social networks in South Africa also had more well-functioning networks within their country of origin before departure.

As previously described, the time en route varied significantly between the different groups. Looking at the impact which social networks had on the migration journey also indicates that this time differed between those having social networks and those lacking them. The migrants who had social networks in South Africa before departure spent on average 2.33 months en route, while those lacking social networks spent almost twice as long a period of time, with a

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[30] Only comparing those who had social networks upon arrival, between the different migrant groups.

mean of 5.23 months. This was in fact a significant (p=0.023) difference between the groups; having social networks meant spending a shorter period of time en route. The group where this was most obvious was the Mozambicans, followed by the Congolese and finally, the Somalis.

The first place where migrants stayed once they arrived in South Africa differed, mainly in that respondents who had family in South Africa upon arrival more often stayed with them. Migrants without social networks on the other hand mostly stayed with people not known from before or at a hotel/hostel/guesthouse. However, those who had stated that they had no social networks before deciding to migrate still, to a large extent, stayed with what they defined as friends from their country of origin upon arrival. This is striking as it portrays four possible scenarios: The first scenario being that they considered or referred to their new housemates as friends, although these were not known to the respondent before the time of departure, the second alternative being that the respondent moved in with people whom he or she got to know during the journey to South Africa, while the third possible scenario is that these persons were not living in South Africa before the respondent departed from their country of origin, but moved there before he or she arrived. The fourth alternative is that the friends whom the respondents stayed with were acquaintances or friends of friends since earlier, but were not considered personal friends before arrival. The nationality which appeared to struggle the most with finding accommodation upon arrival were the Somalis, where the majority lived with someone not known from before or at a hotel/shelter/guest house. Most strikingly is that 31% of those Somali respondents who had friends or family in South Africa before departure, still had to stay at a hotel/shelter/guest house at the initial stage, and that very few of them decided to stay with people from their country of origin. This finding was investigated further during the qualitative interviews.

Looking at the income-generating activities which migrants had upon arrival, interestingly enough, the respondents who did not have established networks upon arrival were more likely to have found such an activity. This would suggest that established social networks in the destination country do not assist significantly in gaining an income-generating activity upon arrival, a finding which contradicts most of the literature and brings out many unanswered questions, which will be explored further on in this thesis. Such a difference between migrants with social networks and those who had none does however not seem to be important in the long run, as the employment rates amongst the respondents at the time of the interview were evenly distributed.

The adaptation process

This section will look firstly at the structure of existing social networks in Johannesburg, comparing how members of different nationalities perceive such networks. This will provide an improved understanding of how social networks function and of how they may be defined as being open or constraining, as elaborated on in the literature review. Following this introduction to the structures of the networks, the indicators which will be used for the analysis of the data will be explained further. The final part will consist of a multivariate analysis of the indicators identified, in order to attain a better understanding of how social networks affect migrants during their adaptation period. As was explained previously, this thesis will define adaptation as the period during which migrants in Johannesburg rebuild their lives. Hence, no strict definition of the adaptation process can be made. Rather, this has been limited to the period when migrants receive notification on their asylum claims. Unfortunately, it was noted that none of the respondents had received South African citizenship at the time of the study. Based on these preconditions, all respondents included in the data are still in the process of adapting to a new context.

The structure of existing social networks

The nature of social networks might differ significantly between contexts, as elaborated on in the literature review. Social networks can be considered an enabling factor in gaining advantages, but may similarly constitute a constraining factor, for example when individuals are presented with the dilemma of having to choose between community solidarity and individual freedom (Portes & Sensenbrenner, 1993). This section will look more closely at the structure of the social networks of the different nationalities, in order to better define their extent and nature.

Looking at table 5, the respondents who seem to have felt most restricted by their tribal or clan identity as well as their national identity is the Somali population, followed by the Congolese. The Mozambicans did not feel particularly restricted by their country of birth or clan/tribal identity. Looking at the sentiments of being proud of their origin amongst the different nationalities, both Congolese and Mozambicans were very proud of their identity (more than 90% of the respondents). The Somalis on the other hand portrayed a significantly less extensive appreciation of their heritage; as many as 30% of the respondents did not feel proud of their ethnic group or tribe, and 50% were not proud of their identity as a citizen of Somalia. The reverse relationship could be found when it came to feelings of belonging in the

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South African society; where the Somali respondents felt that they were a part of South African society more than the other nationalities.

Table 5: The nature of the social networks

	DRC		Mozambique		Somalia		Total			Chi-Square
	n	[%]	n	[%]	n	[%]	n	[%]	N	p-value
Feelings of restriction										
Restricted by Tribal or Clan Identity	88	[38,4%]	32	[17,0%]	85	[47,2%]	205	[34,3%]	597	0,000 ***
Restricted by National Identity	145	[63,6%]	33	[17,8%]	126	[69,6%]	304	[51,2%]	594	0,000 ***
Feelings of identity										
Proud to identify with ethnic group tribe	235	[93,6%]	184	[91,5%]	128	[69,2%]	547	[85,9%]	597	0,000 ***
Proud to identify as citizen of country of origin	228	[92,3%]	194	[97,5%]	92	[50,5%]	514	[81,8%]	628	0,000 ***
Feels part of South African society	97	[40,4%]	89	[45,6%]	100	[54,9%]	286	[46,4%]	617	0,012 **
Importance placed on										
Marrying own tribe or clan	102	[40,6%]	82	[40,8%]	88	[47,6%]	272	[42,7%]	637	0,283
Marrying from country of origin	128	[51,0%]	109	[54,2%]	124	[67,0%]	361	[56,7%]	637	0,003 ***
Marrying from own religion	151	[60,2%]	85	[42,3%]	174	[94,1%]	410	[64,4%]	637	0,000 ***
Better to maintain ethnic customs in South Africa	170	[67,7%]	158	[78,6%]	169	[91,4%]	497	[78,0%]	637	0,000 ***
Can generally trust										
People from own ethnic group	149	[59,4%]	46	[22,9%]	84	[45,4%]	279	[43,8%]	637	0,000 ***
People from country of origin in South Africa	131	[52,2%]	22	[10,9%]	95	[51,4%]	248	[38,9%]	637	0,000 ***
South Africans	97	[38,6%]	8	[4,0%]	21	[11,4%]	126	[19,8%]	637	0,000 ***
Foreigners living in South Africa	92	[36,7%]	5	[2,5%]	74	[40,0%]	171	[26,8%]	637	0,000 ***
South African police	115	[45,8%]	35	[17,4%]	28	[15,1%]	178	[27,9%]	637	0,000 ***

***, **, * significant at 1%; 5%; 10%.

Even though the Somalis were the group of respondents who most often felt restricted by their national or tribal identity (p=0.000), they were also the group which to the largest extent emphasised the importance of marrying someone with a similar background (marrying someone from the same county, p=0.003, and marrying someone from the same religion, p=0.000). They were also the group which felt the strongest about maintaining ethnic customs in South Africa, something which can be interpreted as contradictory to the sentiment of taking part in South African society. When applying the concept of constraining networks to this data, the Somali group was found to be the one nationality which demonstrated the strongest sentiments of being constrained, both by stating it themselves (p=0.000), but also when applying the concepts described in the literature review.

The group which generally trusted others the most were the Congolese. Surprisingly, the Mozambicans were by far the nationality whose members trusted other people the least. The reasons as to why the Mozambicans suffer from a lack of trust in their own ethnic group as well as others are difficult to establish. Whether their experiences in South Africa have made them less likely to trust others, or whether it is a cultural trait which they brought with them, is difficult to assess. Although an interesting subject for further discussions, this issue will unfortunately not be elaborated upon further in this thesis.

Adaptation – Definitions and indicators

This section will look at the fourth part of the migration process; the adaptation period, which has been elaborated on in the literature review. But before we can look at the impact and long-term effects of social networks on the adaptation process, a short discussion is called for, on the terms used and on the definitions of the indicators included.

The independent variables included in the adaptation analysis, as was explained in the methodology section, were chosen based on the framework introduced in the literature review. The five areas which matched these criteria were: *employment, housing, social bonds, social bridges,* and *social links*. These different variables, which are presented in table 6, correspond with the different key areas which Ager and Strang (2008) have identified and which the literature review elaborated on. The table further illustrates the difference between migrants who had social networks upon arrival and those who did not. This is defined as knowing a friend or having a family member in South Africa before departure. The answers from the respondents were transformed into dichotomous variables, which were compared using a chi-square test. I also considered whether there was any significant difference between respondents who had social networks upon arrival and those who did not. Table 6 lists all the dependent variables which were of interest for this study. These variables were categorised according to the different areas presented in the integration framework by Ager and Strang (2008). Even though a more comprehensive analysis of these indicators would have been interesting, this thesis will rather focus on the previously stated key issues, where researchers have emphasised the importance of networks. These key issues, which networks are thought to have an effect on, are well summarised by Massey (1987, p. 170) who states that: "personal contacts with friends and family gave migrants access to jobs, housing and financial assistance", a statement which further corresponds with the categories of *employment, housing* and *social bonds.* Kelaher (2001) similarly stressed that social support influences the feelings which migrants have of belonging or being in isolation in the host country, which in its turn corresponds with the categories of *social bridges* and *social links.*

Table 6: Relevant dependent variables from the ACP survey categorised by theoretical framework

Dependent Variables	No Network Upon Arrival	Social Network Upon Arrival	Difference	P-Value	N
Employment					
Income generating activity upon arrival in Johannesburg	77.5 %	63.8 %	13.7 % ***	0.000	627
Currently Employed	65.3 %	60.1 %	05.2 %	0.180	630
Household's Primary Wage Earner	72.5 %	53.1 %	19.3 % ***	0.000	595
Weekly Personal Income over R500	34.1 %	38.4 %	- 04.3 %	0.309	516
Weekly Household Income over R500	51.1 %	67.0 %	- 15.9 % ***	0.001	405
Housing					
Living in a free standing house	45.3 %	49.8 %	- 04.5 %	0.258	639
People in Residence with more than six (6)	51.8 %	45.2 %	06.6 %	0.100	639
Local Household size of more than four (4)	41.8 %	44.0 %	- 02.2 %	0.573	639
Has Moved more than three (3) times	39.1 %	29.2 %	09.9 % **	0.011	600
Knew the people in residence before moving in	77.8 %	83.5 %	- 05.7 % ***	0.000	639
Someplace to turn having trouble finding accommodation	73.3 %	56.9 %	16.3 % ***	0.000	636
Social Bonds					
Have friends who are South African	53.2 %	62.4 %	- 09.2 % **	0.019	635
Someplace to turn to borrow R500	53.2 %	37.9 %	15.2 % ***	0.000	636
Someplace to turn to borrow R5000	37.0 %	34.9 %	02.1 %	0.578	636
Provided loans to others in South Africa	12.3 %	34.4 %	- 22.1 % ***	0.000	633
Provided loans to others outside of South Africa	01.8 %	12.3 %	- 10.5 % ***	0.000	634
Social Bridges					
Been in contact with kin/family in country of origin	90.8 %	97.4 %	- 06.6 % ***	0.000	626
Returned to the country of origin	21.8 %	45.9 %	- 24.0 % ***	0.000	638
Sends money outside Johannesburg	40.5 %	49.4 %	- 08.9 % **	0.025	637
Amount of money sent annually more than R800	75.0 %	65.9 %	09.0 %	0.130	247
Receives money from outside Johannesburg	20.0 %	29.1 %	- 09.0 % ***	0.009	636
Amount of money received annually more than R800	78.6 %	68.1 %	10.5 %	0.228	114
Social Links					
The SA Government try to help out with basic needs	58.5 %	69.3 %	- 10.8 % ***	0.007	571
Been to DHA or other Immigration offices	85.6 %	70.7 %	14.9 % ***	0.000	638
Following SA political affairs	60.3 %	66.3 %	- 06.0 %	0.119	633
Supported political party or organisation in South Africa	02.1 %	02.7 %	- 00.6 %	0.775	635
Following country of origin political affairs	68.8 %	73.0 %	- 04.2 %	0.244	635
Supported political parties or organisation in com of origin	05.0 %	11.2 %	- 06.1 % ***	0.006	634
Been to NGO or church working with non-nationals	26.5 %	20.0 %	06.4 % *	0.054	638

***, **, * significant at 1%; 5%; 10%.

The scale of the dataset unfortunately limits the ability to display and analyse all of the indicators which fitted within these categories. Rather, the indicators presented in table 6, which matched the conceptual framework, where subjected to an initial analysis in order to determine which indicators proved to be significant. After reviewing and analysing the different indicators used in the survey, one indicator from each of the five groups was selected to be more thoroughly displayed and analysed. Some of the indicators which were not selected have still been included in the text, but the results of these indicators have not been displayed in tables nor described to the same extent. The following indicators were disregarded as well as chosen for further investigation from within each category:

Employment: Of the five indicators relevant in the area of employment, the indicators of *weekly personal income* and *current employment* were insignificant with regards to social networks, even though the latter will be explained further on. Having a high *weekly household income* was not relevant with regards to evaluating the success of the individual migrant in adapting, as this income might not be based on the performance of that particular individual. Similarly, *being the primary wage earner*, is also not a good indicator of success. Therefore,

the indicator which represented the framework proposed in the literature review best, and which should be a good indicator of the importance of social networks is having an *income generating activity* upon arrival in Johannesburg.

Housing: Out of the six available variables, *living in a free standing house, number of people in residence, local household size* and *number of times moved* were all insignificant when it came to having or lacking a social network upon arrival. The variable of *knowing the people in the residence* has already been elaborated on in the other sections of this thesis and was therefore excluded. The variables which proved relevant when it came to housing, were therefore; *the ability to turn to others when in trouble with accommodation,* and *number of times moved.* Since the first out of these two is more related to the issue of social networks, it was chosen for further analysis. However, the number of times which the migrants have moved will also be explained further on.

Social bonds: With regards to social bonds, most of the variables were significant. However, *providing loans to others* was regarded as an unsuitable indicator of success, compared to the other significant variables. Similarly, *having South African friends* is a variable which is not as easily influenced by the migrants themselves, since this is a mutual process, which very much depends on the host community. This left the variables of having someone to turn to when *needing to borrow Rand 500* and to *borrow Rand 5000.* Only the first of these two variables was significant, hence this indicator will be elaborated on the most, even though some explanations will also be presented on the second variable.

Social bridges: Social bridges are often defined as the connections between different social groups, that is, the connections between different groups of social bonds[31]. The amount of *money sent annually* proved to be insignificant, as was the amount of *money received annually*. The rest of the variables were significant. The amount of respondents who had *received money from abroad* was unfortunately not large enough to be able to use this as a variable. Having *returned to the country of origin* was unfortunately not possible for all of the respondents, since many had fled persecution, or war. This made the variable unsuitable for this analysis. The variable of being in contact with *family or kin in country of origin* occurred frequently with all of the respondents; more than 90% for both groups. However, this aspect was regarded as less strong than that of the variable chosen; *sends money outside of Johannesburg,* when analysing the attachment of the migrants to their country of origin. This

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[31] Bridges the gap which exists between groups held together by social bonds and connects them to one another.

variable was regarded as more suitable, since it shows a commitment from the migrants to support people in their country of origin. Remittances constitute important revenue for the population of the country of origin, as well as an income which might enable friends or family back home to improve their living conditions, or to migrate themselves[32].

Social Links: Most of the variables included to describe the social links of migrants to the South African government, or their institutions, proved to be insignificant, including: *following South African political affairs, supporting a SA political party or organisation.* Similarly, *following the country of origins political affairs* was also insignificant with regards to social networks. The variable of having *been to an NGO or church* was considered to be too far-fetched when it came to the concept of links. The variable of *supporting a political party or organisation in country of origin* was not seen as representative of the current links of the migrant, which should be related to their host country. Both of the last indicators, *belief that SA government helps out with basic needs* and *having been to DHA or other immigration office*, were significant and appeared to be relevant in relation to the conceptual framework. Both of these variables will be analysed further, even though the *feeling towards the government willingness to help out* was found to be the most suitable variable, since the second one might be influenced more by the need to visit these institutions.

The impact of social networks on the adaptation process

In order to better understand the material which will be used in the binary logistical regression analysis, a simple table was created, to display how the percentages of each of the independent variables were distributed across the selected dependent variables. As such, Table 7 presents the statistical relationship between the five selected dependent variables: 1. *Income generating activity upon arrival*; 2. *Someone to turn to when having trouble with accommodation*; 3. *Someone to turn to in order to borrow 500*; 4. *Sends money outside of Johannesburg*; 5. *Belief that the South African government helps people living in the country to meet their basic needs,* and the independent variables.

As was mentioned in the methodology chapter, it is less important whether the binary logistical regression models in their entirety capture the subject studied. Rather, their purpose is to facilitate an analysis of how each variable relates to the five selected dependent variables. Nevertheless, the statistical tests which are normally used to evaluate binary logistical models have been used. The results are presented following the relevant tables.

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[32] This might be especially true in the context of South Africa. For example, Ibeanu (1990, p. 56) has argued that there is an *"extensive dependence of southern African countries on South Africa's communication links and remittances especially from migrant workers..."*

Table 7: Percentage distribution of respondents by background information across the dependent variables

Variables	Income generating activity upon arrival		Someone to turn to when having trouble with accommodation		Someone to turn to in order to borrow Rand 500		Sends money outside of Johannesburg		Belief that the South African government helps people to meet their basic needs	
	(N = 627)		(N = 636)		(N = 636)		(N = 637)		(N = 571)	
	%	[n]	%	[n]	%	[n]	%	[n]	%	[n]
Total	69.9	[438]	64.2	[408]	44.7	[284]	45.5	[290]	64.6	[369]
Nationality										
DRC	61.4	[154]	58.6	[147]	35.9	[90]	33.1	[83]	42.9	[100]
Mozambique	76.3	[148]	64.5	[129]	46.5	[93]	51.5	[103]	94.7	[179]
Somalia	74.7	[136]	71.4	[132]	54.6	[101]	55.9	[104]	60.4	[90]
Respondent's sex										
Female	54.5	[123]	61.1	[143]	32.5	[76]	34.2	[80]	62.4	[128]
Male	78.6	[315]	65.9	[265]	51.7	[208]	52.1	[210]	65.8	[241]
Age										
18-25 Yrs	61.5	[80]	57.9	[77]	38.3	[51]	36.8	[49]	67.3	[74]
26-30 Yrs	70.7	[128]	66.3	[120]	48.6	[88]	38.7	[70]	66.3	[110]
31-35 Yrs	72.3	[107]	67.3	[101]	44.7	[67]	48.7	[73]	52.2	[71]
36-40 Yrs	77.1	[74]	65.7	[65]	49.5	[49]	62.0	[62]	68.6	[64]
41+ Yrs	70.8	[46]	65.2	[43]	40.9	[27]	51.5	[34]	79.7	[47]
Marital Status										
Living alone	67.5	[214]	69.6	[224]	49.7	[160]	39.1	[126]	63.2	[184]
Married but living apart	81.3	[39]	69.4	[34]	51.0	[25]	57.1	[28]	61.5	[24]
Living together	70.6	[185]	56.6	[150]	37.4	[99]	51.1	[136]	66.8	[161]
Highest Level of Education										
No formal schooling	43.3	[24]	65.2	[30]	50.0	[23]	47.8	[22]	64.5	[20]
Primary Education	77.3	[99]	67.4	[89]	44.7	[59]	45.9	[61]	81.4	[96]
Secondary Education	67.7	[201]	64.0	[192]	45.0	[135]	47.0	[141]	62.3	[170]
Finished Tertiary Education	71.9	[97]	63.7	[86]	41.5	[56]	42.2	[57]	56.3	[71]
Postgraduate degree	72.2	[13]	47.4	[9]	47.4	[9]	31.6	[6]	42.1	[8]
Migrated with other household										
No	68.9	[295]	68.4	[294]	49.3	[212]	44.8	[193]	62.2	[244]
Yes	71.9	[143]	55.3	[114]	35.0	[72]	47.1	[97]	69.1	[125]
Social Network Upon Arrival										
No	77.5	[214]	73.4	[204]	53.2	[148]	41.9	[117]	60.5	[150]
Yes	63.8	[224]	57.0	[204]	38.0	[136]	48.3	[173]	67.8	[219]
Time in South Africa										
0 year - 3 years	60.0	[150]	67.5	[145]	39.3	[99]	33.7	[85]	49.5	[104]
3 years - 6 years	76.6	[131]	66.3	[116]	46.9	[82]	50.9	[89]	68.9	[111]
6 years - 9 years	73.3	[66]	72.8	[67]	47.8	[44]	53.3	[49]	69.3	[61]
9 + years	78.4	[91]	68.4	[80]	50.4	[59]	56.8	[67]	83.0	[93]
Currently Refugee or Asylum Seeker										
No	71.1	[165]	67.5	[160]	46.8	[111]	43.0	[102]	59.7	[129]
Yes	69.1	[273]	62.2	[248]	43.4	[173]	47.0	[188]	67.6	[240]
Official SA Language Spoken and Understood										
No	56.8	[75]	63.0	[85]	33.3	[45]	28.1	[38]	42.1	[48]
Yes	73.3	[363]	64.5	[323]	47.7	[239]	50.2	[252]	70.2	[321]

Employment- Income generating activity upon arrival

Ager and Strang (2008) state that employment has been recognised as an important factor of integration and that it influences other areas such as economic independence, being able to plan for the future, integrating and meeting members of the host community, developing language skills, and the restoration of self-esteem.

The logistical regression which is presented in table 8 looks at the relation between the selected independent variables and having income generating activity upon arrival. The initial logistical regression model included students in the category of respondents having an income

generating activity, but excluded housewives/homemakers[33], since it was difficult to assess whether this activity was based on an independent choice, or whether it was a consequence of circumstances. The independent variables which were significant (p<.05) when it came to having employment upon arrival were: *nationality* (Mozambique), the respondent's *sex* (male), *highest level of education* (primary education), *social network upon arrival* (no social network), and *time spent in South Africa* (3 to 6 years). According to the logistical regression, the national group which was the most successful with regards to obtaining an income generating activity upon arrival were the Mozambicans (odds ratio: 2.257; p = 0.01), who proved twice more likely to obtain such an activity than migrants from DRC. Male respondents were almost 4 times as likely (odds ratio: 3.841; p = 0.00) to have an income generating activity upon arrival than women. Those with a primary education as the highest level of education obtained, were also most likely to have an income; almost 3 times more likely than those without formal education (odds ratio: 2.714; p = 0.02). They were also more likely to have an income generating activity than those respondents with a higher education. This observation may be explained by looking at the types of work available to migrants, an aspect which will be explored further in the qualitative chapter.

Interestingly enough, having social networks upon arrival in fact decreased the likelihood of obtaining an income generating activity by 54.6% (odds ratio: 0.454; p = 0.00), something which speaks against much of the literature on the subject. Years spent in South Africa also had an impact, where respondents who had spent 3 to 6 years in South Africa were almost 2 times (odds ratio: 1.807 p = 0.02) more likely to have succeeded in obtaining an income generating activity upon their arrival, than the migrants who had spent 0 to 3 years in South Africa. This might indicate that the labour market was more susceptible to absorb new members to the labour force 3 to 6 years ago, than it was during the time of the survey.

To be sure that this observed effect was not influenced by the re-encoding of the variable, additional tests were performed excluding all students along with housewives. The levels of significance for having social networks upon arrival still remained below 0.05; the odds ratio with both groups excluded (students and housewives) was 0,509 (β = -0,675). With students excluded and housewives included the ratio was 0,499 (β = -0,694). This indicates that migrants with social networks upon arrival were not more successful in obtaining an income generating activity upon arrival than those who lacked them. Rather, they seem to have been less successful.

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[33] These were the terms used in questions in the survey

Table 8: Binary logistic regression model of associations between independent variables and having an income generating activity upon arrival in South Africa

	β	S.E. β	Wald's X^2	df	p. (Sig.)	Exp(B) (odds ratio)
Constant	-1,060	,483	4,812	1	,028	,346
Nationality						
DRC			6,688	2	,035	
Mozambique	,814	,317	6,607	1	,010	2,257
Somalia	,286	,299	,912	1	,340	1,331
Respondent's sex						
0 = Female, 1 = Male	1,346	,222	36,701	1	,000	3,841
Age						
18-25 Yrs			4,118	4	,390	
26-30 Yrs	,123	,274	,201	1	,654	1,131
31-35 Yrs	,277	,300	,855	1	,355	1,320
36-40 Yrs	-,011	,369	,001	1	,977	,990
41+ Yrs	-,507	,417	1,478	1	,224	,602
Marital Status						
Living alone			2,144	2	,342	
Married but living apart	,504	,445	1,281	1	,258	1,655
Living together	,265	,223	1,423	1	,233	1,304
Highest Level of Education						
No formal schooling			7,144	4	,128	
Primary Education	,998	,431	5,370	1	,020	2,714
Secondary Education	,503	,404	1,553	1	,213	1,654
Finished Tertiary Education	,816	,456	3,208	1	,073	2,262
Postgraduate degree	,693	,724	,915	1	,339	1,999
Migrated with other household members						
0 = No, 1= Yes	,262	,225	1,351	1	,245	1,299
Social network upon arrival						
0 = No, 1= Yes	-,789	,211	13,975	1	,000	,454
Time in South Africa						
0 year - 3 years			5,415	3	,144	
3 years - 6 years	,592	,255	5,378	1	,020	1,807
6 years - 9 years	,297	,337	,776	1	,378	1,345
9 + years	,367	,360	1,040	1	,308	1,444
Currently refugee or asylum seeker						
0 = No, 1= Yes	-,172	,208	,686	1	,408	,842
Official SA language spoken and understood						
0 = No, 1= Yes	,277	,248	1,248	1	,264	1,319

Test			Chi²	df	Sig.	
Overall model evaluation						
Likelihood ratio test			99,244	20,000	,000	
Goodness-of-fit test						
Hosmer and Lemeshow Test			22,249	8,000	,004	

Comments: The data was obtained from the African Cities Project survey from 2006. The dependent variable was obtained through question 401: What did you do to make money when you first came to Johannesburg? The responses was then recoded into no income generating activate including students (1) and no income generating activity (0). The problem with defining housewives/homemakers and their ambition to find work resulted in them being left out completely. Cox & Snell´s R² = 0,149. Nagelkerke´s R² = 0,211. n = 616

When conducting a similar logistical regression model, where the same independent variables were used, but where the relation to *current employment status* was explored, many of the variables were rendered insignificant. The only variables significant were *sex* (p =0.00), where men were more than 2 times more likely to be employed than women, and *nationality*, where Mozambicans (odds ratio 2,304; p = 0.00) continued to be the most likely to have an income.

Having social networks became insignificant (p = 0.962) in predicting current employment status and the difference between those who did have social networks and those who did not was close to zero. Having social networks upon arrival therefore appears to have an impact

during the initial arrival and adaptation phase, but not in the long run. The origin of most employers of migrants upon arrival was South African (22%) followed by a migrant employer of the same tribe (21.1%). Besides these two categories, many respondents were employed by someone from their country of origin (9.8%) or by migrants from other countries (8.4%). Combining the category of being a *migrant*, with those of *being from the same tribe* or *being from the same country*, which all suggest having a similar background, 41.7% were employed by someone from a similar background. The rest of the migrants did not know or were self-employed.

Housing - Someone to turn to for accommodation

As previously described, more than 74% of the migrants who had social networks, and as many as 42% of those who lacked such networks, stayed with friends or family during their first weeks in Johannesburg. 45% of the respondents who did not have social networks upon arrival stayed with someone not known from before[34], compared to 17% of those with social networks. Hence, staying with people known from before during the first weeks in Johannesburg did not show a significant relationship (p = 0.068) to having social networks upon arrival. This is surprising, since it should be considerably easier to find accommodation amongst people whom you knew from before, if you actually had friends or family upon arrival. This begs the question of how having a social network upon arrival influences the current living conditions, and the ability to turn to someone when in need of new accommodation.

When looking at the current living situation, there was no significant difference between the two groups with regards to living in an independent accommodation (free standing house, semi-detached house or single family apartment), or in a communal setting (multi-family apartment, hostel, dormitory or informal housing). Respondents lacking a social network upon arrival did however seem to be sharing their residence (i.e. the building) with a significantly larger number of co-residents (mean: 6.47 - 5.66; p = 0.011), while the difference when it came to the actual household size was insignificant (p = 0.605).

Looking at table 9, which presents the relationship between the independent variables and the ability to *turn to someone when having problems with accommodation* shows that the significant variables (p<.05) were: *age* (31 to 35 years), *marital status* (living alone, living together), *migrated with other household members*, *social networks upon arrival* and *time in*

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[34] These unknown hosts were mostly people from the migrant's country of origin, or a hotel/hostel/guesthouse.

South Africa (0 to 3 years and 6 to 9 years). Even though it does not reach the set significant levels, it should be noted that the nationality which appeared to be somewhat more likely to have someone to turn to, in comparison with other nationalities, were the Somalis. *Sex* was similarly not significant, although it seems that women were more likely in this case to have someone to turn to when they experienced problems with accommodation. This is to be compared to the previous variables, were men seemed to have significant advantages.

Table 9: Binary logistic regression model of associations between independent variables and having someone to turn to when having trouble with accommodation

	β	S.E. β	Wald's X^2	df	p. (Sig.)	Exp(B) (odds ratio)
Constant	,735	,460	2,551	1	,110	2,086
Nationality						
DRC			1,011	2	,603	
Mozambique	,048	,286	,029	1	,866	1,050
Somalia	,259	,275	,886	1	,346	1,296
Respondent's sex						
0 = Female, 1 = Male	-,056	,203	,076	1	,783	,946
Age						
18-25 Yrs			5,556	4	,235	
26-30 Yrs	,442	,259	2,914	1	,088	1,555
31-35 Yrs	,622	,284	4,800	1	,028	1,863
36-40 Yrs	,601	,335	3,211	1	,073	1,823
41+ Yrs	,535	,387	1,915	1	,166	1,708
Marital Status						
Living alone			16,254	2	,000	
Married but living apart	-,431	,387	1,240	1	,265	,650
Living together	-,849	,211	16,202	1	,000	,428
Highest Level of Education						
No formal schooling			2,863	4	,581	
Primary Education	,411	,413	,987	1	,321	1,508
Secondary Education	,259	,393	,434	1	,510	1,295
Finished Tertiary Education	,303	,434	,487	1	,485	1,354
Postgraduate degree	-,400	,647	,382	1	,536	,670
Migrated with other household members						
0 = No, 1= Yes	-,541	,199	7,372	1	,007	,582
Social network upon arrival						
0 = No, 1= Yes	-,647	,191	11,461	1	,001	,524
Time in South Africa						
0 year - 3 years			8,976	3	,030	
3 years - 6 years	,438	,233	3,541	1	,060	1,550
6 years - 9 years	,938	,325	8,326	1	,004	2,554
9 + years	,506	,331	2,340	1	,126	1,659
Currently refugee or asylum seeker						
0 = No, 1= Yes	-,178	,188	,891	1	,345	,837
Official SA language spoken and understood						
0 = No, 1= Yes	-,152	,237	,411	1	,522	,859
Test			Chi ²	df	Sig.	
Overall model evaluation						
Likelihood ratio test			63,207	20	,000	
Goodness-of-fit test						
Hosmer and Lemeshow Test			3,788	8	,876	

Comments: The data was obtained from the African Cities Project survey from 2006. The dependent variable was obtained through question 610: Where would you go if you have trouble finding accommodation. The responses were then recoded into I have someone to turn to (1) and I have no one to turn to (0). Cox & Snell´s R^2 = 0,096. Nagelkerke´s R^2 = 0,132. n = 625

The migrants who were most likely to have someone to turn to were those between the ages of 31-35; who were almost twice as likely (odds ratio 1,863; p = 0.028) to have someone to turn to as the 18 to 25 year-olds. The respondents living alone also appeared to be more likely to have someone to turn to, while living together decreased the odds of having someone to turn

to by 57.2%,(odds ratio 0,428; p = 0.00) in comparison with being single. Both migrating with friends or family to South Africa and having social networks established upon arrival showed a negative relation to, and seemed to decrease the odds of, having someone to turn to. Migrating with someone to South Africa decreased the likelihood of having someone to turn to by 41.8% (odds ratio 0.582; p = 0.007), while having social networks decreased the likelihood by 47.8% (odds ratio 0.524; p = 0.001). The time spent in the country also had an impact on whether the respondents had someone to turn to; the group which had stayed in South Africa for between 6 to 9 years were most confident that they would have someone to turn when facing problems with accommodation.

The significant variables in the logistic regression model present a picture where migrants who were connected to more people were less likely to have someone to turn to when having trouble finding accommodation. Those migrating with others and those who had friends or family upon arrival appeared to be struggling more with knowing where to turn, while those who were living alone had a better support system when it came to accommodation. This does however make sense, considering that the size of the household might affect the possibilities to find someone who is willing and able to accommodate the whole household. The average number of times migrants have moved since arriving in Johannesburg is also higher for the group which lacked social network upon arrival (although not statistically significant). Even though it is not significant, those migrants who lacked social networks had moved on average almost once (+1) more than those migrants who had social networks. This might be one reason as to why they have more people to turn to when faced with problems with accommodation, as they might have a larger network. It could however also indicate that their accommodation situation was less stable and that their living conditions in South Africa were more insecure than those of migrants who had social networks upon arrival. The finding that *living together*, *migrating with others* and *having social networks upon arrival* all decrease the likelihood of having someone to turn to when faced with accommodation problems, is something which will be explored further in the qualitative chapter.

Social bonds - Someone to turn to for R 500

The ability to turn to someone when needing to borrow 500 Rand is displayed in table 10, comparing the same independent variables as before. The significant variables were very similar to those which were relevant for having someone to turn to when having problems with accommodation. The significant variables were as follows: *sex*, *marital status (living alone and living together)*, *migrating with other household members* and *having a social*

network upon arrival. Once again, the group which was most likely to have someone to turn to was the Somali population (p = 0.052), closely followed by the Mozambicans (p = 0.077); this time the significant levels (p<.05) were almost reached by both groups. In contrast to problems with accommodation, men were more likely to have someone to turn to when it came to borrowing 500 rand. Respondents living alone were once again more likely to have people to turn to, as well as those who migrated alone and those who lacked social networks upon arrival. The likelihood of having someone to turn to when arriving with other household members was 38.2% less (odds ratio 0.681; p = 0.015) and having social networks before migrating reduced the likelihood of having someone to turn to by 43% (odds ratio 0.570; p = 0.002), compared to those travelling alone and those who did not know anyone in South Africa before arriving.

Table 10: Binary logistic regression model of associations between independent variables and having someone to turn to when needing to borrow 500 Rand

	β	S.E. β	Wald's X^2	df	p. (Sig.)	Exp(B) (odds ratio)
Constant	-,756	,450	2,825	1	,093	,469
Nationality						
DRC			4,495	2	,106	
Mozambique	,498	,282	3,130	1	,077	1,646
Somalia	,508	,261	3,788	1	,052	1,662
Respondent's sex						
0 = Female, 1 = Male	,674	,199	11,500	1	,001	1,961
Age						
18-25 Yrs			5,406	4	,248	
26-30 Yrs	,413	,255	2,621	1	,105	1,512
31-35 Yrs	,396	,279	2,009	1	,156	1,486
36-40 Yrs	,491	,327	2,261	1	,133	1,635
41+ Yrs	-,050	,377	,018	1	,894	,951
Marital Status						
Living alone			6,095	2	,047	
Married but living apart	-,351	,357	,965	1	,326	,704
Living together	-,494	,201	6,034	1	,014	,610
Highest Level of Education						
No formal schooling			,621	4	,961	
Primary Education	-,166	,395	,176	1	,675	,847
Secondary Education	-,131	,379	,119	1	,730	,877
Finished Tertiary Education	-,209	,420	,248	1	,618	,811
Postgraduate degree	,129	,640	,041	1	,840	1,138
Migrated with other household members						
0 = No, 1= Yes	-,482	,198	5,910	1	,015	,618
Social network upon arrival						
0 = No, 1= Yes	-,563	,182	9,560	1	,002	,570
Time in South Africa						
0 year - 3 years			1,469	3	,689	
3 years - 6 years	,162	,227	,507	1	,476	1,176
6 years - 9 years	,360	,303	1,411	1	,235	1,433
9 + years	,220	,317	,481	1	,488	1,246
Currently refugee or asylum seeker						
0 = No, 1= Yes	-,144	,180	,638	1	,425	,866
Official SA language spoken and understood						
0 = No, 1= Yes	,370	,237	2,428	1	,119	1,447

Test			Chi²	df	Sig.	
Overall model evaluation						
Likelihood ratio test			72,885	20	,000	
Goodness-of-fit test						
Hosmer and Lemeshow Test			7,813	8	,452	

Comments: The data was obtained from the African Cities Project survey from 2006. The dependent variable was obtained through question 605: Where would you go if you found yourself needing to borrow 500 Rand? The responses were then recoded into I have someone to turn to (1) and I have no one to turn to (0). Cox & Snell´s R² = 0,110. Nagelkerke´s R² = 0,147. n = 625

Similar conclusions could be drawn when it came to the ability to have someone to turn to in order to borrow 500 rand, as in the case of having someone to turn to when having trouble with accommodation. One explanation for this could be that living alone, travelling alone and arriving in South Africa not knowing anyone, forces the migrants to expand their networks and to build social connections which they can rely on following their arrival. Looking at the migrants who had provided loans to others in South Africa also proved to be significant (p = 0.000) between the two groups, where 34.5% of those who had social networks upon arrival and only 12.3% of those who did not, had provided loans for others. The same can be said when looking at providing loans to people outside of South Africa, where 12.3% of those with social networks upon arrival had provided loans, while only 1.8% of those who did not have such networks had provided similar loans (p = 0.000).

When looking at the ability to turn to someone when needing to borrow 5000 Rand, the significant variables (p<.05) became: *nationality, sex, migrated with other household members, time in South Africa* and *knowing an official South African language*. Those who were most likely to have someone to turn to were the Mozambicans (odds ratio 4.183; p = 0.000), followed by the Somalis (odds ratio 2.004; p = 0.015). Men were once again more likely to have someone to turn to and, not surprisingly, the longer you have been in South Africa, the greater are the odds that you will have someone to turn to. *Leaving with other household members* once again affects your possibilities negatively, whereas *knowing a South African language* made it five times more likely that the respondent would have someone to turn to. *Having social networks upon arrival* was rendered insignificant when it came to needing to borrow 5000 rand; it appeared to be more important to have lived for longer in the community and to know the language.

Social bridges – Sending remittances

The social bridges which migrants have do not only consist of their connections between groups within the country in which they are currently living. They similarly consist of connections to family and friends in other countries, which provides a good indicator when looking at how social bridges are sustained between the country of origin and destination in the migration context. Looking at table 11, the significant variables (p<.05) related to the sending of remittances to persons living outside of Johannesburg were: *nationality,* respondent's *sex*, *age* (18-24 and 36-40 years), *having social networks upon arrival*, *time spent in South Africa* (3-6 years), and *speaking a South African Language*. Somalis were most likely to be sending remittances, and almost twice as likely (odds ratio 2.140; p = 0.004) to be

sending money as were the Congolese. Once again, being a man increased the likelihood (p = 0.000) of sending money, as did being aged 36 to 40, compared to women and those aged 18 to 25. Even though it was rendered insignificant, it is interesting to observe that the respondents who were married but lived apart were less likely to send remittances than those living with their partners. The respondents living alone were least likely to be sending remittances; those living together where twice as likely to be sending remittances. For the first time, having *social networks upon arrival* increased the likelihood of a dependent variable; the respondents who had social networks upon arrival were almost twice as likely (odds ratio 1.649; p = 0.008) to be sending remittances as were those who lacked such networks. Knowing a South African language also increased the chances of sending money.

Table 11: Binary logistic regression model of associations between independent variables and remittances sent outside of Johannesburg

	β	S.E. β	Wald's X²	df	p. (Sig.)	Exp(B) (odds ratio)
Constant	-2,479	,471	27,646	1	,000	,084
Nationality						
DRC			8,724	2	,013	
Mozambique	,586	,282	4,301	1	,038	1,796
Somalia	,761	,263	8,357	1	,004	2,140
Respondent's sex						
0 = Female, 1 = Male	,937	,205	20,990	1	,000	2,553
Age						
18-25 Yrs			9,613	4	,047	
26-30 Yrs	-,134	,262	,262	1	,609	,874
31-35 Yrs	,416	,279	2,226	1	,136	1,516
36-40 Yrs	,693	,332	4,369	1	,037	2,000
41+ Yrs	,127	,378	,113	1	,737	1,135
Marital Status						
Living alone			6,217	2	,045	
Married but living apart	,162	,356	,207	1	,649	1,176
Living together	,507	,205	6,134	1	,013	1,661
Highest Level of Education						
No formal schooling			1,349	4	,853	
Primary Education	-,219	,395	,307	1	,579	,803
Secondary Education	-,043	,377	,013	1	,909	,958
Finished Tertiary Education	-,191	,419	,208	1	,648	,826
Postgraduate degree	-,498	,663	,565	1	,452	,607
Migrated with other household members						
0 = No, 1= Yes	-,094	,200	,218	1	,641	,911
Social network upon arrival						
0 = No, 1= Yes	,500	,189	6,989	1	,008	1,649
Time in South Africa						
0 year - 3 years			3,931	3	,269	
3 years - 6 years	,435	,228	3,633	1	,057	1,544
6 years - 9 years	,381	,304	1,573	1	,210	1,464
9 + years	,236	,318	,548	1	,459	1,266
Currently refugee or asylum seeker						
0 = No, 1= Yes	,043	,184	,055	1	,814	1,044
Official SA language spoken and understood						
0 = No, 1= Yes	,605	,244	6,118	1	,013	1,831

Test			Chi ²	df	Sig.	
Overall model evaluation						
Likelihood ratio test			93,754	20	,000	
Goodness-of-fit test						
Hosmer and Lemeshow Test			15,201	8	,055	

Comments: The data was obtained from the African Cities Project survey from 2006. The dependent variable was obtained through question 412: Do you ever send money or goods to your family or friends outside of Johannesburg? The responses was then recoded into yes (1) no (0). Cox & Snell´s R² = 0,139. Nagelkerke´s R² = 0,186. n = 626

Looking at the dependent variable of receiving money from outside of Johannesburg, similar independent variables were significant as previously. However, the Congolese were the group which was most likely to receive money, while the Somalis were the least likely. *Living together* also decreased the likelihood of getting money sent from outside, as did having a lower education. *Leaving with other household members increased* (odds ratio 1.671; p = 0.020), as well as having social networks upon arrival did however both increase the likelihood of *receiving money* (odds ratio 1.563; p = 0.034). This indicates that having social networks upon arrival appears to affect the sending of remittances; therefore having an impact on the sustained social bridges of migrants. Migrants who had friends or family in South Africa before they departed therefore appear to have a larger social network connecting them to other countries, than those which lacked social networks upon arrival.

This presents us with a scenario where there is a difference in established social bridges between the migrants who had a social network in South Africa upon arrival and those who did not. The data in the survey can unfortunately not provide us with an adequate explanation for this; hence this question will be looked at more closely in the qualitative chapter.

Social links – Trust in the South African government

Looking at how social links are affected by having friends or family upon arrival was difficult based on the questions posed within the dataset. The most suitable indicator found was the level of belief amongst the respondents that the South African government tries to help out with their basic needs, as this should reflect the general level of trust in government institutions. Looking at table 12, very few independent variables were significant when it came to the sentiments towards the *efforts of the South African government*. Only nationality and the respondents' sex seemed to be significant. Homer and Lemeshow's test further indicated that the independent variables used in the model were not sufficient to explain the level of trust in the South African government. When creating a logistical regression model to question 601: *How often do you follow political affairs in South Africa?*, redefining the answers to *follow* and *never follow,* the same lack of significant variables appeared. This was the case even though having spent more time in South Africa seemed to increase the likelihood of the respondent following its political affairs. This relationship is to be expected, considering that time spent in a country should increase the interest which the person takes in politics. For question 710: *I feel as though I am part of South African society*; the same logistical regression model was created, and once again few variables were significant. *Time*

spent in South Africa seemed to be the most influential factor once more, in experiencing a sense of belonging.

Table 12: Binary logistic regression model of associations between independent variables and the belief that the South African government helps people meet their basic needs

	β	S.E. β	Wald's X²	df	p. (Sig.)	Exp(B) (odds ratio)
Constant	-,788	,554	2,020	1	,155	,455
Nationality						
DRC			50,794	2	,000	
Mozambique	2,868	,416	47,561	1	,000	17,599
Somalia	,270	,299	,814	1	,367	1,310
Respondent's sex						
0 = Female, 1 = Male	,700	,250	7,861	1	,005	2,013
Age						
18-25 Yrs			4,683	4	,321	
26-30 Yrs	-,092	,313	,087	1	,768	,912
31-35 Yrs	-,558	,324	2,958	1	,085	,572
36-40 Yrs	-,208	,388	,288	1	,591	,812
41+ Yrs	,113	,499	,051	1	,821	1,120
Marital Status						
Living alone			3,449	2	,178	
Married but living apart	-,053	,427	,015	1	,901	,949
Living together	,411	,236	3,040	1	,081	1,509
Highest Level of Education						
No formal schooling			5,290	4	,259	
Primary Education	-,036	,513	,005	1	,944	,965
Secondary Education	-,641	,485	1,749	1	,186	,527
Finished Tertiary Education	-,434	,526	,681	1	,409	,648
Postgraduate degree	-1,108	,743	2,224	1	,136	,330
Migrated with other household members						
0 = No, 1= Yes	,161	,254	,401	1	,527	1,175
Social network upon arrival						
0 = No, 1= Yes	-,003	,220	,000	1	,989	,997
Time in South Africa						
0 year - 3 years			2,953	3	,399	
3 years - 6 years	,322	,263	1,497	1	,221	1,379
6 years - 9 years	-,145	,364	,158	1	,691	,865
9 + years	,341	,405	,707	1	,400	1,406
Currently refugee or asylum seeker						
0 = No, 1= Yes	,126	,217	,336	1	,562	1,134
Official SA language spoken and understood						
0 = No, 1= Yes	,649	,261	6,155	1	,013	1,913
Test			Chi ²	df	Sig.	
Overall model evaluation						
Likelihood ratio test			169,865	20	,000	
Goodness-of-fit test						
Hosmer and Lemeshow Test			15,701	8	,047	

Comments: The data was obtained from the African Cities Project survey from 2006. The dependent variable was obtained through question 600: Generally speaking, how much do you believe the South African government helps people living in the country to meet their basic needs? The responses helps a great deal (1), Helps somewhat (2), and never helps was recorded into they help (1) and they do not help (0). Cox & Snell´s R² = 0,262. Nagelkerke´s R² = 0,360. n = 560

Having social networks upon arrival, or arriving with household members were also insignificant variables when looking at the likelihood of having been to an institution, and more specifically, having used their services. *Having been to the Department of Home Affairs* (DHA) as well as any other immigration office, was insignificant (p=0.939) when comparing the two different social network groups. This was also the case when it came to the *likelihood of reporting a crime to the police* (p=0.968). The impact which social networks have upon arrival and their effects on developing social links therefore appear to be insignificant. From the observed independent variables, having spent a longer period of time in South Africa

seemed to be the only and most significant factor when it came to the relation to state institutions. A social network upon arrival does therefore not appear to affect the establishment of social links towards government institutions. This suggests that migrant develop such links not through their social bonds, but rather by themselves. However, in order to explore this finding further, the question will be incorporated in the interviews and analysed in the qualitative chapter.

Chapter conclusions

The African Cities Project (2006) dataset adequately portrayed many of the aspects which were considered important for this thesis. The nationalities within the dataset which were significantly large to be included in this study were respondents from Congo, Mozambique and Somalia, groups which in total amounted to 641 respondents. The descriptions of the migration experience which the respondents presented us with differed quite significantly between the nationalities. In general, a clear distinction can be made between Congolese and Somalis, on the one hand, and Mozambicans on the other hand, where the Congolese and the Somalis mostly migrated due to reasons associated with forced migration, whereas Mozambicans almost exclusively migrated based on reasons associated with voluntary migration. Migrating primarily voluntary, as well as being geographically close to South Africa, did however also affect the time spent making the decision, as well as the likelihood of moving with other household members. The proximity for the Mozambicans meant that they spent less time en route and had fewer alternative destinations in mind before departure. Upon arrival, it appears that all of the migrants were drawn to specific residential locations, differing depending on the respondents' country of origin, something which needs to be explored further. Understanding these general tendencies when it comes to the migration processes of the different nationalities does however not answer the primary research question: the importance of having social networks on arrival, with regards to decision, the journey, arrival and adaptation period.

The findings regarding the impact of having social networks[35] in the country of destination before departure, on the choice, journey and initial arrival period, appears in many regards to deviate from the discussions of previous research, examples of which were presented in the literature review. Looking at the ACP data, having social networks in the country of destination had no significance with regards to having considered other destinations before

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[35] In this context defined as friends and/or family

departure. What is more striking is that the Somalis, who almost attained the determined significant levels of $p<0.05$ (Somali: $p=0.063$), had an inverse relationship, where those who did have family and friends in South Africa more often considered alternative destinations, than those who did not know anyone in South Africa. This finding is interesting, considering that the research in the literature review focused on the opposite relationship; Chatelard (2002) argued that it has been agreed that social networks function as a pull factor, while Ghosh (1998) argued that migrants pretend to be better off than they actually are, distort information, and present themselves as more successful than they are. This contradictory finding from the quantitative data is therefore a particularly interesting finding which needs to be followed up on during the qualitative interviews.

The analysis did however confirm the findings of previous literature, in that having social networks in the country of destination increases the likelihood of obtaining money for the travel expenses from family and friends abroad, as described by Massey et al. (1993). However, the findings did not only show that having contacts in the country of destination increased the money received. Having such contacts also seemed to increase the likelihood of receiving money from family and friends living in the country of origin, an aspect which has not been elaborated on in the literature on the subject.

When it came to the time which migrants spent en route, there was a significant difference between people having social networks and those lacking them. The migrants who did not have social networks upon arrival spent on average twice as long reaching South Africa. Having social networks therefore appears to have an impact on the journey and more specifically make the route more direct. The presence of social networks further increased the likelihood of migrants staying with someone whom they knew from before during the first weeks following their arrival, something which is also described in the literature.

Before the multivariate analysis of significant adaptation variables was performed, an explanation of the different structures of social networks established in South Africa was provided, in order to present a picture of the concept of constraining networks. In conclusion, the national group where members felt the most constrained by their identity (tribal/clan or national) were the Somalis. The Somalis similarly, and most extensively, viewed it as important to marry someone from a similar background most extensively. Nevertheless, the Somalis were also the group who were the least proud of their identity. The Congolese trusted others to the largest extent, while the Mozambicans were well below average. Drawing from

the literature review and applying the concept of constraining networks to this dataset, the nationality which should be presented with the largest obstacles in adapting to South Africa, are the Somalis, considering that they would have few *weak ties* as argued by Granovetter (1983), Klvanova (2010) and Burt (1992). The Somalis would also be faced most often with the dilemma which Portes & Sensenbrenner (1993) presented; having to choose between community solidarity and individual freedom.

Besides constituting the group which could be considered the most constrained, the external situation in South Africa could also have an effect on the solidarity honoured within the Somali community. As Portes and Sensenbrenner (1993) argue, having a cultural characteristic which distinguishes the group from the population, as well as experiencing oppression and discrimination, makes a group come together even more and increases the difficulties to confide in outsiders. The increasingly hostile climate in South Africa could therefore result in migrant groups becoming more constraining, as they strive towards rewarding their own members first, as suggested by Portes and Sensenbrenner (1993).

The more long-term effects of social networks during the adaptation phase, were analysed using five indicators, one from each of the five categories presented in the framework of Ager and Strang (2008): *employment, housing, social bonds, social bridges and social links.* The analysis of the different indicators chosen to represent these five areas revealed many interesting results. Firstly, having established social networks in South Africa decreased the chances of having an income generating activity upon arrival. One reasonable explanation for this could be that many of those respondents were family members of other migrants, and did not actively look for employment. However, the same results were obtained when disregarding students and respondents who were housewives. This is an important finding, which is difficult to explain, and which will be explored further in the qualitative chapter. However, having social networks upon arrival became insignificant when looking at the likelihood of currently having an income-generating activity, which suggests that the influence of friends and family during arrival, is negligible from a long-term perspective, which in turn can be explained by the fact that new networks are established over time.

When it came to having someone to turn to when *faced with accommodation problems* or when in *need of borrowing R500,* the same characteristics could be observed as when it came to *income generating activity upon arrival*; having friends or family in South Africa before arrival had a negative impact in both of these instances. This finding contradicts much of the

literature presented in the literature review, where Massey (1987, p.170) argues that "personal contacts with friends and family gave migrants access to jobs, housing and financial assistance", and Koser (1997) claims that networks help in the short-term initial period, with an adaptive assistance mainly focused on the provision of housing and employment advice. It cannot be disregarded that having established social networks before arrival helps migrants. Nevertheless, the findings of this chapter contradict the idea that this would present such migrants with any advantages in comparison with those migrants arriving in South Africa without having networks available. The most interesting group in this regard was the Somalis, who had the fewest established connections with friends and family in South Africa before arriving, but who were still the respondents who were most likely to have someone to turn to when faced with accommodation or financial problems.

Respondents with family or friends in South Africa *sent remittances* abroad more often, something which indicates that they are more likely to have strong social bridges across the national border. Once more, the Somalis were more likely to be sending remittances than the other nationalities. When it came to *establishing social links* towards the institutions of the host society, having established social networks upon arrival proved to be insignificant.

In conclusion, the quantitative chapter has left many questions unanswered and has produced findings which contradict much of the literature on the subject. Many of the effects which social networks have been claimed to have on migrants during their migration experience, and more specifically during their adaptation phase, need to be further investigated. The respondents who in this regard contradicted the literature the most were the Somalis, who were the least likely to have social networks in South Africa at the time of their arrival. Nevertheless, the Somali respondents who did have social networks were more often in contact with their friends or family before departure, than migrants of other nationalities. Looking at the structure of the Somali community also made them stand out as the group of migrants which would be the most constrained, using the definition provided in the literature review. However, in contradiction to the literature on the subject, the Somalis were also amongst the most successful when it came to obtaining an income generating activity, and were the most successful migrants when it came to having a functioning network in South Africa which could help them when faced with problems. Nevertheless, they were also the group which had been the least encouraged as well as assisted in coming to South Africa.

The Somalis can therefore be said to constitute a specifically interesting group in the context of migrants in Johannesburg, with regards to social networks. As a group, they have few social networks upon arrival, their community portrays characteristics of being constrained, yet they are the most successful group in many areas, especially during the adaptation phase.

These interesting findings need to be further investigated. There is a need to better understand how the Somali migrants adapt to South Africa, as well as how they make use of and perceive their established social networks. Hence, the decision was taken to adopt the approach of a sequential explanatory study, which allows the qualitative research to explain the findings of the quantitative chapter. The following chapter will explore the Somali migrants further, and will attempt to find an explanation to the discrepancies which have been observed when comparing the previous literature with the data analysis of this quantitative chapter.

Chapter 5: The qualitative data

Introduction

This chapter will continue to look at the impact of social networks on migrants. The chapter is structured much in the same way as the quantitative chapter; looking firstly at the migration experience and, later on, at the adaptation period. The chapter is intended to answer the questions which arose from the previous chapter, and to portray the experiences of the individual Somali migrants. Therefore, it will further look at the aim of the research and engage in the research questions by adding descriptions to how migrants perceive networks and how these impact on the migration process. A strong emphasis has been placed on what the respondents in the interviews actually chose to bring up during the interviews. The categorisation of having social networks amongst the respondents in the interviews was defined in the same way as in the quantitative chapter, where *social networks* refers to migrants who had social bridges established in South Africa before departure, and who, as a consequence, had social bonds established upon arrival. This was established by question 3 (see Appendix 3: Qualitative interview questions) in the interview questions, where respondents were asked whether they knew anyone already living in South Africa before their arrival.

The migration experience

Migration choices and the journey

Drawing from the findings of the quantitative chapter, the Somali respondents included in the qualitative interviews displayed similar characteristics, in the sense that all of the persons interviewed stated forced reasons for choosing to leave Somalia. However, during the interviews, the Somalis also described many reasons which would be considered voluntary as to why they chose to come to South Africa. This supports the arguments put forward by Haas (2011); questioning the categorisation of migrants as either forced or voluntary, as well as pointing out that all migrants have agency. Even though the reasons for leaving Somalia were similar amongst the respondents, with regards to feeling forced to leave; "I left because of civil war[36]", or having experienced violence first hand; "my father got killed there[37]", the migration experience during the journey to South Africa differed more often between the respondents. Similar to the findings of the ACP survey, the time spent en route differed

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[36] Interview 12 – Women – With Social Networks
[37] Interview 5 – Women – Without Social Networks

significantly and ranged from a few days to spending up to four years in other countries before arriving in South Africa.

With regards to the migration journey towards South Africa, two distinct groups emerged through the interviews. The first group consists of individuals taking less time migrating, more or less coming straight to South Africa, while the second group consists of interviewees who left Somalia and ended up staying in Kenya for a long time before deciding to migrate to South Africa. The group which came straight to South Africa travelled by boat, which only took a few days, or by various modes of transportation by land, journeys which often took around 1-2 months.

The respondents who had social networks in South Africa upon arrival more often travelled straight to South Africa, while those lacking such networks followed different routes. This finding was later compared to the quantitative data from the African Cities Project, which confirmed that those respondents who did not have social networks in South Africa before departure, were significantly (p=0.013) more likely to respond yes when asked whether they *stayed elsewhere for more than a week while en route.* The mean number of months during which the respondents stayed somewhere while en route, was also significantly (p<0.05) different between the groups, where 5.23 months was the mean for those lacking social networks, and 2.33 was the mean for the respondents with social network.

Even though those who had social networks in South Africa before departure more often took a more direct route, some of those who lacked networks did the same. Two of the three respondents who took a more direct route while lacking social networks in South Africa, travelled by boat on a route set for South Africa. One of the interviewed women who took the boat to South Africa stated that: "even I did not know that boat, where it was going" and another man said that "I saw other people who organised themselves to come to South Africa, by boat, and I paid them". He also did not have the possibility to leave the boat en route and said that; "I think, I never even see Kenya land, I could not go out…" This also points to the fact that for some of the migrants who lacked social networks, South Africa was in fact not their preferred destination, but rather a destination where they ended up going as a result of wanting to migrate *from Somalia.*

The migrants with social networks based many of their decisions on the information obtained through their family and friends residing in South Africa. As one respondent stated: "Some of my family were there before I came… and my husband. They were telling me about South

Africa and how nice it was...they said it would be great if you would leave Somalia and come here[38]". Another person responded to the question concerning knowledge which he had about South Africa, by saying that: "I knew some friends here before, who can decide. They came before me[39]."

The other group which emerged through the interviews was the group of those who decided to leave Somalia, but who ended up staying in Kenya. What is interesting with this group is that they gained security in Kenya, through "forced migration", but that the decision to move once more, to South Africa, was often based on reasons usually defined as voluntary, where they wanted to improve their living conditions. The primary reason for deciding to leave Kenya for South Africa did however during the interviews not appear to be based on first hand information of what South Africa had to offer. Rather, the decision seemed to be based on the living conditions of the respondents in Kenya. As some of the respondents stated:

> I could not find jobs there, three years. Like three years I cannot find jobs and I did not have money, any way to support me. That is why I am coming to South Africa.[40]

> I stay six months [in Nairobi], I search job, I get job. I worked for six months but they pay me small money…. No eating, nothing, then I say just run to South Africa[41]

> You know in Kenya there is not a lot of opportunity….. Then I decided to leave to come to South Africa because work was a lot easier.[42]

When one of the respondents was asked the direct question of whether she planned to come to South Africa while still living in Somalia she responded "No, only when I came to Nairobi. Only in Nairobi. In Nairobi life is very hard, the small [money] they are giving a month.[43]" Even though these stories are not in themselves surprising, they bring out new aspects and explain the unanswered question from the qualitative chapter, of why the Somali population spend such extensive periods of time en route. The answer which these stories present us with, is that the Somalis primarily leave Somalia due to the violence they face, and seek a better live in another country which is accessible. Judging from the interviews with the Somali

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[38] Interview 12 – Women – With Social Networks
[39] Interview 11 – Man – With Social Networks
[40] Interview 8 – Women – Without Social networks
[41] Interview 4 – Women – Without Social Networks
[42] Interview 1 – Women – Without Social Networks
[43] Interview 4 – Women – Without Social Networks

migrants who lacked social networks in South Africa before departure, they did not primarily intend to move to South Africa, but rather escaped violence by fleeing to neighbouring countries. Not until later on did they make the decision to migrate once more, as they sought to improve their living conditions.

In this regard, the respondents from the Somali community who lacked social networks before coming to South Africa still, to a large extent, had been getting personal information about the country, even though it was often not first hand. As some of the respondent said during the interviews:

> I decide to come here [South Africa] because other Somali were here. My friends they call me [referring to friends living in Nairobi], they say it is very nice down there.[44]

> ...like we Somalians we are all [over the world]..... Now we get every information from every country where we stay, like Sweden. You can talk to them how is it there, how is people, are they friendly, how is work there, how is religious performance, religious freedom, how is fair, you know, how is the situation like, is it cold, extremely cold, is there any hot part of the country, you know? We gather all these information.... If I want information of like Norway I have to find someone who stay in Norway, that is reliable, not everybody, somebody is reliable..... Then I had a source of information [about South Africa] that at least I could survive, better than Somalia in terms of the situation. So then that is what happened.[45]

Another Somali man described how he was informed about life in South Africa while in Kenya, a response which to some extent explains the structure and communication which appears to exist within the Somali community. He explained that everyday someone left the neighbourhood, and that the close connections which existed within the community, where members often shared food and met with others in restaurants, meant that migrants were regularly informed about where other migrants moved. He gave the example of how he tried to get information from a cousin of someone who had recently left to go to South Africa:

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[44] Interview 4 – Women – Without Social Networks
[45] Interview 7 – Man – Without Social Networks

What did he do…. how is he living there, how is life there, how much money does he make, how does he get employment there. So yes, the word of mouth makes you fully informed.[46]

Another woman also mentioned asking people in the community "what women can do in South Africa, and they told me there was not that much opportunity to work… I said as a journalist can I get education and they said: if you want then yes.[47]" Interestingly enough, the respondents who lacked personal social networks in South Africa also extensively used the internet. One respondent mentioned that: "I used to Google everything… so yes I was fully informed about life here [referring to South Africa][48]". Another woman also pointed out that the information which she had about South Africa was obtained by: "listening to the radio and television"[49].

These accounts provide a description of the information on which the choices to migrate are based. They also provide us with an explanation as to why such a large proportion (40%) of the Somali respondents in the African Cities Project survey, considered other places than South Africa as a potential migration destination. From the interviews for this thesis, it seems that the decision to come to South Africa in most instances was calculated and weighed against other options, or as some of the respondents explained:

The first time I wanted to go to Europe but it was hard for me. So I thought South Africa would be a substitute. That is why I came to decide.[50]

I believe that South Africa is the one that is the nicest African country that can live (in) because I cannot go to Europe because I do not have passport.[51]

…get a job, a better life, get education and at least get resettled for third country, another country.[52]

Arriving in South Africa

The quantitative chapter revealed that different national groups tend to reside in specific geographical areas, and that migrants who come to Johannesburg often choose to settle down in the areas where their fellow nationals are residing. In the case of the Somalis, the most

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[46] Interview 10 – Man – Without Social Networks
[47] Interview 1 – Women – Without Social Networks
[48] Interview 10 – Man – Without Social Network
[49] Interview 8 – Women – Without Social Networks
[50] Interview 11 – Man – With Social Network
[51] Interview 8 – Women – Without Social Networks
[52] Interview 1 – Women – Without Social Networks

common residential area was Mayfair, which was why this area was chosen as the location for the interviews. All of the respondents were residing in Mayfair, and the explanation which came out of the interviews for this is perhaps not surprising. Nevertheless, it does shed some light on how information is spread amongst the migrants and on which criteria they base their decision when choosing an area of residence. As one male respondent, who had no social networks upon arrival, explained:

> I came directly to Mayfair, Johannesburg. Because they told me if you [go to South Africa], the place where Somalis are, is Mayfair. Now, I came direct to Mayfair.[53]

The explanation given during most of the interviews as to why the respondents chose to come to Mayfair is summarised well by one of the respondents who said:

> Because most of the Somalis live here. So when you arrive here maybe you know someone, or someone who knows your family or your friends. And that is the time we get our direction.[54]

Throughout the interviews, another interesting aspect of the arrival period emerged. Many of the respondents had not stayed in Johannesburg for very long following their arrival, although this was the single most common initial destination. Out of the eleven respondents who came straight to Johannesburg upon their arrival in South Africa, only seven continued to stay there for a longer period of time straight away, while the others used Johannesburg as a transit hub, only to return later on. This was most obvious for the respondents who had social networks upon arrival, as two out of those five respondents used Mayfair as a transit location, where they were offered help by Somalis on their way to their final destination in other parts of the country. One of the respondents who stayed in Johannesburg for two days before moving to Port Elisabeth said:

> This is the first destination everyone comes, everyone comes to Johannesburg, then everyone will go to where he knows a friend or lives there or relatives. This is the first destination.[55]

Johannesburg, and more specifically Mayfair, was also portrayed as a place where migrants stayed for a specific period of time, during which others referred them to other places within the country, to someone who knew them, or would be able to help them. One of the

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[53] Interview 7 – Man – Without Social Networks
[54] Interview 11 – Man – With Social Networks
[55] Interview 11- Man- With Social Networks

respondents described how newly arrived migrants who do not know anything about South Africa and do not have a clear idea of where they are going, are helped by members of the community. Such assistance involves making calls to see whether there are individuals whom they might know from before, living at other locations within the country, such as Eastern Cape, Durban or Cape Town, who can help them.

The fact that many Somalis only stay in Johannesburg for a few days before leaving for other locations, might be one of the explanations for the interesting finding from the quantitative chapter, that the Somalis was the only group of migrants who, upon arrival in Johannesburg, more often stayed with someone not known from before, than with family or friends. Another explanation might be the willingness within the Somali community to help newly arrived. It is important to point out that, judging from the interviews, the respondents who had social networks upon arrival generally stayed with their family or friends from before; at least once they had reached their final destination.

The other finding from the quantitative chapter which was surprising, was that migrants who lacked social networks upon arrival still stayed with contacts whom they defined in the interviews as friends. The similarities in the interview material concerning the experience of arriving in Mayfair also describe a very supportive Somali community when it comes to assisting the newly arrived:

> All they help me. They give me money, they buy me clothes, I came without clothes.[56]

> You know the Somalis they help each other, whether you know them or not. If you come and say ok I am lost here, I do not know anything to do, I need help, they will definitely help you. They will not leave you behind, they will not leave you alone.[57]

Many of the respondents described being helped by someone initially, who later referred them to more "suitable" candidates, regarded as closer to the person and therefore more suitable to help. One respondent explained how members of the Somali community helped him get in touch with members of his tribe, who then assisted him with accommodation for the first few days, and who helped him search for a long-term solution. A female respondent told a similar story, where the community helped her get in touch with a woman willing to help: "...she

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[56] Interview 4 – Women- Without Social Networks
[57] Interview 1 – Women – Without Social Networks

helped with a place to stay, the food...”[58] Another respondent who lacked social networks in South Africa upon arrival also described being helped with rent for accommodation during the first month and being given money to buy groceries. Interestingly enough, all of the respondents described how well the Somali community had helped them upon arrival, one specifically explained that: “Because when a newcomer comes, [and] he has no family, anyone is your family.”[59] Not a single one of the respondents expressed having any specific difficulties with obtaining accommodation upon arrival, even though it in some instances took them a few days to find a more suitable long-term solution.

Many of the respondents felt that the Somali community board lacked strength and did not manage to bring out the voices of the community well enough. Nevertheless, the interviews revealed that when it comes to applying for asylum, the community board tries to help migrants. This is in particular true for those migrants who arrive alone and who lack someone to turn to. One respondent said that:

> New ones they go there is a Somali community [board]... But they are not, I told you already, we [referring to the Somali community] are not a strong community, like other Indians people or other people. But at least the new ones, when the newcomers, at least they are helping them, taking them to home affairs, to start asylum seekers, something like that.[60]

The interviews clarified some of the questions which came out of the quantitative chapter. South Africa is more often set as the final destination for those with social networks, who also spend less time en route than those lacking connections to South Africa. Mayfair seems to be the initial destination and a starting point in South Africa for most of the Somali migrants, whether they intend to stay there or not. Some have set Mayfair as their destination before they arrive, while other migrants are drawn to the area once they arrive in South Africa, as they are made aware of the fact that this is the area where most Somalis live. The fact that many Somalis are concentrated to the migration destination also seems to significantly increase the possibilities of being assisted with accommodation, something which the following sections will examine further.

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[58] Interview 5 – Women - Without Social Networks
[59] Interview 11 – Man – With Social Network
[60] Interview 6 – Man – With Social Networks

The impact of social networks on the migration experience

In the previous quantitative chapter, a description was given of the typical characteristics of the respondents who most often had social networks upon arrival. Furthermore, the quantitative chapter provided a discussion on how such networks might affect the migration experience. The questions which arose concerned: Why older individuals more often lacked social networks upon arrival, which help the social networks provided, to which extent these networks had an impact on expectations and decision-making, as well as how social networks were of assistance when it came to arrangements for accommodation upon arrival and when it came to obtaining an income-generating activity.

Social networks amongst the older population

The first issue which emerged in the quantitative chapter, with regards to the impact which social networks have on the migration experience, was that older persons appeared less likely to have social networks upon arrival. The most likely explanation for this, which also emerged during the interviews, is that most of these older migrants were part of an earlier influx of migrants from Somalia. This explanation further corresponds with the concept put forward by Massey et al. (1993), who explains migration trends as a continuum, where earlier migrants, who are the first to arrive in a new country, create a network with those still living in the country of origin, and later on with new migrants. The respondents who arrived in Johannesburg in the early 1990s described the difference in the number of Somalis who lived in the city at that time: "when we came here Somalians was very limited, very scarce, there was very few, really[61]." and "you know the other Somalis were few [arrived in 1988], and nobody did help me[62]." The second statement also highlights the fact that according to the perception of the respondent, a small number of Somalis in the community severely decreased the likelihood of receiving assistance. Even though this is linked to the time of arrival in South Africa, it is also linked to age, as migrants who have spent longer periods of time in South Africa have naturally grown older during those years. To confirm this relationship, a chi-square test was conducted using the ACP data which showed that there was a significant relationship ($p<0.05$), where 38.0% of the respondents aged 36-40, and 56.7% of those aged 41 years or older, had been in South Africa for longer than 9 years.

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[61] Interview 7 – Man – Without Social Networks
[62] Interview 12 – Women – With Social Networks

Help from personal networks

The assistance relating to the migration journey, which was observed in the quantitative chapter, also became apparent in the interviews, as many respondents described how they had been helped by their friends or family on their journey to South Africa. With regards to being helped by their social networks in South Africa, most respondents mentioned being helped either financially "...he used to send me some money.[63]" or with transportation "...they helped with transportation.[64]" Respondents also mentioned getting in touch with someone they knew in Johannesburg as they approached or had recently crossed the border. For example, one respondent stated that her uncle arranged transport for her once she was at the border. Another respondent explained that he had helped "some other friends we had at the border, they phoned us: we are short of money. At that time we lend them some money[65]." Having social networks appeared to be helpful during the journey towards the final destination and, perhaps most of all, during the final stages of it.

Encouragement and choices of destination

In the quantitative chapter, the Somali migrants seemed to have been encouraged to come to South Africa far less often than other migrants. Consequently, those who did have social networks also considered other destinations than South Africa more often. During the interviews, some respondents who did have social networks upon arrival in South Africa described how they were encouraged to come, while some were discouraged. Some of the respondents also stated that they had received contrasting views on South Africa from different contacts: "...people they said, South Africa, if you go, they kill you, they will kill you, don't go. But the people, my friends, they encourage me, they say there's no problem[66]." However, when answering the question of whether they would encourage anyone they knew to come to South Africa, all of the twelve respondents said that they would not. The fact that none of the respondents would encourage their friends or family to come here was surprising and could be one of the explanations as to why Somalis with social networks are more likely than migrants of other nationalities to consider other destinations than South Africa. The answers which the respondents gave as to why they did not encourage others to come here were similar. The main argument was usually similar to this: "I say now, there is now no business, it is very dangerous for us[67]." Another respondent said "…now, it is not like before,

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[63] Interview 6 – Man – With Social Networks
[64] Interview 9 – Man – With Social Networks
[65] Interview 11 – Man – With Social Networks
[66] Interview 2 – Women- With Social Networks
[67] Interview 3 – Man – Without Social Networks

even when you travel, now the people they suffer when they travel. When they come here, too much problems, it's not like before[68]." The same type of comments were also raised by another respondent who said that: "I tell them to go other places, not South Africa….Before I used to advice them to come[69]." This seems to be an indication that there has been a perceived change for the worse when it comes to the situation of Somalis in South Africa.

When asked about how the situation differed from before, the respondents mentioned the hostile tendencies and xenophobic violence which have occurred in South Africa. They mentioned that these circumstances have made the country much more difficult to live in, with fewer opportunities and more insecurity, the main reasons why they did not advise people to come. One respondent said; "...yes it was better before. At that time it was, people started hating us[70]" and another stated; "I tell them I live in fear and I do not have anything in here.[71]"

Interestingly enough, the experiences which the respondents in Johannesburg conveyed to those living in other countries were not always believed. One respondent said that "you know sometimes it is bad for some Somali when you say do not come here, they will say: why are you still there?"[72] Another respondent, who was asked whether those whom he talks to back home believe in his stories about his situation in South Africa, said: "They do not believe it, they do not believe it." Most of the respondents also mentioned that their friends and relatives abroad often kept track of events in South Africa by listening to the radio and watching the television. Respondents mentioned that in some instances, their friends or family abroad were more aware of the situation in South Africa then the respondents themselves; "...he watch television, he knows everything, more than for us (…) and he watch and he said why are you still in this country, come back."[73] Similar comments were made by another respondent; "they hear about this place on the radio. They do not believe that South Africa is a peace place."[74]

Considering that the Somali migrants living in South Africa do not encourage their friends or family to come, and considering that much of the information which they get through the radio or television portrays a grim picture of life in South Africa, it is not surprising that Somalis consider other destinations. As was previously mentioned, the Somali population is

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[68] Interview 2 – Women – With Social Networks
[69] Interview 12 – Women – With Social Networks
[70] Interview 11 – Man – With Social Networks
[71] Interview 8 – Women – Without Social networks
[72] Interview 1 – Women – Without Social networks
[73] Interview 5 – Women – Without Social networks
[74] Interview 1 – Women – Without Social Networks

also widely spread across the globe, which enables them to stay informed about different options, and which gives them the possibility to make an informed decision, or as a respondent put it; "...now we get every information from every country where we stay."[75]

Staying with friends upon arrival

In the quantitative chapter, an observation was made that many of the survey respondents who lacked social networks before their arrival in South Africa, nevertheless stated that they had stayed with friends in the beginning. Four possible scenarios[76] were put forward to explain this discrepancy. The interviews revealed that all of these scenarios were in fact realistic. Some of the respondents said; "I lived with my friends"[77], when they were in fact helped collectively by the Somali community; "...you know the Somali they help each other, when they see you need help, they will help you. They use to pay my rent house..."[78]. Another respondent described how he had stayed with his travel companions in the beginning. The term friend was also used to describe an acquaintance; "when I was living in Kenya, someone gave me a contact with one of their friends. So when I go there I asked to meet me up and they did and then I was staying with them during that night..."[79] The fact that all of these three scenarios were mentioned, indicates that the initial adaptation process is facilitated within the Somali community, by the fact that people are referred to as friends at an early stage.

The question which arose from the quantitative data, concerning why so many Somalis with social networks upon arrival stayed at a guesthouse, was partly explained during an interview with the owner of a guesthouse. Responding to the question of whether she ever helped other Somalis, she said:

> Everyday, 24 hours. Maybe ten people who come to sleep here for free. And I give them food. Even if they are here and they don't have work, they come to me. Always like that. Even if it's like that, if I can help, I like to help.[80]

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[75] Interview 7 – Man – Without Social Networks

[76] The scenarios were: 1. They considered or referred to their new housemates as friends; 2. The respondent moved in with people whom he or she got to know during the journey to South Africa; 3. These persons were not living in South Africa before the respondent departed from Somalia, but moved there before he or she arrived; 4. The respondents stayed with acquaintances or friends of friends, which they referred to as their own friends upon arrival.

[77] Interview 3 – Man – Without Social Networks

[78] Interview 3 – Man – Without Social Networks

[79] Interview 1 – Women – Without Social Networks

[80] Interview 12 – Women – With Social Networks

The fact that there are Somali-owned guesthouses which have the possibility to house newly arrived Somalis, and that this is known within the community, is an explanation as to why so many migrants stayed at a guesthouse upon arrival.

The last question which the quantitative data brought out was the impact of social networks on gaining an income generating activity upon arrival. This will be elaborated on later on in this chapter, especially since this particular area was analysed in the quantitative chapter using a regression model.

The adaptation process

The structure of the existing social networks

As was presented in the quantitative chapter, the Somalis belonged to the nationality group whose members felt most restricted by their networks. The Somalis were also the respondents who appreciated their heritage the least, and who felt like a part of South African society. Simultaneously however, Somalis emphasised the importance of preserving their traditions and customs.

The interviews conducted for this thesis are unfortunately not extensive enough to explain all the complexities which emerge when trying to describe such a concept as traditions and identity and feeling of belonging. Rather, this section will attempt to bring out the experiences of a few Somali migrants as they describe their identity and their perceptions of heritage and traditions while living in South Africa.

The interviews confirmed that most of the Somalis felt that it was important to preserve your customs and traditions. Most of the respondents emphasised the importance of keeping (preserving) your identity and specifically the importance of keeping (preserving) the religion. As one respondent said:

> At least every each people it is better if they must keep the tradition, it is better…any tradition that they have if they are Christian they must keep their Christianity, if they are Muslim they must keep their religion, if they have a tradition they must keep it themselves.[81]

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[81] Interview 6 – Man – With Social Networks

Most of the respondents made statements similar to this of a female respondent; "it's important for me to keep my culture.[82]" The lack of national or tribal pride amongst Somalis, which appeared in the quantitative chapter, was not observable in the interviews. Some of the respondents even emphasised how proud they were to be Somali:

> I am so proud to be Somali, where I'm from and who I am, no matter how troubled [I am]. I can't help myself why I'm Somali. Everybody likes his country and his people, no matter what I give you or whatever, you can't change it. You can't change your great-great grandfather. I am so happy and proud to be a Somalian.[83]

The question about the importance placed on marrying someone who had a similar background was never raised during the interviews, as this had already been established in the quantitative chapter. Nevertheless, a respondent mentioned that; "…to marriage you follow your culture[84]". Even though most of the respondents felt that it was important to preserve the Somali traditions and customs in South Africa, some mentioned that the children who had not grown up in Somalia were quickly losing such heritage. One respondent said:

> …the way I at least see, the children who are born here they will never have the Somalian traditions. They are going to lose if they stay here long, if they stay here and those who come when they are small children, when they come here I do not think so. But the oldest they keep their traditions at least.[85]

Even though the small children, or those who migrated to South Africa at a young age, might not have as strong a connection to the Somali traditions and customs as do the older generation, they still value their heritage. One young female respondent explained why the Somali community keeps together and why the members help each other to the extent which they do, by saying:

> I think the reason is you know back in Somalia people, Somali 100% are Muslim, they are from one culture, one country, they speak the same language, so when Somali everybody is the same. The neighbours if you are from the same city, so when you go here, you can tell who this person is, because he is speaking Somali and he is saying: ah, Somali. You feel like this person is like your sibling.[86]

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[82] Interview 12 – Women- With Social Networks
[83] Interview 12 – Women –With Social Networks
[84] Interview 3 – Man – Without Social Networks
[85] Interview 6 –Man- With Social Network
[86] Interview 1 – Women – Without Social Networks

One of the most discouraging developments, when relating the interviews to the quantitative data material, is that it appears that the feeling of belonging which the Somali population previously displayed in 2006, seems to have decreased. Most of the respondents rather emphasised how South Africans disliked them, as well as the violence which they had encountered. One respondent said:

> ...they assaulted us, they hate us all the time. Even somebody you did not know see you in the streets, aaahhh you are Somali you are foreign I do not want. [It is] too much problems.[87]

And another respondent said:

> But the South Africa you know do not like us, the foreigners, yeah we are not safe here.[88]

When asked about having South African friends, almost all of the respondents said that they did not have any. Those who did say that they had South African friends were asked whether these were close. Most respondents replied that the South Africans were not close friends, but rather customers whom they had came to know vaguely. When asked about having South African friends one respondent said "No, because they insult me all the time."[89] Another said "No. You cannot have South African friends."[90] The interviews indicate that there has been a shift in the sentiments towards the South African society. However, the limited number of interviews conducted does unfortunately make it difficult to generalise.

During the interviews, none of the respondents directly stated that they felt restricted by their identity. Nevertheless, many of the respondents mentioned that hostile attitudes towards them had increased. Combined with the fact that none of the respondents had any South African friends, and that they only had a very limited amount of friends belonging to other nationality groups, this implies that they are somewhat restricted, at least when it comes to their networks. Most of the Somalis socialise within their homogenous community. It also became obvious that they to some extent are restricted by their cultural traditions. As elaborated on by one respondent: "Because how can you work, even me, I am Muslim, but if I got big Hijab how can I work. It is hard."[91]

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[87] Interview 5 – Women – Without Social Networks
[88] Interview 4 – Women – Without Social Networks
[89] Interview 8 – Women – Without Social Networks
[90] Interview 6 – Man - With Social Networks
[91] Interview 5 – Women – Without Social Networks

Adaptation process – The qualitative analysis

In the quantitative chapter, an in-depth statistical analysis was conducted, using the data material and different areas of interest which had been identified in the literature review. The separation was made between the areas of: employment, housing, social bonds, social bridges and social links. The same areas were used as categories to analyse the data from the qualitative interviews, thereby clarifying issues which the quantitative data failed to explain.

Employment – Having income generating activity upon arrival

From the quantitative regression model, the significant independent variables were *sex*, *primary education*, *having social networks upon arrival*, and *time spent in South Africa*. The major question which arose was why certain factors seemed to significantly increase the likelihood of having an income generating activity upon arrival: Being a man rather than a woman; not having family and friends, and; having spent 3-6 years in South Africa.

Judging from the findings of the interviews, women appeared to have a more difficult time finding income-generating activity upon arrival, at least partly due to the insecure situation which existed in the townships. As one respondent said:

> I asked some people what women can do in South Africa and they told me that there was not that much opportunity to do work. Because men get good opportunity, men can go to the township and open a shop.[92]

This insecure situation seems to limit the opportunities of women to work in the townships. Rather, women try to find work closer to Mayfair, or in locations which were considered safer. Another woman described the security situation in locations (townships) like this:

> You know mostly our men they work there, in location. They got shop, the family are there. When they come and rob the shop, they even rape the ladies. Some they die, we are not feeling well here, we are not safe.[93]

A female shopkeeper working in Mayfair also described the fear which she experienced while working in the shop, explaining that; "I am scared sometimes, you know some customer if they are coming, I go here [showing a place just outside of the store], if I see a man, if he is coming I say how can I help you, and then I go outside. Otherwise, he put the knife and take

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[92] Interview 1 – Women – Without Social Networks
[93] Interview 4 – Women – Without social Networks

these things and he is gone. With women there is no problem, I am women, I fight, but the men they got the knife, I am scared."[94]

Another aspect which might affect the possibilities for women to gain an income-generating activity, something which goes together with having social networks upon arrival, was that women with social networks expressed during interviews that they did not feel the need to gain employment in the beginning, or that they were helping out for free. One woman who had migrated in order to be reunited with her husband did not begin to look for employment until "after one month…I tried to start work, because we needed to survive."[95] Another woman who had migrated to South Africa to live with her uncle said that "…he wanted me to know how to found a business. He didn't give me money…. So every time, every morning he said come, come with me so you learn."[96] Having friends or relatives upon arrival might therefore mean that many of the migrants help their contacts rather than find work for themselves. One of the Somali respondents without social networks upon arrival was asked why it is more difficult to be a woman than a man in South Africa, and replied that:

> You know, you cannot get a job here. Because us as Somali we do not have experience, we do not have skills to go and work with the South African offices or... So you have to come and ask the Somalis if they can give you a job like a shopkeeper. And the problem is that the Somalis who owns the shop they give the jobs to their families. To the people that they know. So that as a Somali female, we do nothing and you finally get a marriage and get someone to survive. So it is what you can do. You can do nothing. So people getting married for interest, to survive, not for love.[97]

Even though this statement contradicts the findings of the quantitative data; that migrants without social networks are more successful when it comes to having an income generating activity upon arrival, the response could still be true. As the previous statement showed, friends and relatives often have to work for free, or simply do not look for work.

This statement also sheds some light on how Somali migrants look for work. During the interviews, most of the respondents mentioned that they felt unable to attain work within the South African community. In fact, many felt that their only opportunity was to look for work

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[94] Interview 5 – women – Without Social Networks
[95] Interview 12 – Women – With Social Networks
[96] Interview 2 – Women – With Social Networks
[97] Interview 1 – Women – Without Social Networks

within the Somali community. The procedure, which most of the Somalis mentioned in their search for employment, was to get in contact with potential employers in an informal manner.

> I was searching a job, I was going into every shop asking for a job and no one know me. I just go and say I came from Somalia, I just entered now and I need a job. Everyone was giving me the telephone numbers. Everyone telling me after three days or one week call me.[98]

Several other respondents said the same thing; that they "used to go door to door"[99] or that "the Somalian only they can get, you cannot get for the government the South African, because you are refugee. Somalian having a small shop they can give you a job to work with them."[100] Considering that most of the jobs which appear to be available for the Somalis are jobs as storekeepers, or similar unqualified work, it is understandable that migrants with a higher education have a more difficult time finding work matching their qualifications. The respondents interviewed also described how they had started their own businesses selling food and groceries on the streets to earn some money and invest it themselves or with others to start their own shop:

> I was in something outside, like vegetables, tomato and some cloths. And then when I had some money I moved rest of them into a shop.[101]

The main reason as to why it might have been easier for those living longer in South Africa to obtain an income-generating activity upon their arrival, is that South Africa used to be safer and that work could previously be found in the townships.

> Here in South Africa life is going to down, down, down, this is a fact. People are coming from the location, everyone you can say, you can see someone two months ago he as having a good life, now it is bad.[102]

> Some of them they are at the location, having job, they run from the shops because of xenophobia or other problems, robbery, coming here, they do not have a job.[103]

Many of the respondents interviewed had also previously lived in townships in other parts of South Africa, but had left because of feelings of insecurity or as one respondent said "…all

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[98] Interview 4 – Women without Social Networks
[99] Interview 7 – Man – Without Social Networks
[100] Interview 6 – Man – With Social Networks
[101] Interview 8 – Women – Without Social Networks
[102] Interview 6 – Man – With Social Networks
[103] Interview 6 – Man – With Social Networks

people work before in location now go back, come back here, all is here."[104] Another respondent also mentioned that this fear kept him from looking for employment in the townships.

> Because if I go to location, where they run shops, it is too dangerous. I use to see that every week, we use to bury seven to five Somalians. Then I could not look for business in the townships.[105]

The most likely explanation as to why migrants who arrived in South Africa between 3-6 years ago (counting from 2006) were more successful in obtaining an income generating activity, is that the Somali community at this period of time had been fairly established as a group and could help new arrivals. The first arrivals on the contrary had to manage on their own, whereas the latest migrants arrived at a time when most of the jobs which the community had created had been filled.

Housing – Access to assistance when in need of accommodation

In the regression model, looking at having someone to turn to when having problems with accommodation, the significant variables were: *age* (31 to 35 years), *marital status* (living alone, living together), *migrated with other household members*, *social networks upon arrival* and *time in South Africa* (0 to 3 years and 6 to 9 years). The two issues which were interesting and which will be elaborated on in this section are; the fact that having social networks upon arrival decreased the likelihood of having someone to turn to for accommodation, and the fact that living alone increased the likelihood of having someone to turn to.

Throughout the interviews, most respondents did not appear to have been struggling with accommodation. As was explained earlier, the Somali community often helped in providing a place to stay for the newly arrived migrants who did not have anyone to turn to. When asked why it was so important to help newly arrived migrants one respondent said:

> Because the newcomers they have no experience.... when they come they need the help and somebody did help me when I was coming so I have to.[106]

All of the respondents mentioned the responsibility which they felt they had to help other Somalis in need. Most of the respondents stated that this was part of the Somali culture and therefore important. One respondent said that "even my religion tells me that I have to help

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[104] Interview 3 – Man – Without Social Networks
[105] Interview 7 – Man –Without Social Networks
[106] Interview 5 – Women – Without Social Network

you, whoever you are, even you. Also, the Somali culture and tradition, everything that we have taught, help each other. Even the Somalis, if they are from different regions, they come some place they put it together."[107]

The assistance which the Somalis receive from within their own community does however not appear to be unlimited; it can still be difficult to gain help in some instances. In order to receive assistance you also need to be recognised in the community and have a good reputation, or as one respondent said:

> …they sometimes say like who is going to take responsibility for you, who knows you. But if the people, if I am lucky I ask the house I already know. Or my friends know them. So back in the house, ah, she is the friend with the friend.[108]

A similar argument was put forward by another respondent who said that "If he do not know nicely me, I give him something to eat, food, three day, four day, sleeping then go."[109] The decreased likelihood of having someone to turn to with accommodation problems for those living with others, seems simply to be due to the fact that it is harder to find a place to live when you are part of a larger household. One of the respondents explained it thusly:

> Yes if there is one person sometimes, other guys will sleep there, yes. But big family there is problem, nobody help. Big family three days, four days, five [then it is a problem]…[110]

When asked how he himself would solve the situation if he would need accommodation for himself and his family he said:

> Oh, where can go, maybe you sleep other place, your wife sleep with a friend, children maybe in a mosque and other people there.[111]

Another interesting finding in the interviews is that many of the Somalis lived in a shared residence arrangement, where they shared the living expenses based on personal income. One of the respondents had been living with other Somalis for some time, and explained the arrangements of the building in which he lived.

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[107] Interview 12 – Women – With social Networks
[108] Interview 1 – Women - Without Social Networks
[109] Interview 3- Man –Without Social Networks
[110] Interview 3 – Man – Without Social Networks
[111] Interview 3 – Man – Without Social Networks

I become part of them. We use to the whole house, we were use to pay 900 or 800. Whereby we stay more than 15 people, so then everybody, maybe some of them depends on salary. I earned salary 150 and use to pay 25 Rand, for one month. Somebody else is earning 600 [he] use to pay 100 Rand. Then we sleep same place, we use to eat same place, but then that is what everybody is paying according to it works. That is the rule.[112]

Social Bonds – Having someone to turn to for financial assistance

The quantitative analysis showed that the significant variables for the ability to have someone to turn to when needing to borrow Rand 500, were very similar to the variables significant when it came to the ability to have someone to turn to for accommodation. The significant variables were: *sex*, *marital status* (living alone and living together), *migrating with other household members*, and *having a social network upon arrival*. The interviews which were conducted did provide some interesting findings concerning how individuals were able to borrow money from within the community.

The traditions of hospitality and the close connections which seem to exist within the Somali community, are clearly two of the reasons as to why so many Somali migrants have someone to turn to when needing to borrow Rand 500. When one of the respondents was asked whether he felt pressured to help others in need, he said:

Not pressure. But listen, it's the culture. You feel shame when some people some person from the tribe comes to you, and ask you, even if you don't have money at that time...it's culture.[113]

Once again, it appears it is a matter of custom and religion which makes the Somali population so inclined to assist their fellow countrymen. The respondents mentioned how the Somali community often comes together to help when someone is in need. Even though many are struggling themselves with money, they often work together to collect the money needed.

As Somalian, everyone I know, or maybe I do not know you or I know you, you are suppose to pay 50 Rand because every each Somalian we take 50 Rand, 20 Rand, whatever, if you got money 10 Rand, if you say I do not have money I go 10 Rand, I

> take that money to help this person to go to hospital or we will buy the shoes or trouser, whatever he wants. We do like this.[114]

This commitment to help individuals in need did also not seem to be restricted to personal connections, where only friends and family helped out. When it came to helping others, the community also appeared to be able to attain the cash needed on a higher level and to collect the money in a more organised manner. As one of the respondents explained:

> If some person, if he dies and he does not have you know the cover, you know the box [coffin] for the body, he call other Somali he says this man does not have nothing, all tribes he pay the money and we buy the box, like this.[115]

This way of getting the community involved in helping other Somalis in need was also explained by another respondent who said:

> So today when I come here the Somalian people, they are going to help me first...Later on they are going to ask you: where are you from, you are going to tell him the place you come from after that he is going to ask you which clan you are. After that, that clan is going to come [to] community and take 100, 100, 100 Rand as a donation, they will give it to you.[116]

Social Bridges – Sending remittances

The quantitative regression model revealed that the variables ($p<.05$) that significantly predicted the sending of remittances to persons living outside of Johannesburg were: *nationality, sex, age* (18-24 and 36-40 years), *having social networks upon arrival, time spent in South Africa* (3-6 years), and *the ability to speak a South African Language*. This section also invoked a few questions: why Somalis are the nationality which is most likely to be sending remittances, and why those who have social networks upon arrival, and those travelling with other household members, are more likely to be sending money out of Johannesburg.

The interviews conducted did unfortunately not reveal any specific reason as to why those with social networks upon arrival, and those travelling with other persons to South Africa, were more likely to be sending remittances. One explanation for this could be that they did not enter into the same types of social networks upon arrival as those who did not know

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[114] Interview 5 – Women – Without Social Network
[115] Interview 5 – Women –Without Social Networks
[116] Interview 6 – Man – With Social Networks

anyone. The latter were immediately introduced into a new network where each and everyone had to help each other with accommodation and financial support. The migrants who had social networks upon arrival rather travelled and lived with their family or friends, which might be why they were more connected to their previous networks.

The interviews did however reveal a dedication which most of the Somalis had with regards to sending money back home. One respondent said that; "Yes, because it is my main, priority to support my family"[117], and another respondent described how important she felt it was to send money back home; "because the reason I come here, is not only myself, it's also to support my family, so I support them."[118] The will to send money back home also seemed to function as a trigger to try to get employment, as one respondent said:

> You know I work from morning up to five. If I could get another job to work from five to ten o'clock at night I can do, as long as I am getting more money. Yes to send them but to search even job is too difficult, to get job here nowadays.[119]

Even though the drive to send money back home was strong, it also became obvious that many of the Somali migrants were facing more difficult times than they had before. Several of the respondents mentioned that they were not able to send money back anymore, "I cannot afford to."[120] Another respondent said that he "never send anything because business is very down. Last year ok but this year [I] never sent them any money."[121] One respondent was even more disheartened: "what can I send, because I am suffering."[122]

Judging from the interviews, it appears that the willingness to send money back home is strong and that one of the most constraining factors as to why migrants do not send money, is their current situation in South Africa. This does not explain why migrants with social networks, or those travelling with other household members, were more prone to send money back home. The willingness to send money back home which was observed during the interviews does not exclude a similar attitude amongst migrants of other nationalities. Nevertheless, this finding indicates the importance which the Somali population have assigned to the sending of remittances.

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[117] Interview 1 – Women – Without Social Networks
[118] Interview 2 – Women – With Social Networks
[119] Interview 4 – Women – Without Social Networks
[120] Interview 8 – Women – Without Social Networks
[121] Interview 3 – Man – Without Social Networks
[122] Interview 5 – Women – Without Social Networks

Besides placing great emphasis on the importance of sending remittances back to friends and family, the social networks within the Somali community in South Africa also appeared to be quite extensive. Many of the respondents had been living in other parts of South Africa at times, and they often knew someone directly or through friends at other locations. As one respondent said:

> I know everybody. I know now like all the Somalis, everywhere in South Africa. In Cape Town, in PE, in Georgetown in Durban, anywhere.[123]

Social Links – Trust in the South African government

As previously described, the regression analysis looking at social links in the quantitative chapter, revealed that there were few independent variables which were significant with regards to sentiments towards the efforts of the South African government. The only significant variables were *nationality* and *sex*, where the nationality which trusted the government the most were the Mozambicans. These variables are not in themselves very important for this research report, but the question was still posed to the interview respondents, in order to better understand their views on the help provided by the South African Government.

What became clear in most of the interviews was that the respondents did not have much confidence in the willingness of the South African government to help. Some expressed their gratitude that South Africa had accepted them as refugees, while most of the respondents complained about the troubles associated with getting proper documentation, or as one respondent said; "from 2002 and still now [2011] I do not have find the passport. In Britain maybe after two years, four years you can find passport, not here, they are not helping the foreign."[124] Most of the respondents saw the role of the South African government, with regards to their situation, as mostly limited to providing papers or as one Somali man said "to help me only for papers. To stay in South Africa, they give you, they say go."[125] or as another man said "South Africa there is nothing, only if you have paper, asylum paper, that is the only thing they help."[126]

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[123] Interview 1 – Women – Without Social Networks
[124] Interview 8 – Women – Without Social Networks
[125] Interview 6 – Man – With Social Networks
[126] Interview 11 – Man - With Social Networks

Chapter conclusions

The qualitative interviews conducted in Mayfair, Johannesburg, have provided the personal stories of Somali migrants. They have further been helpful in explaining many of the issues and questions which arose in the quantitative chapter. The first part of this chapter elaborated on the migration experience, how migration choices were made, and how the journey to South Africa differed between migrants. Respondents with social networks generally followed a fairly straight route to South Africa, while those who lacked social networks in many instances stayed en route for longer periods of time, primarily living in Kenya for a longer period of time.

In the quantitative chapter, an interesting finding was made; that Somalis who had social networks established in South Africa before departure more often considered alternative destinations. Through the interviews it became clear that the Somalis living in South Africa do not recommend their friends and relatives abroad to come to South Africa. It is difficult to judge whether this information would have been the same back in 2006. Nevertheless, it does put the idea of Ghosh (1998) into question; that migrants would distort the information passed through social networks and that the migrants would present themselves as more successful than they were in reality. None of the respondents interviewed mentioned presenting a more successful image of their lives in South Africa. They seemed more often to portray it as grimmer, so as to discourage anyone from coming. What they did mention on the other hand, was that contacts back home often did not listen to their stories about South Africa, but rather questioned what was being presented about South Africa.

Another interesting finding which is usually not examined in the social network literature, is the fact that migrants lacking social networks today can acquire information about the destination countries to a larger extent than before. Most of the respondents who lacked social networks upon arrival mentioned that they used radio, television and the internet to gain a good understanding of the living conditions in South Africa. This way of acquiring knowledge of the migration destination is in many ways more objective and might in fact have enabled those without social network to gain a broader understanding of the environment in South Africa, than that of the migrants who had social networks, since they gained relatively biased information from their family and friends.

The choice of residential area for most migrants after arriving in Johannesburg was, as has been shown previously, to live in the same area as other Somalis. During the interviews with

the Somalis living in Mayfair, the explanation stated for going there was often that they had been told by others that this was the place to go, either before migrating, or upon arrival in South Africa. However, it was also clear that many Somalis used Mayfair as a transit hub in order to gain assistance from other Somalis who would assist them with meeting their basic needs, and who would also help them to get in touch with friends or relatives in other parts of the country. The help which the Somali community proved to provide the newly arrived migrants with was impressive. All of the interviewees emphasised how they felt that they had been helped by the Somali community in the beginning.

In comparing those who had social networks upon arrival in South Africa with those who lacked such networks, the interview material and the stories presented were not that different with regards to the difficulties of coming to South Africa. Those with social networks upon arrival were however helped during their journey, by friends and family already in South Africa. These migrants were also provided with accommodation upon arrival, by someone they already knew. Those who lacked social networks upon arrival did however not appear to be worse off, in the sense that Somalis seemed to help each other to a large extent while en route. They also seemed to experience no major difficulties in finding accommodation.

This assistance which was provided confirms the findings of the literature concerning the supportive role of social networks, as argued by Willem (2003), Massey (1987) and Boyd (1989). Simultaneously however, the findings of the interviews contradict previous literature, in the sense that the members of the Somali population in Johannesburg seem to have received assistance even when they did not have established social networks upon arrival.

The social structures which the Somali respondents in Johannesburg portrayed do in many aspects fulfil the criteria of being constraining as explained by Klanova (2010), Burt (1992), Granovetter (1974) and Portes and Sensenbrenner (1993). Those within the network appeared from the interviews to mostly have *strong ties* as well as to be part of the embedded Somali network. As argued by Burt (1992), members of constraining networks experience difficulties in meeting new people. Granovetter (1983) further argues that such individuals have difficulties attaining information about job openings outside of their own network. Being part of a constraining network is probably the reason why members of the Somali community experience difficulties in gaining South African friends, and in finding work outside of the Somali community. This constraining social network might also be difficult for the younger population, who need to struggle with what Portes and Sensenbrenner (1993) describe as a

clash, where they have to choose between community solidarity and individual freedom, as community norms clash with influences from an external culture. However, the nature of this constraining network also means that its members could gain rewards from the other members, as suggested by Portes and Sensenbrenner (1993). Nevertheless, these rewards would be linked to the internal communication between its members and would require that the members abide by the rules constructed.

It might be the constraining nature of the social networks amongst the Somalis, which makes it more difficult for women to find an income generating activity upon arrival, as they are bound to their cultural limitations of being a woman, and as they appear not to be able to work in the more hostile locations. The constraining Somali networks might also be the reason as to why migrants with social networks upon arrival are not as successful in obtaining an income generating activity upon arrival as those who are lacking them. The reason for this, as explained by Wilson (1998), is that workers recruited through established social networks often face more oppressive labour conditions where it is difficult to protest due to loyalties to relatives or friends, resulting in individuals working for free. The constraints in the network is also a likely contributing factor as to why obtaining an income generating activity upon arrival seemed to be easier for those arriving between 3-6 years ago. It is likely that the employment opportunities within the social network at this time were not all taken, and that it was easier to start your own business than it became later on. Later on, when employment opportunities had mostly been taken and the security situation limited the possibilities of starting new businesses, the lack of *weak* ties, as elaborated on by Granovetter (1974), gave the Somalis a disadvantage on the labour market, with little news of job openings.

When it comes to having someone to turn to for accommodation and for help during financial insecurity by borrowing Rand 500, the findings contradicted some of the literature since the respondents without social networks upon arrival appeared to be more likely to have someone to turn to. This is most likely because of the *strong* ties which emerge early on between the migrants, and due to the fact that these migrants seem to develop a more extensive network. As Granovetter (1983 p. 209) argues; strong ties provide a "greater motivation to be of assistance and are typically more easily available". He further argues that individuals in insecure positions are more likely to develop strong ties for protection and in order to reduce their insecurity. The migrants coming to South Africa without established networks might therefore build a network of many *strong* ties within the community. The fact that such migrants are not as bound to their own network, may enable them to move more easily (being

fewer in number accommodation becomes less complicated) and have more contacts to turn to for a loan. As has been explained, the community also helped each other out, through a system where everyone gave according to ability, in order to support someone in the community. This further indicates that being part of a broader network is beneficial when one is in need of assistance.

When it came to social bridges, the qualitative interviews did not reveal any specific reason as to why migrants with social networks upon arrival were more likely to be sending remittances. Nevertheless, they gave some insight into the dedication which the Somali community felt towards the sending of remittances. This in itself provides one explanation as to why the Somalis are more prone to send money abroad than other nationalities. The interviews also revealed that there are many established social bridges within South Africa, which in turn might support migrants moving internally.

When it came to social links, defined by Strang and Ager (2008) as the connections of the individual with the structure of the state, all of the respondents appeared to have very social links. Most of them only saw the role of the state as that of providing migration documents. Many described a negative relationship to government institutions and felt that they had been discriminated against by the police or by the Department of Home Affairs, which had not provided them with the necessary documentation for a long period of time.

Chapter 6: Conclusions

The migration experience

How do pre-departure social networks at the final destination affect the choices to migrate, the migration journey and the arrival conditions at the final destination?

Decision to migrate

The literature review emphasised the importance of social networks during different phases of the migration experience. Chatelard (2002), Boyd (1989), Massey (1993), Ghosh (1998), Somerville (2011), Gunatilleke (1996), Hamer and Mazzucato (2010) all pointed to the fact that information is spread within the social network, between migrants and those who are still living in their country of origin. These authors also argued that networks provide assistance, reduce the risks related to the migration journey, and assist with arrangements and planning before the departure.

Nevertheless, there was a discrepancy in the literature concerning the type of information which was transferred within the networks. Ghosh (1998) and Somerville (2011) argued that there was much misinformation, where migrants pretended to be better off than they were, while Gunatilleke (1996) argued that there was less misinformation when persons moved using their networks of friends or family.

The data which has been analysed in this thesis shows that there was a clear distinction between Congolese and Somalis, on the one hand, and Mozambicans on the other, with regards to their stated reasons for leaving their country of origin. The data also revealed that deciding on South Africa as the only possible final destination, was in general as common amongst those having social networks, as it was amongst those lacking such networks. This indicates that the information which social networks provide with regards to decision making, is not as influential as it is often portrayed in the literature. The only group where the idea of South Africa as the only final destination was not equally distributed between those having social networks upon arrival and those lacking them, were the Somalis. The Somalis in fact displayed the opposite characteristics; where those who had social networks in South Africa upon arrival were more likely to have considered other destinations before leaving their country of origin. This finding raised several questions and made the Somali migrants an interesting group for further analysis, which was conducted through a case study.

The qualitative interviews, conducted with Somali migrants, point to that fact that the information which flows within some of the established social networks, is not distorted and does not misrepresent the reality, in the sense that migrants would pretend to be better off than they are. This was confirmed by all of the respondents, who mentioned that they had not encouraged those whom they knew to come to South Africa, nor had they portrayed their lives as being better than they were. This is a finding which would support Gunatilleke's (1996) argument; that social networks in fact reduce the amount of misinformation. However, when it came to the information on which the migrants based their decision to migrate, many of the Somali respondents from the qualitative interviews mentioned that they had obtained it through radio, television and the internet. This use of modern technology to obtain information about potential destinations was not discussed very extensively by authors included in the literature review. The use of these information channels might in fact mean that migrants who do not have established social networks in the country of destination to rely on for information, will have gained a broader scope of information. Having more varied, and perhaps more impartial, sources of information on which they can base their decision, could in fact make them more well-informed when it comes to the overall situation and opportunities in the country of destination.

The journey towards South Africa

The nature of the migration journey towards South Africa varied significantly between the different nationalities, and naturally also between the individual respondents. Although this is not surprising in itself, it was also revealed that the amount of time which it took for the different groups to reach South Africa varied significantly. The nationality which stood out in this respect was the Somali population, the members of which stayed abroad for approximately ten months on average. This should be compared with the Congolese migrants, who stayed abroad for one and a half month on average, and the migrants from Mozambique who only stayed abroad for two weeks on average, while en route. The quantitative analysis did not provide a satisfactory explanation for this finding, even though it could be assumed that this was at least partly due to the geographical proximity of Mozambique to South Africa. Concerning the migrants from DRC, several of the respondents travelled to South Africa by air, which would naturally shorten the journey. However, this was not sufficient in understanding why the Somali population to such a large extent spent more time en route than the other nationalities. This made the Somali migrants a good choice for further investigations

through the qualitative case study. Further investigations, during the interviews with the Somali migrants, revealed the main reason as to the longer periods of time spent en route.

During the interviews with the Somali community, two distinct groups surfaced; those who came straight to South Africa, and those who stayed in Kenya for a longer period of time before coming to South Africa. This explains why the Somali migrants generally took longer to reach South Africa. This might not in itself appear to be a very interesting finding, but it does also highlight the fact that the often used categories of forced and voluntary migration, as well as the concept of push and pull factors, provide complications. In the case of the Somali migrants, the reason why most of them (96%) left Somalia was, at least partly, because of reasons traditionally associated with forced migration. As shown in the interview material, this did however not mean that their migration choices where less thought through, or that these migrants should have lacked agency. Many of the respondents left Somalia in order to escape violence (forced migration) and arrived in Kenya, only to find that they had limited possibilities there. Many of them therefore chose to migrate once more (voluntary migration), this time to South Africa.

This finding complicates the use of the research question with regards to the choice of migrating, as choice is often used to describe both the decision to leave and the decision to travel to a specific country. Instead of portraying the migration choice as a choice of leaving one country in order to arrive in the next, it would be more productive to discuss the decision to leave a country and the choice of destination country separately, as this would reflect the reality for many migrants more realistically. Many of the Somalis, especially those who did not have social networks in South Africa, decided to leave Somalia, but did not initially decide on the final country of destination. At a later stage, they would decide that South Africa would be better for them than Kenya, and consequently made the choice to leave again. Using this differentiation of choice, all of the Somalis interviewed, and most of the Somalis included in the quantitative data, made the decision to *escape* persecution (forced migration) in Somalia. Some also decided straight away to make South Africa their final destination.

Hence, the presence of social networks abroad seem to have had limited, or no, effect on the decision to leave Somalia. However, in choosing a country of destination, social networks seemed to a large extent to have had an impact on the decision, often resulting in a shorter route to the final destination. Although those Somalis who did have social networks in South Africa before departure more often than the other nationalities considered alternative

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destinations, their routes to South Africa were more direct than those of the Somalis without social networks. This was even more true when it came to the Mozambicans where those who lacked social networks spent twice as long a period of time en route, and the Congolese, where those who did not have social networks generally spent five times as long a period of time, travelling to South Africa. Although none of the respondents from the qualitative interviews would recommend their friends or family to come to South Africa, Somalis still arrive in Johannesburg. This could simply mean that decisions are based on practical reasons, such as a helping hand at the final destination, rather than unrealistic expectations conveyed by dishonest contacts.

Arrival

The impact which social networks seemed to have on the arrival conditions in the quantitative data, appeared to both validate and contradict the literature on the subject. Within the data, a majority of the respondents did in fact know someone upon arrival. These social networks did however not usually consist of close family members, but rather close friends, cousins or uncles. The help which these contacts provided the newly arrived migrants with was, as mentioned in the literature review, accommodation. However, a large proportion (35%) of the respondents stating that they did not know anyone in South Africa before departure still responded that they stayed with friends from their country of origin upon arrival. This was specifically mentioned by migrants from Mozambique (43%) and migrants from DRC (53%).This finding was in some regards contradictory, since respondents stating that they had stayed with friends upon arrival, even though they did not have any, would suggest that the concept of friendship differed for the respondents between questions. However, four likely scenarios were suggested[127] to explain this contradiction. Even though these proposed scenarios seemed likely, an improved understanding of the arrival conditions amongst migrants was needed. This need was met by the qualitative case study on the Somali Migrants. The Somalis were particularly interesting as a group in this regard, since it contained migrants who did not have social networks, yet had stated that they stayed with friends or family, as well as migrants with social networks who nevertheless stayed at a hotel/shelter/hostel or guesthouse.

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[127] The scenarios were: 1. They considered or referred to their new housemates as friends; 2. The respondent moved in with people whom he or she got to know during the journey to South Africa; 3. These persons were not living in South Africa before the respondent departed from Somalia, but moved there before he or she arrived; 4. The respondents stayed with acquaintances or friends of friends, which they referred to as their own friends upon arrival.

What was interesting during the interviews, was that none of the Somali respondents described having difficulties obtaining accommodation upon arrival. This finding does not in itself challenge any of the literature which formed the basis of the literature review, but it does highlight that it should not be assumed that migrants with social networks would be far better off upon arrival than those lacking social networks. The arrival conditions seemed to be influenced more by the type of social community which the migrants came to, than by the personal social networks available at the country of destination.

In the literature review, Granovetter (1973) compared social networks to the structure of the labour market, stating that a man who changes jobs does not only move from one network to another, but also establishes a link between these two networks. Drawing from the findings of this thesis, the Somali community and the structure of its social networks could be viewed as a company with branches at different locations. Knowing a particular person within this company seems to be less relevant than having an understanding of the norms of the company, or having worked for the company before. Throughout the interviews, the Somali respondents stated that in order to gain help from within the community, it was not as important that you knew someone, as was your identity, namely being Somali. The norms and the traditions within the community meant that you were in many ways expected to help newly arrived migrants, especially the persons who had no one to turn to. The high percentages of migrants amongst the other nationalities who lacked social networks, but who nevertheless stayed with friends upon arrival, could also suggest that this characteristic is not limited to the Somali community. This challenges the assumption that social networks create a significant advantage for newly arrived migrants.

Conclusions

In conclusion, the importance of social networks during the migration experience seems in many regards to have been overrated within the literature on the subject, at least when looking at the data used in this thesis. While social networks seem to have an impact on the decisions which migrants make when it comes to the choice of destination, it is not certain that they actually influence the decision to migrate. With regards to the information which the decision is based on, those with friends or family at the final destination might in fact be less informed about the general situation in a country, than those who lacked such networks. The data nevertheless shows that migrants who lacked social networks spent a longer period of time en route.

This thesis has also shown that migrants who knew someone at the final destination were more likely to obtain help with, for instance, travelling arrangements and funding, something which corresponds with the literature. When it comes to the arrival conditions for migrants, those who had social networks upon arrival naturally stayed with family or friends more often. Nevertheless, judging from the qualitative interviews with Somali migrants, it still did not seem that finding accommodation constituted much of a problem, since the community was willing to help out. In this regard, it appeared as though most migrants were aware of the most common problems which newly arrived migrants experience, and were therefore willing to help out. This was particularly true for the Somali community, where the willingness to provide newly arrived migrants with accommodation appeared to be extensive.

This leads to the conclusion that the most important aspect of social networks during the migration experience, might not be that you personally knew someone at the final destination, but rather that you were familiar with the type of network available. Although, you might not know a particular person within the community to which you migrate, you could still have the advantage of having co-nationals in the country of destination, and the cultural knowledge needed to find and make use of the assistance available.

The adaptation process

How does the level of adaptation differ between migrants who had established social networks available at their final destination before departure, and those migrants who did not have such networks?

The literature review provided an overview of the different functions of social networks, stating that they may constitute a great advantage for migrants upon arrival (Boyd, 1987; Kosher, 1997; Willem, 2003; and Massey, 1987), but that they may also be constraining in some instances, by putting individuals in an isolated and disadvantaged position (Stuart, 2008; Wilson, 1998; and Portes and Sensenbrenner, 1993). There was therefore a need for an improved understanding of the structure and nature of the networks of the migrant groups included in this thesis, before any further analysis of the adaptation process could be conducted. The quantitative data revealed that, following the concept of constraining networks put forward in the literature review, the group which corresponded with this definition the most were the Somalis, followed by the Congolese and the Mozambicans. The Somalis stood out as the migrants who most often mentioned feeling constrained by their identity. They also placed a greater emphasis on preserving their customs and traditions. This

way of defining and better understanding the structure of the social networks which the migrants faced upon arrival, also meant that some preconceptions were outlined, which could be tested later on. For example, the literature would suggest that the Somalis in this case, being constrained, would be less successful in adapting to their host country.

The most contradictory finding when applying the different ideas which were brought up in the literature review, was that the respondents with established social networks (not considering the level of constraint) upon arrival were less likely to be successful (with regards to income generating activity, having someone to turn to for accommodation and being able to borrow Rand 500), than those who lacked such networks. The group which was the most constraining, namely the Somalis, were in fact the most successful compared to the other groups when it came to many of the indicators analysed, findings which contradict much of the literature on the subject.

When it came to having an *income generating activity upon arrival*, the migrants from Mozambique were the most successful, followed closely by the migrants from Somalia, and finally the migrants from Congo. However, the most interesting finding was that having social networks established at the destination in fact decreased the likelihood of having an income generating activity. The Somali migrants, who most seldom had established social connections in South Africa before departure, similarly often had an income generating activity upon arrival. This made the Somalis a suitable group for further analysis. The findings from the interviews with respondents from the Somali community gave some possible answers for this finding; migrants with social networks upon arrival did not always search for jobs immediately, or were sometimes working for free for friends and family members known from before. Another possible explanation as to why the migrants without social networks did not gain an income-generating activity, could be that these respondents did not have to establish new social bonds in South Africa, as did the migrants who lacked social networks upon arrival. Migrants without social networks might therefore gain more connections, which they could put to use in their search for work. The members of the Somali community were further self-employed to a larger extent, or worked with other Somalis, something which could also be explained by the characteristics of a constraining network. Somalis also appeared to be experiencing more problems with meeting South African friends and in finding work with South African employers.

Looking at the aspects of having someone to turn to *for accommodation* and *to borrow Rand 500,* indicators which were used to look at housing and social bonds, the same tendencies were revealed as observed with the indicator of *income generating activity upon arrival*. Migrants who did not know anyone when they came to South Africa, as well as those who travelled alone, were more likely to have someone to turn to when having problems with accommodation or money. The reasonable explanation found for this during the interviews, was that those who had social networks or travelled with others experienced more difficulties finding accommodation, due to the fact that they were part of a larger household. Finding someone to accommodate them was therefore more difficult, sometimes demanding that family members were split up as a short-term solution. A similar explanation appeared when looking at the ability to borrow Rand 500, since those who did not have any friends or family upon arrival were more likely to gain sympathy, seeing as they had no one to turn to. It is also quite possible that theses migrants more quickly established a wider network of friends who could help them with financial issues. The Somali community also appeared to assist migrants in need collectively, by making small individual contributions in order to gather the money needed. This custom seemed to be particularly helpful to those who arrived in South Africa without the security of close friends or family.

With regards to the *sending of remittances,* respondents who had social networks before departure were more likely to be sending money. The data showed that these migrants had also received money from abroad, as well as from within the country of origin, more often before their departure than those migrants lacking social networks. This suggests that the migrants who had social networks upon arrival also had stronger bonds to other social networks. According to the definition provided in the literature review, this would also mean that they had stronger social bridges to their country of origin, than those who lacked social networks upon arrival. This finding, in relation to the findings of the previous indicators, suggests that migrants without social networks could be seen as more successful in their adaptation process, since they are not as connected to their country of origin. Naturally, there might be several reasons as to why migrants with social networks are more prone to be sending remittances. Nevertheless, it is interesting to observe that having social networks upon arrival displayed a positive relation to this indicator.

The data material analysed in this thesis, with regards to the impact of having social networks upon arrival, does not present any obvious relation to what has been defined as social links. An indicator which appeared to be significant when it came to the development of social links

was however the *time spent in South Africa*, which is understandable. Having social networks upon arrival can therefore not be said to have an impact on your connection to the government of the country of destination, or to its institutions. Rather, it is likely that such connections are developed by the migrants over a longer period of time, and are less influenced by their networks.

Looking at the five indicators used to assess how the success of adaptation differed between those who had social networks upon arrival and those who lacked them, it seems that those who did not have friends or family in South Africa upon arrival were more successful. This finding contradicts much of the literature on the subject and brings out many new unanswered questions about previous research. The most important question is why so much research has emphasised the advantages of having social networks throughout the migration experience (e.g. Boyd, 1987; Kosher, 1997; Willem, 2003; and Massey, 1987). Nevertheless, this thesis has found that there is a significant difference between those who had social networks upon arrival and those who lacked them. According to the data, migrants who arrive in a new country without social networks are, perhaps surprisingly, more likely to be successful. One reason for this appears to be that they are not bound by any previous connections, as are those migrants who have friends and family in the country of destination. Migrants without previous social networks can therefore navigate more successfully in this new environment.

Limits of the study and the way forward

Before proposing a way forward in research concerning social networks, a short reflection on the limits of this study is in order. This study has used a comprehensive data material to investigate the importance of social networks for urban migrants. Nevertheless, it is still important to point out that all of the quantitative analyses have been conducted using secondary data, which presents a greater risk for hidden errors. Having said that, it is also important to point out that few of the studies included in the literature review used an equally comprehensive material to research the importance of social networks. Rather, these studies were usually based on observations and a limited number of interviews, which might be the reason for their end result. Even though this study contradicts much of the previous research concerning social networks, it is also important to remember that all of the findings from this study are based on migrants living in the urban setting of Johannesburg. The results might therefore not be applicable to other contexts, for example: refugee camp settings, or more developed host countries.

Despite these limitations, this thesis has highlighted the impact which established social networks in the country of destination have on the migration process, with regards to the choice, journey, arrival and adaptation. The question which has yet to be answered, is why the findings to such a large extent challenge much of the literature on the subject. One problem identified in the literature is the lack of proper definitions when it comes to analysing social networks, something which has also been a struggle in this thesis. Defining social networks as having family or friends is in many regards not adequate, since this definition lacks substance; individuals who completely lack friends and family are extremely scarce. Rather, it is important to analyse the nature and importance of these networks to the individual, depending on the context.

This thesis has looked particularly at the presence of social networks at the country of destination before departure. This is one example of how social networks can be defined more closely, thereby also creating a control group which constitutes the opposite. The use of a control group, consisting of respondents who lack social networks, is another aspect which has often been overlooked within this particular research area. By not using a control group, much of the research conducted on the subject arrives at the conclusion that having friends and family upon arrival means receiving help; while it is merely assumed that the opposite is true for those who do not have social networks. This thesis has shown that those who lack social networks at the country of destination before departure quickly form their own support systems, and that these systems, in some regards, are more willing to provide assistance.

Another issue with most of the research conducted so far, is the disproportionate focus on the fact that family and friends provide assistance to migrants. This is not very interesting in itself, since migrants are no different from anyone else in this regard. Whether you are a migrant or not, you are likely to receive assistance from friends and family with, amongst other things: accommodation, work, and financial issues. Hence, examining whether family and friends are helpful is hardly one of the most pressing needs when it comes to future research within migration studies. With a closer definition, the use of a control group, and the use of more distinct research questions, which look at more specific aspects of social networks, the conclusions drawn will enable a further development of the research field.

The way forward which I see in migration research, when it comes to social networks, is a research which is more focused on the nature of social networks. Such research should examine: how social networks are used throughout the migration process, how social

networks are created and upheld upon arrival, how the support system is used during the adaptation process, how social networks may constrain individuals, and the factors which keep these networks together. As such, the research needs to move away from the "safe zones", where results are easily predicted, to research where our views on social networks are questioned, and where different types of social connections are more closely defined. This would require a more open-ended, unprejudiced research approach, in order to capture whether and how the social patterns of migrants actually differ from those of non-migrants.

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Appendix 1: Ager and Strang's conceptual framework

A Conceptual Framework Defining Core Domains of Integration

Markers and Means	Employment	Housing	Education	Health
Social Connection		Social Bridges	Social Bonds	Social Links
Facilitators			Language and Cultural Knowledge	Safety and Stability
Foundation			Rights and Citizenship	

(Ager & Strang, 2008, p. 170)

Appendix 2: Quantitative data overview

Survey Name	**ACP**
Survey Date:	2006
Participants in the Survey	800 Respondent
Locations for Sample	1. Yeoville, 2. Berea, (N=147) 3. Bertrams, (N=64) 4. Bezuidenhout Valley, (N=42) 5. Fordsburg, (N=35) 6. Mayfair,(N=186) 7. Rosettenville, (N=368)
Sections in the survey	1. Demographic Profile Of Respondent & Cohabiters 2. Pre-Migration Conditions & Expectations 3. Documenting Migration And Arrival 4. Economic Networks And Livelihood Strategies 5. Legal And Regulatory Encounters 6. Institutional & Organisational Interactions And Expectations 7. Loyalties And Affiliations; Relations With Host Communities 8. Future Expectations
Questions	323

Appendix 3: Qualitative interview questions

Social Network Interview Questions

1. What was your main reason(s) for migrating?
    a. How did you travel here and did you travel with family or friends?
    b. When did you decide to come to South Africa and why?
    c. When did you arrive in Johannesburg?

2. Could you tell me about the expectations you had on life in South Africa before you left your home country?
    a. How do you feel about that now?
    b. Where do you think those expectations came from?
    c. Had you received any information about how people live in South Africa before you departure?
    d. Has your life in South Africa turned out as you expected before you came, how so or how not so?

3. Did you know anyone in Johannesburg before coming here and if so what was your relationship to him/her/them?
    a. Did he/she/they influence your decision to migrate to South Africa?
    b. Did he/she/they help you to make arrangements before departure? If so, how?
    c. Did he/she/they help you during your journey here? If so, how?
    d. Did he/she/they help you once you arrived here? If so, How?
    e. How important was this assistance for you?

4. Did anyone else help you once you arrived in Johannesburg? If so, who and how?
    - With what did those persons help you specifically?
    - What was your relation to that person?
    - Someone you knew before departure?
    - How important do you personally think that this assistance was for you?

5. What was it like when you arrived in South Africa?
    a. How did live during your first week here and how did you get that accommodation?
    b. Did you work during the first weeks following your arrival and with what?
    c. How did you get this job?

6. How do you support yourself now?
    a. What do you work with?
    b. How did you get this job?

7. Are you in contact with friends or family from your home country, and if so, what do you tell them about South Africa?
    a. Would you advise friends or family to come to South Africa, and if so why? (if not, why not)?

b. Do you ever send money outside of Johannesburg? To whom and why?

8. Do your friends and family have expectations on you and your accomplishments in South Africa? Do you find these expectations realistic?

9. Have you assisted friends or family moving to South Africa following your own arrival? If so;
    a. With what did you assist them?
    b. Why did you assist them?

10. I would like to ask you a few questions about who you spend time with?
    a. Is it important to socialize with people from the same clan as yourself?
    b. Do you have friends who are not Somali? If so where are they from?
    c. How did you get to know them?
    d. Have you gotten new friends since you arrived in South Africa? If so how did you get to know them?
    e. Have your friends helped you with accommodation or work? How so?

11. Tell me about your living condition in South Africa?
    a. How do you live now and who are you currently living with?
    b. What is the main reason for living where you live?

12. If you have any problems who do you turn to with these problems?
    a. How can that or those persons help you?
    b. If you needed to borrow 500 rand who would you turn to? Why this person?
    c. If you needed help with accommodation who would you turn to? Why?

13. Do you feel that your life is better or worse than it was before you left your country? How so?

14. Do you feel you are better or worse off than your neighbours? How so?

15. How much do you think the South African government helps people to meet their basic needs?

16. Have you yourself been in contact with any South African institutions, (i.e. Police, Hospitals, Social Workers, etc) and if so why? If not, would you turn to them to get help if you needed it?
    a. How do you think they treated you?
    b. Did you receive the assistance which you asked for at the time?

17. How important is it for you to maintain your customs and traditions in South Africa? Why is it important/why is it not important?
    a. Have you ever felt restricted by your nationality?
    b. Has your nationality helped you in any way?
    c. Have you ever had problems because of your clan identity? Has it helped you

Appendix 4: Informed consent form

Informed Consent Form

This document is to confirm my voluntary participation in the research conducted by Daniel Nyström entitled "Matching Dreams with Reality: Understanding the impact of social networks on urban migrants in Johannesburg." The research is being conducted as a master's research project at the African Centre for Migration and Society at the University of Witwatersrand in Johannesburg.

My participation in this research is voluntary and at my own convenience. I understand that neither I nor my family will receive any benefits from this interview and understand that there are no foreseeable risks in participating in this interview. I also understand that I am free to stop the interview at any time, without penalty and that I can choose not to answer any question I do not want to answer without penalty.

I had the opportunity to ask questions, the responses given to me are satisfactory, and I agree to participate in the research. If I have any additional questions I know that I am free to contact Daniel Nyström (079 935 86 72; research@forcedmigration.eu) or his advisor, Dr. Ingrid Palmary (011 717 4698; Ingrid.palmary@wits.ac.za).

PARTICIPANT:

_____

Printed Name   Signature/Mark or Thumbprint   Date

RESEARCHER:

_____

Printed Name   Signature   Date

Appendix 5: ACP survey questionnaire

<div align="right">Questionnaire Code: _ _ _ _ _ _</div>

MIGRATION AND THE NEW AFRICAN CITY (NON-NATIONALS)

To be read to all before beginning interview:

Good evening/day/etc. My name is _____. I am working on a project with the University of the Witwatersrand (WITS) in Johannesburg, that seeks to understand the experiences of people living in various parts of Johannesburg. I do not work for the government of any country or a development agency.

If you agree, I would like to ask you a series of questions about your life and opinions. This is not a test or an examination and my questions do not have 'right' or 'wrong' answers. I only want to know about your life and your own ideas. Please tell me what you honestly think and remember, <u>you are free to not answer questions or to stop the interview at any time</u>. Your responses will help us to develop a better understanding of the needs and ideas of people living in your area. What you say will be kept confidential and will not be given to the government or the police.

Since I do not work for the government or an aid organization, I can not promise you anything for your participation except my appreciation

All together this survey should take just between 30 and 45 minutes to complete. Are you ready to go ahead?

Interviewer should <u>sign</u> in the appropriate box below:

Yes	No

If the answer to the questions above are yes, the interviewer should complete the following questions

1   Interviewer's Code:

Interviewers code:	

2   Date of Interview:

Day (XX)	Month (XX)	Year (XXXX)

3   Neighbourhood/Interview area:

Start Time:	Finish Time:

4   Total Minutes Spent on Interview:

Minutes	

5.   Respondent's sex:

Male	1
Female	2

6.   Housing Type (where person stays):

Free Standing House	1	Hostel, Dormitory, Boarding House	5
Semi-Detached House	2	Self-Built/Informal Housing	6
Apartment (Single Family)	3	Other (Specify)	98
Apartment (Multi-Family)	4		

I   DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF RESPONDENT & COHABITERS

100   In which country were you born?
       Record country name and code later using COUNTRY CODES

Country Name	Code

101   How old are you? *If respondent can't remember age, ask:* What year were you born?
       Record year in left box and calculate age. Record age in box to right:.

Years	

102   How long, in total, have you lived in South Africa? If this is not your first time in South Africa, please
       tell me how long you have lived here altogether. *Record one response.*

Less than 1 week	1
1 Week-1 Month	2
More than 1 month but less than 3 months	3
More than 3 months but less than 6 months	4
More than 6 months, but less than 1 year	5
More than 1 year but less than 2 years	6
More than 2 year but less than 3 years	7
More than 3 year but less than 4 years	8
More than 4 year but less than 5 years	9
More than 5 year but less than 6 years	10
More than 6 year but less than 7 years	11
More than 7 year but less than 8 years	12
More than 8 year but less than 9 years	13
More than 9 year but less than 10 years	14
More than 10 Years	15
DK/RA	0
Question not asked	99

103   I'm going to read you a list. Please tell me which of the following best describes your current marital
       status?

       Read out. Record <u>one</u> answer only

Single (never married)	1
Living with partner	2
Married (legal/religious/traditional) and living together	3
Married (legal/religious/tradition) but temporarily living apart	4
Divorced or Permanently Separated	5
Widowed	6
DK/RA	0

104   What tribe or clan do you usually say you belong to when you are speaking with people from *country of origin*? *Record answer for later coding*

Ethnic group/Tribe	Code

105   If you have one, what is your religion?

No religion	1
Muslim	2
Catholic	3
Protestant (any denomination) (i.e., Christian non-Catholic):	4
Hindu	5
Other religion (specify):	98
DK/RA	0

106   What is the highest level of formal education you have completed?
       Do not read list. Circle one response only

No formal schooling/some primary education	1
Finished Primary Education	2
Finished Secondary Education	3
Finished Tertiary Education (BA, BS, Diploma, etc.)	4
Post-grad degree (Masters, doctorate, post-graduate diploma)	5
Other (specify):	98
DK/RA	0

107   Apart from that which you just described, have you had any sort of additional training or education?

Yes	1→
No	2↓
Still in school	97↓
DK/RA	0↓

108-109 What kind of training? *Do not read out. Circle first two responses **only***

English language	1
Other language course	2
Financial/Business management	3
Tailoring/Sewing	4
Shoe repair	5
Univ. Degree (grad, post-grad, etc.)	6
Law	7
Management course	8
Computer programming/skills	9
Religious school	10
Teacher training	11
Technical/Professional training	12
Other (specify):	98
DK/RA	0
Question not asked	99

110-2 Which languages can you speak and understand?
Record first three responses for coding later according to LANGUAGE CODES.

110	Language 1	
111	Language 2	
112	Language 3	

If more than one language is mentioned in 110-112 *ask:*

113 Which one of these would you consider to be your mother tongue?
Use LANGUAGE CODES or *'99' if question not asked*

Mother Tongue:	

If respondent mentions English or another South African language in question 110-112, ask:

114 Did you start learning *language name* after coming to South Africa?

Yes	1
No	2
DK/RA	0
Question not asked	99

115 How many children do you have?

Record Number of Children (0-99). *If >0, answer questions to right.* ➔ If 'no', go to 120 below	

116-118 What languages do your children speak?
Record first three mentioned using LANGUAGE CODES. *Record '99' if not asked. Record '98' if child is too young to speak.*

116	Child's Language 1:	
117	Child's Language 2	
118	Child's Language 3	

119 How many of your children have been born in South Africa?

Number born in South Africa	
No children/ Not asked	99

120 Including yourself, how many people now live in your house or flat here in Johannesburg?

Household Members	

121 Including yourself, how many of these would you say are part of your household? When I say household, I mean people with whom you live and regularly share resources.

Household Members	

122 Are there people who regularly stay with you in Johannesburg for periods of more than two months who are not staying with you now? If so, how many?

None	0
Yes (record number)	
DK/RA	98

123-4   How are you related to the people you are living with now.

Do not read list. Prompt if necessary. After first response, ask if there are other people there as well. Circle up to two responses

Friends from South Africa	1
People I did not know from South Africa	2
Friends from *country/community of origin*	3
People I didn't know from *country/community of origin*	4
Members of my pre-migration household	5
Family/kin already in South Africa/Johannesburg	6
I am at a shelter	7
I am at a hotel	8
I am at a guest house/lodge	9
I am at a hostel	10
I am staying alone	11
Other (specify):	98
DK/RA	0
Question not asked	99

125   Are you currently either a refugee or asylum seeker?

Yes	1 →
No **Go to Q200**	2 ↓
DK/RA	0

126-7   When did you apply for refugee status in South Africa?

126	MONTH (01-12)	
	DK/RA	0
	Question not asked	99

127	Year (XXXX)	
	DK/RA	0
	Question not asked	99

128   Do you currently have refugee status in South Africa?

Yes	1
No (*Skip next question*)	2
DK/RA	0
Question not asked	99

129   How many months in total did you wait between when you applied and when you received your status?

Write '99' if skipped

Number of months:	

II   PRE-MIGRATION CONDITIONS & EXPECTATIONS

I am now going to ask you about your life before you came to Johannesburg.

200   Did you live in a city, town, or in a rural area, for most of your life before coming to Johannesburg?

City	1
Town	2
Rural area	3
Township or Informal Settlement	4
Have always lived in Johannesburg **(Go to Q400)**	97
DK/RA	0
Question not asked	99

201   What was its name? *Write name in space below.*

Name of Place:	

202   Including yourself, how many people were in your household in *community of origin* before you left? By this I mean people with whom you lived and regularly shared food, money, or other resources.

Number in Pre-migration household:	
Question not asked	99

203   When you left *country of origin*, did you travel with other members of your household?

Yes	1 →
No	2 ↓
DK/RA	0 ↓
Question not asked	99

204-217 What household members did you travel with?

Do not r*ead list.* Record all responses.

		YES	NO	Not asked
204	Spouse	1	0	99
205	Child (one)	1	0	99
206	Children (more than one)	1	0	99
207	Mother	1	0	99
208	Father	1	0	99
209	Sister	1	0	99
210	Brother	1	0	99
211	First cousin	1	0	99
212	Aunt	1	0	99
213	Uncle	1	0	99
214	Grandmother	1	0	99
215	Grandfather	1	0	99
216	Mother in law and/or Father in Law	1	0	99
217	Other (specify):	1	0	99

218   How long was it between when you started thinking about leaving *country of origin* and when you actually left to go live elsewhere? *Circle one answer only*.

Less than 1 week	1
More than 1 Week-1 Month	2
More than 1 Month-3 Months	3
More than 3 months -6 Months	4
More than 6 Months-1 Year	5
More than 1 Year – 2 Years	6
More than 2 Years	7
DK/RA	0
Question not Asked	99

219   When you were thinking of leaving *country of origin*, did you consider going to live anywhere else other than South Africa?

Yes	1 →
No, only considered South Africa/Joburg	2 ↓
Had no specific plan but planned to leave anyway	3 ↓
DK/RA	0 ↓
Question not asked	99

220-222 Where else did you consider going?
        Record up to three countries/communities using COUNTRY CODES, *Code '99' for question not asked or if country not mentioned.*

		CODE
220	Alt. Country 1	
221	Alt. Country 2	
222	Alt. Country 3	

223-224 Why did you ultimately decide to leave *Country /Community of Origin?*
        Do not read list. Circle up to two responses

For economic reasons (to get a job, improved standard living, etc)	1
To escape war, conflict	2
To escape political oppression	3
To escape religious persecution/discrimination	4
To escape ethnic/tribal persecution/discrimination, ethnic intolerance	5
To escape gender/sexual discrimination	6
For educational opportunities	7
To be reunited with relatives	8
Access to government aid	9
Access to aid from churches/NGOs	10
Already familiar with South Africa	11
Easy access to visa/immigration status	12
Easy access to third country	13
Close to country of origin	14
Other (specify):	98
DK/RA	0
Question not asked	99

225   What year did you leave your *community origin* to go live somewhere else?

Write Year (XXXX) in box to the right	Year

226   When you were thinking about leaving *country of origin*, did you already have relatives or close friends living in South Africa?

Yes	1 →
No (**go to Q235**)	2 ↓
DK/RA (**go to Q235**)	0 ↓
Question not asked	99

227-9   Who were they?
Circle the first three responses only.

Spouse	1
Child (one)	2
Children (more than one)	3
Mother	4
Father	5
Sister	6
Brother	7
First cousin	8
Aunt	9
Uncle	10
Grandmother	11
Grandfather	12
Close friends (not blood related)	13
Other (Record):	98
DK/RA	0
Question not asked	99

230   Were you in contact with them before you left?

Yes (**go to next question**)	1
No (**go to Q235**)	2
DK/RA (**go to Q235**)	0
Question not asked	99

231   Did they encourage or help you to come to S. Africa?

Yes (**go to next question**)	1
No (**go to Q235**)	2
DK/RA (**go to Q235**)	0
Question not asked(**go to Q235**)	99

232-4   What kind of help did they give you?
Do not read list. Circle up to three responses.

General information about South Africa	1
Money to pay for travel	2
Buying ticket or travel arrangements	3
Employment help	4
Visa/Immigration/Legal Help	5
School fees	6
School/University application process	7
Information on getting aid from government	8
Information on getting aid from churches/NGOs	9
Provided Accommodation	10
Telephone, communications, contacts	11
Other (specify):	98
DK/RA	0
Question not asked	99

235   You have told me why you left *Country of Origin.* Can you know tell me what was the primary
        reason you decided to come to South Africa instead of another country?
        Do not read out. Circle first answer given only.

For economic reasons (e.g., employment, improved standard of living, etc)	1
This was where I could be resettled	2
To find political freedom	3
To find religious freedom	4
To escape ethnic/tribal persecution/discrimination./ Tolerance of South Africa	5
To escape gender/sexual discrimination	6
For education opportunities	7
To be reunited with family	8
Access to government aid	9
Access to aid from churches/NGOs	10
Access to aid from international organizations	11
Already familiar with South Africa	12
In order to try to get to third country	13
To avoid war/ violence/ conflict	14
Other (specify):	98
DK/RA	0
Question not asked	99

III   DOCUMENTING MIGRATION AND ARRIVAL

Now I would like to ask you a few questions about how you came to South Africa. I want to remind you that I am not working for the government and the information you give me will be kept confidential. Also, please remember that you do not have to answer any question that makes you feel uncomfortable.

300   On your journey to South Africa from *Country of Origin*, did you <u>stay</u> anywhere for more than a week?

Yes	1 →
No (<u>**go to Q316**</u>)	2 ↓
DK/RA (<u>**go to Q316**</u>)	0 ↓
Question not asked	99

301-310   Where did you stay and for how many months?

*Use **COUNTRY CODE**, write answer OR <0=DK/RA, NA; 99=NOT ASKED>*

	Place			Months (<1 code as 1)
301			306	
302			307	
303			308	
304			309	
305			310	

311-3   Did you work in any of those places? If so, where?

If no, write '0' and go to 316.

		Code
311	Work in Country/Place 1	
312	Work in Country/Place 2	
313	Work in Country/Place 3	

314-5 **If respondent did not work in any of the countries mentioned, ask:** If you didn't work, how did you support yourself?

Do not read list. Circle first <u>two</u> responses only

Savings	1
Food/Aid from local people	2
Food/Aid from other refugees/migrants	3
Aid from local churches/NGOs	4
Aid from International Organisation (e.g., UNHCR, WFP, Save the Children)	5
Farming/Small Scale Agriculture	6
Trading things brought from *country of origin*	7
Other (specify):	98
DK/RA	0
Question not asked	99

316 Before coming to South Africa, did you ever stay in a camp or settlement specially designated for refugees or displaced persons?

Yes	1 →
No (**go to Q325**)	2 ↓
DK/RA (**go to Q325**)	0 ↓
Question not asked	99

317-24 What country was the camp in and how long did you stay in that camp altogether?

Code countries using **COUNTRY CODES** *or* <0 =DK/RA, No Answer; 99=Question not asked>

	Country Code		Time Period (Months). <1 month code as '1'.
317		321	
318		322	
319		323	
320		324	

325-326 How did you get the money to pay for your trip here? *Do not read list. Circle first <u>two</u> responses.*

From working in home country/community	1
From my family/friends in home country/community	2
Assistance from church or aid organization	3
From working along the way	4
From my family/friends outside of home country/elsewhere in RSA	5
Credit from a bank or money lender	6
Government of home country/RSA	7
From an organization of refugees from my country in South Africa (specify):	8
Other (specify):	98
DK/RA	0
Question not asked	99

327-9 What means of transportation did you use to come to South Africa?

*Do not read list. Circle only the first **three** responses given. After first mention, prompt:* Did you use any other form of transport?

Foot/Walking	1
Bus	2
Train	3
Private Car	4
Taxi or hired car/pick-up/truck	5
Aid vehicle	6
Military vehicle	7
Boat/Ship	8
Airplane	9
Other (specify):	98
DK/RA	0
Question not asked	99

330   When you finally arrived in South Africa, what border did you cross?
       Do not read out. Circle one answer only.

Zimbabwe Border	1
Mozambican Border	2
Lesotho Border	3
Swaziland Border	4
Botswana Border	5
Namibian Border	6
Sea-port	7
Airport	8
Other (specify):	98
DK/RA	0
Question not asked	99

331   What year did you first arrive in South Africa

Write Year (XXXX) in box to the right	Year

332   Are there still members of your household from *country of origin* living in your *country of origin*?

Yes	1 →
No	2 ↓
DK/RA	0 ↓
Question not asked	99

333-346 Which household members are still living in *country/community of origin*?
       Do not read list. Code as follows:
       <1=Yes (mentioned), 0=NO/DK/RA, 99=Question not asked>.

333	Spouse	1	0	99
334	Child (**one**)	1	0	99
335	Children (**more than one**)	1	0	99
336	Mother	1	0	99
337	Father	1	0	99
338	Sister	1	0	99
339	Brother	1	0	99
340	First cousin	1	0	99
341	Aunt	1	0	99
342	Uncle	1	0	99
343	Grandmother	1	0	99
344	Grandfather	1	0	99
345	Mother/Father in law	1	0	99
346	Other (specify):			

347   Are there members of your household from *country of origin* living in a country other than *country of origin* or South Africa?

Yes	1 →
No	2 ↓
DK/RA	0 ↓
Question not asked	99

348-50   What country or countries are they in? *Record first three responses using* COUNTRY CODES. Code '99' for not asked.

348	Country 1	
349	Country 2	
350	Country 3	

351   Have you ever been taken to or visited the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees' (UNHCR) offices in South Africa?

Yes	1
No	2
DK/RA	0
Question not asked	99

352   Have you ever been taken to or visited the Department of Home Affairs or any other South African government department responsible for immigration?

Yes (specify)	1 →
No	2 ↓
DK/RA	0 ↓
Question not asked	99

353   Were you taken there by the police or a government official?

Yes	1
No	2
DK/RA	0
Question not asked	99

354   Have you ever gone to the offices of a non-governmental organisation or religious organization working with refugees or people from other countries?

Yes	1
No	2
DK/RA	0
Question not asked	99

355-6   Once you were in South Africa, who did you first try to contact here?
Do not read list. Circle up to two answers.

Local South Africans	1
Kin or Family Members already in South Africa	2
Friends in South Africa	3
Members of pre-migration community	4
People from *country of origin*	5
South African aid workers/NGO	6
South African govt. officials	7
Religious leaders	8
Chiefs/village heads from home country	9
Chiefs/village heads from South Africa	10
Employer	11
Educational Institution	12
Other (specify):	98
DK/RA	0
Question not asked	99

357   In what part of Johannesburg did you stay for your first week after arriving in the city? (e.g., town name, suburb, neighbourhood): *Code Circle only <u>one</u> response:*

Alberton	1	Jeppestown	12
Bellevue	2	Kensington	13
Berea	3	Malvern	14
Bertrams	4	Mayfair	15
Bez. Valley	5	Observatory	16
Braamfontein	6	Riverlea	17
Jhb Central Business District	7	Rosettenville	18
Cyrildene	8	Yeoville	19
Doornfontein	9	Other (Specify)	98
Fordsburg	10		
Hillbrow	11	Question not asked	99
		DK/RA	0

358   With whom did you stay for your first week in Johannesburg?
      Do not read list. Prompt if necessary. Circle <u>one</u> answer only.

Friends from South Africa	1
Friends from *country of origin*	2
People I didn't know from *country of origin*	3
Members of my pre-migration household	4
Family/kin already in South Africa	5
Friends from another country (i.e., not SA or country of origin)	6
I stayed at a shelter	7
I stayed at a hotel	8
I stayed at a guest house/lodge	9
I stayed at a hostel	10
Shelter/residence arranged for by organization of refugees from my country (specify):	11
Other (specify):	98
DK/RA	0
Question not asked	99

Now I would like to ask you a few questions about your life since you first came to South Africa

359   How many times have you changed residence since you arrived in South Africa?

Number of times moved	
DK/RA	98
Question not asked	99

360   How long have you been at your <u>current</u> residence? *Do not read out. Circle <u>one</u> answer only.*

Less than 1 month	1
1-3 months	2
3-6 months	3
Less than a year	4
One year exactly or/More than a year	5
More than 2 years	6
DK/RA	0
Question not asked	99

361   Have you or any of your current household members gone back to or visited *country of origin* since you first arrived in South Africa?

Yes, I have	1 →
Yes, <u>one</u> member of my household has returned	2 →
Yes, <u>multiple</u> members of my household have returned	3 →
No	4↓
DK/RA	0↓
Question not asked	99↓

362   How many times have you or any of your current household members returned?

Once	1
Twice	2
Three Times or more	3
DK/RA	0
Question not asked	99

363-4   Why did you return to *country of origin*?
        Do not read list. Circle Record up to <u>two</u> responses.

Family Reasons	1
Work/Financial reasons	2
Religion	3
Political Reasons (e.g., to vote, fight)	4
Visa/ Legal reasons in South Africa	5
Holiday	6
Other (specify):	98
DK/RA	0
Question not asked	99

365   Have you or a member of your <u>current</u> household travelled to a country other than *country of origin* since you arrived in South Africa?   This could be to visit or to stay.

Yes, I have	1 →
Yes, <u>one</u> member of my household has travelled	2 →
Yes, <u>multiple</u> members of my household have travelled	3 →
No **(go to Q400)**	4 ↓
DK/RA **(go to Q400)**	0 ↓
Question not asked	99

366-8   Where did you or your <u>current</u> household members go? *Record up to <u>three</u> responses using* COUNTRY CODES

366	Country 1	
367	Country 2	
368	Country 3	
Question not asked		99

369-370 Why did you or your household member go to *third country*?
Do not read list. Circle Record up to <u>two</u> responses.

Family Reasons	1
Work/Financial reasons	2
Religion	3
Political Reasons (e.g., to vote, fight, campaign)	4
Visa/Legal reasons in South Africa	5
Holiday	6
Other (specify):	98
DK/RA	0
Question not asked	99

371   Are any of your household members still in a third country. By that I mean not South Africa or *country of origin*?

Yes	1
No	2
DK/RA	0
Question not asked	99

IV   ECONOMIC NETWORKS AND LIVELIHOOD STRATEGIES

I am now going to ask you about how you and your household get what you need to live here in South Africa. I am also interested to know how this has changed since you came to South Africa so some of these questions may ask you to remember your life in <u>country of origin</u>*.*

400   Who would you say is the primary wage earner in your household? By this I mean close family or people with whom you regularly share resources?

I am	1
Spouse or Partner	2
Cousin or other adult relative	3
Child	4
Friend or non-blood relative	5
DK/RA	0

401   What did you do to make money when you <u>first</u> came to Johannesburg? *If respondent simply says 'work', ask: 'What kind of work?'*

Use ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES *codes; 99 for Not Asked. If the activity is not listed, record under "Other" for later coding   If Student, Self-Employed, or unemployed, record and go to 403.*

Kind of work:	Code

402   Can you tell me where the person you worked for when you first came to South Africa came from. If you know their tribe or clan, please tell me if it is the same as yours:

Record <u>one</u> *answer.*

Refugee/Migrant of your tribe/ethnic group	1
Refugee/Migrant of another tribe/ethnic group from *country of origin*	2
Refugee/Migrant from another country of origin	3
South African of your own tribe/ethnic group	4
South African of another tribe/ethnic group	5
Other (specify): (If born in the country probe whether in refugee camp or not)	6
Didn't work upon arrival	7
Started business immediately	8
Immigrated as a child/Grew up in Johannesburg	97
DK/RA	0
Question not asked	99

403   What would you consider to be the best job you had before coming to South Africa?

Use ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES *codes; 99 for Not Asked. If the activity is not listed, record under "Other" for later coding*

Kind of work:	Code

404   How would you define your current employment status?

Read list, except text in parentheses. Circle one answer only.

Unemployed **(go to Q407)**	1↓
Working part-time (formal/informal sector)	2 →
Working full-time (formal/informal sector)	3 →
Casual employment/temporary worker	4 →
Self-employed (run small business/income generation project)	5 →
Voluntary worker (receive no money)	6 →
Housewife/homemaker	7 →
University/technikon/correspondence student	8 →
Other (specify):	98 →

405   How would you describe the kind of work that you are currently doing here in Johannesburg?

Code using ''ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES'. If the activity is not listed, record under "Other" for later coding. Record 99 if self-employed or homemaker.

Kind of work:	Code

406   And what group do the person or people for whom you work belong to? If working for a company or institution, please tell me your boss' nationality/ethnicity.

Read list. Circle <u>one</u> answer only:

A non-South African of your tribe/ethnic group	1
Non-South African of another tribe/ethnic group	2
Someone else from another country	3
South African of your own tribe/ethnic group	4
South African of another tribe/ethnic group	5
Other (specify):	6
Respondent is not working at all/self-employed (*do not read*)	96
DK/RA	0
Question not asked	99

407   Given your education and work experience, what kind of work would you like to be doing? If you
       are a student, what would you like to do when you are finished studying?

       Use ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES *codes; 99 for Not Asked. If the activity is not listed, record under*
       "Other" for later coding

Kind of work:	Code

408   If you don't mind me asking, approximately how much do you personally earn <u>per week</u>?
       Do not read list.

0/nothing	1
Less that R199	2
R200-499	3
R500-799	4
R800-1099	5
R1100-1499	6
R1500-1999	7
R2000-2499	8
More than R2500	9
DK/RA	0

409   And approximately how much money does your household earn <u>per week</u> from all sources of
       income combined?   *Do not read list.*

0/nothing	1
Less that R199	2
R200-499	3
R500-799	4
R800-1099	5
R1100-1499	6
R1500-1999	7
R2000-2499	8
More than R2500	9
DK/RA	0

410   Approximately how much money <u>per week</u> does your household spend on accommodation?
       Do not read list.

0/nothing	1
Less that R199	2
R200-499	3
R500-799	4
R800-1099	5
More than R1100	6
DK/RA	0

411   Approximately how much <u>per week</u> does your household spend on food?
       Do not read list.

0/nothing	1
Less that R100	2
R100-200	3
R201-300	4
R301-400	5
R401-500	6
More than R500	7
DK/RA	0

412   Do you ever send money or goods to your family or friends outside of Johannesburg?

Yes	1 →
No (**Go to Q421**)	2 ↓

413-4   To whom do you usually send the money?
Circle first two responses

Parent	1
Spouse	2
Siblings	3
Close relatives	4
Friends	5
Other (record):	98
DK/RA	0
Question Not Asked	99

415   Approximately how often do you send money to someone outside of Johannesburg?

Almost every week	1
Almost every month	2
A few times a year (2-3x)	3
When there is a special need	4
Rarely	5
Never	6
DK/RA	0
Question not asked	99

416-7   Where do the people you send money to live now?
Record up to two responses using **COUNTRY CODES**. Code <99> if not asked

416: Country One	
417: Country Two	

418   When you send money or goods, approximately how much money do you send per year?

0/nothing	1
Less that R199	2
R200-499	3
R500-799	4
R800-1099	5
R1100-1499	6
R1500-1999	7
More than R2000	8
DK/RA	0
Question not asked	99

419-20 How do you send these funds?
Record first two responses.

Friends	1
Family members	2
Money Gram / Western Union	3
Religious organization	4
Community remittance organization	5
Commercial bank	6
Other (record):	98
DK/RA	0
Question not asked	99

421   Do you ever receive money or goods from your family or friends outside of Johannesburg?

Yes	1 →
No **(Go to Q430)**	2 ↓

422-3   From whom do you usually receive the money?
Circle first two responses

Parent	1
Spouse	2
Siblings	3
Close relatives	4
Friends	5
Other (record):	98
DK/RA	0
Question Not Asked	99

424   Approximately how often do you receive money from outside of Johannesburg?

Almost every week	1
Almost every month	2
A few times a year	3
When there is a special need	4
Rarely	5
Never	6
DK/RA	0
Question not asked	99

425-6   Where do the people who send you money live?
Record up to two responses using COUNTRY CODES. Code <99> if not asked

425: Country One	
426: Country Two	

427   Approximately how much money do you receive per year?

0/nothing	1
Occasionally	2
Less that R199	3
R200-499	4
R500-799	5
R800-1099	6
R1100-1499	7
R1500-1999	8
More than R2000	9
DK/RA	0
Question not asked	99

428-9   How do you get these funds?
Record first two responses.

Friends	1
Family members	2
Western Union/Money Gram	3
Religious organization	4
Community remittance organization	5
Commercial bank	6
Other (record):	98
DK/RA	0
Question not asked	99

430-40 I am going to read you a list. I would like you to tell me if you have ever <u>provided</u> money or other material assistance to any of the following since you came to Johannesburg?

Read list. Circle an answer for each line:

		Yes	No	DK/RA
430	Political parties or organisation in *country of origin*	1	2	0
431	Political parties or organisations in South Africa	1	2	0
432	NGOs that work with migrants or inner-city residents	1	2	0
433	My church/mosque/religious organization in Joburg	1	2	0
434	Organizations run by refugees or migrants/inner-city residents	1	2	0
435	Loans to others in South Africa	1	2	0
436	Loans to others outside of South Africa	1	2	0
437	Sports club/gym/social club	1	2	0
438	Rotating credit association/Stokvel	1	2	0
439	Police or security committee	1	2	0
440	Cultural club/organisation	1	2	0

441-4 I'm going to read you another list. I would like you to tell me how many times you and your family consumed these items for you or your family during the last week?
Code by recording number. Record 97 for DK/RA

441	Meat or chicken	
442	Fish	
443	Bread	
444	Cool drinks or bottled beer	

445 Compared with others in the area where you live, would you say your household is:
Read list an mark appropriate response

Poorer than Average	1
About Average	2
Better off than average	3
DK/RA	0

446 Before you came to Johannesburg, would you say you were:
Read list an mark appropriate response

Worse off economically	1
About the same economically	2
Better off economically	3
DK/RA *(don't read)*	0
Has always lived in Johannesburg *(don't read)*	98

447   Since coming to South Africa, have you ever paid someone to do work for you? This could be at home or in your business.

Yes	1 →
No	2 ↓
DK/RA	0 ↓

448-9 I'm going to read you a list again. I would like you to tell me which of these terms best characterizes the type of person or people you typically hire.

Read list, record up to two response:

A non-South African of your tribe/ethnic group	1
Non-South African of another tribe/ethnic group	2
Someone else from another country	3
South African of your own tribe/ethnic group	4
South African of another tribe/ethnic group	5
Other (specify):	6
Respondent is not working at all/self-employed (*do not read*)	96
DK/RA	0
Question not asked	99

450   Please tell me when you last were in contact—by phone, email, or letter—with kin or family in *country of origin*?

Within the last week	1
In last month	2
1-3 Months ago.	3
3-6 months ago	4
6 to 12 months	5
More than a year ago	6
Never since arriving in South Africa/Johannesburg	7
DK/RA	0
Question not asked	99

V   LEGAL AND REGULATORY ENCOUNTERS

Now I would like to ask you a few different kinds of questions. Remember that we can skip any question if you do not feel comfortable answering it.

500-511   I am now going to read you a list. Please tell me if you have any of the following forms of identification.

Read list, circle an answer for each line.

		YES	NO	DK/RA	Not asked
500	Section 22 (Asy. Seekers) Permit	1	2	0	99
501	Section 24 Permit (refugee status)	1	2	0	99
502	RSA Travel Document	1	2	0	99
503	Maroon Identity Document (ref. ID)	1	2	0	99
504	South African Identity Book	1	2	0	99
505	Passport. Country_____	1	2	0	99
506	Smart Card	1	2	0	99
507	Student identity card	1	2	0	99
508	Driver's License	1	2	0	99
509	Study Permit	1	2	0	99
510	Work/company ID	1	2	0	99
511	Other (specify):				

512   Have you ever paid someone other than a government official to help you to get any of these documents?

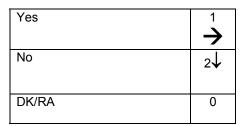| Yes	1
No	2
DK/RA	0

513   Apart from official charges, have you ever had to pay a government official to get your documents?

Yes	1
No	2
DK/RA	0
Question not asked	99

514   Have your identity documents ever been taken away or destroyed by government authorities in South Africa?

Yes	1
No	2
DK/RA	0

515   Many people have said that crime has increased in Johannesburg over the last ten years. Do you believe this is true?

Yes	1 →
No	2 ↓
DK/RA	0

516-518 Why do you think crime has increased?
Do not read. Record answers and code up to __three__ responses indicating order in which they were stated using the codes below.

		Code
516	First Reason for Crime	
517	Second Reason for Crime	
518	Third Reason for Crime	

	Code
Economic conditions in South Africa	1
Political change/Democratisation	2
Immigrants/Foreigners	3
Cultural change/no respect for values/Greed	4
Population increase, shifts	5
Availability of weapons	6
Bad policing/courts	7
Law is too lenient	8
Corruption	9
Ethnicity	10
Lack of education	11
Other	98
DK/RA	0
Question not asked	99

519   If someone broke into your residence here in Johannesburg and stole from you (money or goods), would you immediately report the incident to the police?

Yes **(Go to next page: Q522)**	1 ↓
No	2 →
DK/RA (Go to next page: Q522)	0 ↓
Question not asked	99

520-521   Why would you not go to the police?
Do not read list. Circle up to __two__ responses.

Wouldn't help	1
You must pay for police to investigate	2
Police are understaffed/no capacity	3
Police don't care about foreigners	4
Fear of immigration status being discovered	5
Other more effective ways to deal with crime	6
Justice is too slow	7
Police involved in crime	8
Law itself is too lenient	9
Fear of my own safety	10
Too much bureaucracy	11
Other (specify):	98
DK/RA	0.
Question not asked	99

522   Have you or someone you live with ever been a victim of crime here in Johannesburg either at home or in the street?

Yes	1 →
No	2 ↓
DK/RA	0 ↓

523   In that case, what did you do?
Circle one response.

Went to police	1
Went to private security company	2
Went to neighbours, citizen's, vigilante group	3
Dealt with it myself or with friends/family	4
Nothing, or relied on social sanction	5
Went to religious institution/pray	6
Went to a traditional healer (e.g., Mganga/Sangoma)	7
Went to a psychologist/counsellor	8
DK/RA	0.
Question not asked	99

524   After you were already in South Africa, have the South African police or military ever stopped you?

Yes	1 →
No (go to Q600)	2 ↓
DK/RA (go to Q600)	0 ↓

525-6   Why did they stop you?
Do not read. Circle up to two responses.

Traffic violation	1
Working without permit	2
To check immigration status/identity documents	3
Part of criminal investigation	4
For political activity/protest	5
Road block	6
Involvement in criminal activity	7
Other reasons (specify):	98
DK/RA	0
Question not asked	99

VI   INSTITUTIONAL & ORGANIZATIONAL INTERACTIONS AND EXPECTATIONS

Now I would like to ask you a few questions about your interactions with and expectations for the South African government.

600   Generally speaking, how much do you believe the South African government helps people living in the country to meet their basic needs? Would you say it helps a great deal, somewhat, or never?

Helps a great deal	1
Helps somewhat	2
Never helps	3
Other	98
DK/RA	0

601   How often do you follow political affairs in South Africa? Would you say you follow them regularly, from time to time, or never?

Follow regularly	1
Follow from time to time	2
Never	3
Other (specify):	98
DK/RA	0

602   How often do you follow political affairs in *Country of Origin*? Would you say you follow them regularly, from time to time, or never?

Follow regularly	1 →
Follow from time to time	2 →
Never	3 ↓
Other (specify):	98
DK/RA	0 ↓
Question not asked	99 ↓

603-4   What are your primary sources of information about events in *Country of Origin*? *Do not read list. Record up to two responses. Code 99 if not asked*

Community leaders (church, civic organization)	1
South African radio, newspapers, TV	2
Foreign radio, newspapers, TV	3
Elders and relatives	4
Teachers and headmasters	5
Immigrants/refugees in South Africa	6
South Africans near where I live	7
Internet/On-line news sources/chat-rooms	8
Telephone discussions with people in *country of origin*	9
Books	10
Other (specify):	98
Question not asked	99
DK/RA/No answer	0

605-10   Where would you go if you found yourself in the following situations?
           Use the codes below for all questions.

.

		Code
605	You need to borrow R 500	
606	You need to borrow R 5 000	
607	You need legal advice	
608	You are having trouble with the police	
609	You are having trouble getting immigration documents	
610	You are having trouble finding a place to live	

	CODE
My boss or employer	1
A union	2
Political Party	3
Court of law/police	4
Ministry or government agency	5
NGO/aid organization (domestic)	6
NGO/aid organization (international)	7
Family	8
Friend	9
Newspaper (letter to editor)	10
Religious group	11
Hospital/Clinic	12
Lawyer (private)	13
Media (e.g., newspaper, television)	14
Travel agent	15
Money lender	16
Bank	17
Organisation of refugees from country of origin in South Africa (specify):	18
Nowhere/There is no place	97
Other (specify)	98
DK/RA/Nobody	0

VII   LOYALTIES AND AFFILIATIONS; RELATIONS WITH HOST COMMUNITIES

Now I would like to ask you a bit about your relationship to the people and places around you.

700-2   What are the three things you dislike most about the area in which you are living?

Circle first three responses.

None	1
Corruption	2
Discrimination (gender, race, ethnicity)/Xenophobia	3
Economic conditions	4
Access to social services	5
Crime (any kind) or violence	6
Undesirable traditions, customs, culture	7
Wrong type of people (ethnic groups/tribes/race, class)	8
Weather	9
Transport	10
Access to loans or capital	11
Lack of rights or freedoms	12
Population Mixture (too much heterogeneity)	13
Moral laxity (no ethics, morals, no standards)	14
Lack of 'Community Feel" (Needs explanation, at least to research tea	15
Dirty/Physically unappealing/poor infrastructure	16
Noisy, Hectic, Crowded	17
Other (specify):	98
DK/RA	0

703-8   I am going to read you a list. I would like you to tell me if you would fight to defend any of the following:

Circle one answer for each line.

		Yes	No	DK/RA
703	South Africa	1	2	0
704	*Country of origin/Community of Origin*	1	2	0
705	Your Tribe/Ethnic group	1	2	0
706	Your religion	1	2	0
707	To protect rights of tribes or religions other than your own	1	2	0
708	To protect family/clan members	1	2	0

709-20 I am now going to read you a series of statements. Please tell me if you agree, disagree, or if you don't have an opinion.

Circle an answer for each line

		Agree	Disagree	No Opinion	DK/RA
709	I am proud to identify with my tribe or ethnic group	1	2	3	0
710	I feel as though I am part of South African society	1	2	3	0
711	I am proud to identify as a citizen of *country of origin*	1	2	3	0
712	I feel restricted by my tribal or clan identity in Joburg	1	2	3	0
713	I feel restricted by my national identity	1	2	3	0
714	I want my children to consider themselves members of my ethnic group or tribe	1	2	3	0
715	I want my children to consider themselves citizens of *country of origin*	1	2	3	0
716	In general, I trust people from my ethnic group/tribe	1	2	3	0
717	In general, I trust the South African police	1	2	3	0
718	In general, I trust South Africans	1	2	3	0
719	In general, I trust foreigners living in South Africa	1	2	3	0
720	In general, I trust people from *country of origin* living in South Africa	1	2	3	0

721 Do you believe it is generally better for society if immigrants maintain their distinct customs and traditions or if they adopt the customs of the country where they live?

It is better for society if immigrants maintain their customs and traditions	1
It is better for society if immigrants do not maintain their distinct customs and traditions, but adopt the customs of the country	2
DK/RA	0

722 Do you think it is important to marry a person from your own tribe or clan?

Important	1
Not important	2
DK/RA	0

723 Do you think it is important to marry a person from *country of origin*?

Important	1
Not important	2
DK/RA	0

724   Do you think it is important to marry a person from your own religion?

Important	1
Not important	2
DK/RA	0

725   If most of the whites left South Africa do you think it would it be good or bad thing or would it not matter?

It would be a <u>good</u> thing	1
It would be a <u>bad thing</u>	2
It would <u>not matter</u>	
DK/RA	4

726   If most of the Indians left South Africa do you think it would it be good or bad thing or would it not matter?

It would be a <u>good</u> thing	1
It would be a <u>bad thing</u>	2
It would <u>not matter</u>	
DK/RA	4

727   If most of the refugees and immigrants left South Africa do you think it would it be good or bad thing or would it not matter?

It would be a <u>good</u> thing	1
It would be a <u>bad thing</u>	2
It would <u>not matter</u>	
DK/RA	4

728   How many friends do you have in South Africa who are South Africans? Would you say none, some, or many? *If respondent says all, code as many.*

None	1
Some	2
Many	3
DK/RA	0

729   How many of your current household are South Africans? Would you say none, some, or many? *If respondent says all, code as many.*

None	1
Some	2
Many	3
DK/RA	0

VIII   FUTURE EXPECTATIONS

We are almost done. Before we finish, I would like to ask you a few more questions about what you think your life will be like in the next few years.

800   Do you have any plans to move out of your current residence in the near future, say within the next 2-6 months?

Yes	1 →
No	2↓
DK/RA	0↓
Question not asked	99↓

801   Where do you think you will go?
Record neighbourhood, town, or country to be coded later:

Write answer	code
Question not asked	99

802-3   Why are you going to move?
Do not read. Write in up to two responses indicating order using the codes provided below. After first answer, prompt with, 'Is there any other reason?'

802	Reason for moving 1	
803	Reason for moving 2	

Access to work	1
Needed more space	2
Cost of rent (too high, somewhere else much cheaper)	3
Crime or insecurity	4
Cultural reasons (language, to be close to other countrymen)	5
Discrimination/Xenophobia	6
Legal/Immigration Difficulties (need to escape officials' attention)	7
Place no longer available	8
Evicted	9
Education (for self or others)	10
Other (specify):	98
DK/RA	0
Question not asked	99

804   Where do you expect to be living two years from now? *Do not read list. Record one answer only.*

Where I am now (i.e., Johannesburg)	1
In another part of South Africa (specify)	2
In my community of origin	3
In another part of my home country (specify)	4
In a third country	5
Other (specify):	98
DK/RA	0