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INVESTIGATING THE IMPACT OF TRANSNATIONAL NETWORKS ON MIGRATION DECISION TIMING: THE CASE OF IMMIGRANTS IN THE INNER-CITY JOHANNESBURG

CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Research Background

Many people are currently compelled to migrate to other regions or countries for various reasons. Deutsche Bank (2003:22) reports that for the past few decades people in the developing world are increasingly moving primarily because the international community has been unsuccessful in reducing the number of conflict zones, allied with a failure to make significant inroads in the fight against poverty. Whereas some are migrating to access improved developmental opportunities (economic reasons) and others to escape personal persecution - many are simply on the move to re-unite with family members or to form their own families. However, the formation of nation-states and their territorial boundaries have made migration more difficult and complex than it used to be. The reification and protection of national ideals such as citizenship and national identities, resources and sovereignty (Taran, 2000;De Wenden, 2004) have resulted in migration being viewed as the purview of the privileged or well-connected few and therefore a high-risk venture for those motivated by instincts of survival.

While the right to mobility is increasingly viewed as a core concept in contemporary human rights (De Wenden, 2004), at the same time, the right to control territory takes precedence in the formation of modern states and concepts of state sovereignty (Nyamnjoh, 2006: 2). Although there is an evident increase in people's desire to migrate and an absolute increase of those on the move, there is still find strong resistance to immigrants from the potential host communities and their governing institutions (de Wenden, 2004; Nyamnjoh, 2006), which leaves the decision to migrate to the fittest (Kok et al, 2003). This partly explains why, among people with the same socioeconomic conditions, political hardships and pressing need to migrate, only a small number actually manages to do so. This raises a series of important questions: What exactly underlies contemporary migration decision timing? Who manages to

move and under what circumstances? What informs, facilitates, delays, or speeds their decisions? More importantly, what factors do prospective migrants consider during their migration decision-making processes? Which enable them to circumvent immigration obstacles and to survive once at their destination? Based on the experiences of immigrants in the post-Apartheid, Johannesburg inner-city, this study explores the current correlates of migration decision timing in a world that has increasingly become anti-immigrants.

There are as many factors underlying migration decision timing as there are migration decision-makers. Indeed, as Kuhn et al (2008) point out, it remains a challenge to establish causation for processes such as migration, which can be linked to several outcomes through multiple pathways including wealth, social status, previous health status, social networks and many other unobserved factors. Transnational linkages of families and friends between host and home countries of migrants have made migration processes even more complex (Pries, 2006:2), which challenges the obvious existing migration decision-making explanatory paradigms.

Recently, immigration scholars have increasingly regarded social networks based on kinship, community and culture as the essential sources of social organization and mobilization of resources (Gold, 2005; Jacobsen and Landau, 2004). This is particularly the case in Africa where state institutions are increasingly demonstrating an inability to ensure decent livelihoods or, at least peace, to their citizenry (Jacobsen and Landau, 2004:4). This study argues that where governments have failed their social contract with their citizenry, transnational networks are becoming the critical comfort zone enabling many to deal with the tough requirements of contemporary immigration. Moreover, transnational networks have become a replacement social organization that help prospective migrants to circumvent tight border controls and escape the economic misery resulting from failed rural economies, protracted civil unrest, social marginalization and persecution in the home countries and to explore the securer, greener pastures on the other side of national borders. On the African continent, post-Apartheid South Africa has become one of the most alluring destinations, particularly Johannesburg, despite widespread xenophobia and socioeconomic exclusion of immigrants in that country (Landau, 2004; Solomon, 2003; Crush and McDonald, 2002; McDonald, 2000; Crush, 2001).

Although economic motives (higher wages, better social programs, employment opportunities) dominate the literature on international migration as the most important motives for migration intentions, clearly, they do not necessarily explain the ever increasing numbers of immigrants in countries like South Africa where, as documented in Landau (2006), Solomon (2003), Crush and McDonald (2002) the citizens and the government alike remain relatively exclusive of immigrants. In spite of this reality, 100% of Johannesburg immigrant respondents from Mozambique, interviewed in 2006, indicated that Johannesburg was their favored final destination (see graph 4 pp42). In the face of such generalized hostility, why do migrants still view Johannesburg as a city of "Milk and Honey"? Crush and McDonald (2002) argue, and one would agree, given the continued migrant flows in Johannesburg, that restrictive policies, xenophobic sentiments and negative perceptions merely shape prospective migrants' actions and consciousness rather than actually dissuading them from their intentions.

This trend represents a theoretical puzzle that defies presumptive migration decision-making paradigms. Why do people with the same desire or need to migrate and who are equally aware of economic opportunities within other countries, respond to them differently: some choosing to completely ignore, others responding positively and quickly and others slowly? This study echoes the argument of Vertovec (2002); Massey et al (1994); Crush and McDonald (2002), Basch et al (1994), Landau (2006), Pries (2006), Boyd (1989), Jacobsen and Landau (2004) who emphasize the importance of transnational networks within the contemporary international migration phenomenon. The study puts transnational networks at the centre of the explanation of the timing of African migration to the city of Johannesburg. It posits that transnational networks of families and friends within the home and destination countries are capable of disrupting, transcending and even pave an alternative to the national organization of society (Favell, 2003) particularly where the favored destination societies are known to be hostile to immigrants.

This research explores and seeks to understand factors that underlie contemporary migration decision timing, with the role of transnational or migrant networks as the key focal point. It specifically seeks to explore factors that delay or shorten the length of time individual African future migrants spend on their decision to migrate to

Johannesburg. This interval is referred to in this study as *intentional interval*. This refers to the time from the moment the intention to migrate forms in the mind of potential migrants to the time they move (De Jong, 1981). By "*length of time deciding to migrate",* the study refers to the time interval between the intention, desire or need to migrate forms in the mind of the future migrant and the actual movement. According to the dataset used for this study this period ranges from less than a week to more than two years.

Whereas the interval between the intention and the move is the key migration aspect under investigation (dependent variable), the interval between the age of the respondent at the time of intention to migrate and age at the time of interview is important to this study. Given the fact that the respondents' length of stay in South Africa ranged from one month to more than 5 years, it was important to calculate the age of the respondent at the time the intention to migrate formed in their mind in order to be able to more accurately track the patterns, correlates, and dynamics of those factors underlying migration decision timing at the time it happened. Moreover, this distinction is important since some of the respondents who were adults at the time of interview were minors at the time of intention. The study's descriptive statistics revealed that some of the respondents were younger than 10 when the intention to migrate formed in their minds, however they only managed to migrate as adults. This already represents not only a strong indication that migration is increasingly becoming ingrained in African life, but also highlights the challenge for researchers on migration decision-making, making this inquiry into migration decision timing, especially relevant.

1.2. Research questions

Main question:

Why do people with exactly the same social, economic, and political hardships and who are equally aware of better economic opportunities (be they social programmes, employment or business opportunities) outside their national borders, respond to them differently; some choosing to stay and others choosing to migrate?

Specific questions:

- oDo transnational networks have any influence on migration decision timing?
- oHow do transnational networks affect a decision to migrate?
- oWhat factors affect the length of time prospective migrants spend making the decision to migrate?
- oDoes the impact of transnational networks on migration decision timing differ across factors such as country of origin, upbringing settlement, reasons for migration and age at the time migration intention forms in the mind of the would-be future migrant?
- oWhat are the important independent factors that concurrently affect the period spent on the decision to migrate?
- oHow important are transnational networks in the theoretical explanation of current migration decision-making and their timing?

The Objectives

a.Main objective

- oTo investigate factors that underlie migration decision timing and migration intentional interval.

b.Specific objectives

- oTo examine whether transnational linkages have an effect on the length of time spent deciding to migrate.
- oTo test whether transnational networks delay or quicken the decision to migrate.
- oTo investigate variation in intentional interval by country of origin, reason for migration, age at the time the intentional interval developed in the mind of the would-be migrant and by transnational networks.

To be able to measure the influence of transnational networks on the timing of migration decisions, the study has necessarily controlled for the possible effect of independent variables on migration decision timing which includes, but is not limited to, socio-economic and political factors (levels of education, upbringing settlement, reason for migration, country of origin, etc) and demographic factors such as age, gender, and marital status.

Hypotheses

One of the main tasks of this research is to empirically test the following hypotheses:

> **Hypothesis 1**. Migration decision-making and its timing vary by country, age, upbringing settlements, reason for migration, whether the decision to migrate was taken as a household or individually, involvement in transnational networks and by whether the decision-maker had other destinations to evaluate alongside Johannesburg. It is assumed that this is because of the different social, economic, political and environmental context of each decision-maker, supplemented by the level of telecommunications, technological advancement and proximity (Heberkon, Gold, 2005, Deutsche Bank, 2003; Chang, 1981).

In this study's context, migration decision timing refers to the moment when potential migrants feel they are ready to move, keeping in mind that not all migration intentions result in migration behavior (Heer et al, 2004). If the empirical findings of this study demonstrate that, indeed, the timing of the migration decision is dependent on involvement in transnational networks as described above, the above anticipated hypothesis will be maintained.

> **Hypothesis 2**. The intentional interval for forced migrants will be shorter compared to other types of migrants because they are expected not to have time to make rational calculations or to weigh migration incentives due to imminent danger (war, natural disasters, etc.).

> **Hypothesis 3**. Transnational networks have a significant influence on the future migrant intentional interval. This is because of the encouragement, together with moral and financial support that the prospective migrants receive through these networks as well as the practical support of their relatives and friends at the potential destination in terms of accommodation, employment opportunities and other livelihood strategies (see Vertovec, 2002, Jacobsen and Landau, 2004, Van Hear, 1998).

> **Hypothesis 4**. Transnational networks shorten the time spent on migration decisions because of the almost guaranteed support from relatives/friends at the potential destination in terms of travel costs, accommodation and employment opportunities upon arrival, which makes the decision easier and quicker (Van Hear, 1998; Goodman, 1981).

Migrant transnational networks are often referred to as multi-stranded social relations linking immigrants and non-migrants in the societies of origin, settlement and elsewhere. The essential element is the multiplicity of involvement that migrants sustain in both home and host societies" (see Basch, Glick Schiller and Blanc Szanton; 1994: 6). Portes, Guarnizo and Landolt (1999; 17) define them as activities and occupations that require a high volume of regular and sustained contacts over time across one or more national boundaries. Massey et al (1994) describe transnational networks as multidirectional and multi-stranded ties with friends and relatives considered as "transmission belts" for both information and material goods that keep relationships across boundaries alive and strong.

Portes (1999) makes a distinction between transnational, international and multinational. He proposes that "international" pertains to activities and programs of nation-states while "multinational" refers to activities of institutions such as corporations whose activities take place in multiple countries. "Transnational' on the other hand, refers to activities initiated and sustained by non-institutional actors who may be either organized groups or networks of individuals across borders, below or beyond the control of nation-states between which they operate (Portes, 2001b). This distinction is relevant for this study. "Transnational" should not be seen as something happening internationally, but rather informal arrangements between family members or friends between home and host countries.

For the purpose of this study, the components of transnational networks that will be important on the index list include:

- Having no friends or relatives in the potential destination.
- Having friends in the potential destination but not being in contact with them at the time of the decision to migrate.
- Being in contact with relatives and/or friends in the potential destinations.
- Having friends or relatives who are offering moral and/or financial support and are encouraging the prospective migrant to migrate.

If statistical tests prove that these indicators affect the intentional interval, the hypothesis that transnational networks ties have a significant influence on migration decision making will hold.

CHAPTER II: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Introduction

The investigation of the role of transnational networks in channeling African immigrants into the post-apartheid South Africa, where xenophobia is increasingly manifest, is especially relevant for a number of reasons. Firstly, most researchers on international migration have focused on post-migration effect; socioeconomic experiences and consequences (Massey et al; 1993; De Jong and Fawcett, 1981; McDonald, 2000; Heering et al, 2004). Few studies on migration have led inquiry on migration decisions and most researchers on international migration have shown little interest in the migration decision-making process. In fact, as Chang (1981) notes, even national census questionnaires tend to ignore this question. The result of this is that surveys are unable to show the interaction between micro variables and the potential migrants' behavior.

Migration patterns that are observed today go beyond the existing simplistic and presumptive economic theories of migration. As Massey et al (1993) point out, although economic motives are dominant in the literature on migration, they do not reflect the total context of the decision to move, and are indeed no longer adequate to distinguish movers from stayers. De Jong and Fawcett (1981: 43) and Portes (1995) express a similar view with their suggestion that, in fact, it is not necessarily the poorest of the poor who migrate nor indeed the richest, which challenges economic motives as the key explanatory factor in contemporary migration decision-making patterns. Moreover, De Jong and Gardner (1981) warn that "...in migration behavior, there is no such thing as universal, invariant generalization like the laws of supply and demand" (1981: 305). Migration trends are continuously changing in response to macro and micro, socioeconomic and political conditions in the home countries and the potential destinations. This research into contemporary migration decision timing is therefore relevant at a time when "socially and the politically derived hypotheses", are in some cases, often the sole basis for policy-formulation, in the absence of empirical evidence. This is especially the case in South Africa where migration and immigration are often clouded by myths (see Landau, 2004:6). For that reason, there is still a need to revisit

some of the aspects of international migration for an updated understanding of the paradigms that underpins migration decision making processes.

2.2 Migration Theories

The well established pull-push theory of migration posits that, when socioeconomic conditions at the target destination are better than the prevailing conditions in the place of origin, migration is highly likely to occur (see critique in Massey et al, 1993). This theory ignores the phase of migration decision and its implications in a world where immigration policies, xenophobic sentiments and socioeconomic exclusions based on citizenship rights and state sovereignty present ever higher obstacles to be surmounted and leaving many of those who wish to migrate to a better life, in permanent doubt. Moreover, the theory ignores the need for family reunifications, which cannot be solely ascribed to economic drivers. The argument here, is that economic opportunities on their own, do not constitute decisive factors when explaining decisions to migrate to South Africa because, as Landau (2006), Peberdy and Rogerson (2002), Crush and McDonald (2002), Crush (2000) assert, once inside, immigrants are marginalized on both social and economic fronts. This suggests the need for new theoretical underpinnings to explain the current trends in the context of Johannesburg. This study accepted that challenge and took a different approach yielding important new information with regard to established migration theories, most especially non-economic migration theory.

The rare and comprehensive 2006 dataset on migration collected by the Wits Forced Migration Studies Programme, about immigrants in the Johannesburg inner-city, touched on the decision making process and increased my interest in the topic. Not only is the data retroactive [including a great deal of relevant information on the pre-migration conditions of the then future migrants] but it also contains interesting information about migration decision making that the South African Demographic Survey and other population survey institutions tend to omit in their surveys. This study's findings presents information that sheds new light on current migration patterns and paves the way for future inquiries.

The fact that the study focuses more on the social factors, whose effect on migration decision-making and its timing remains unexplained by the dominating economic models of migration (Hugo, 1981), makes it salient especially in the context of the contemporary Southern African region. As De Jong, 2000: 307) insists, there is a gap in theories explaining migration, particularly with regards to the move-stay dichotomy of migration decision alternatives. The argument pursued here, is that the paradigms that underpin migration decision timing are no longer obvious given the complex web of cross-border and international networks facilitated by telecommunication technology, linking migrants with family and friends. In empirically analyzing factors underlying the speed and timing of migration decision-making, this study introduces a new theoretical element in terms of prediction, projection and explanation of contemporary international migration.

Finally, in addition to academic interest, this study is relevant because it is the only quantitative empirical inquiry applied to the data on immigrants in Johannesburg Inner-City, that focuses on migration intentional interval. The study is salient in the context of Johannesburg, a metropolis many see as the only "world class city" on the continent (Simone, 2001), but which others also rank as among the top xenophobic cities in the world (SAMP, 1998, Crush, 2000)).

This project's interest is not about the individual migrant's movement from origin to destination, nor on the post-migration experience, but rather, on the most important but often bypassed phase in the migration processes – the decision-making period. This period, before departure, is particularly important because it is when the key factors of risk and opportunity are considered.

The next chapter discusses patterns of international migration and their importance in the contemporary international migration.

2.3 Previous Studies

2.3.1 Contemporary Migrant Transnationalism

Interest in transnational networks in the theories of international migration is relatively new (Vertovec, 2002; Massey et al, 1993). This is because most of the early migrants

(pre-industrial revolution migration) were forced to cut ties with their homelands because telecommunication and transportation, either did not exist or, if available at all, were usually expensive and less accessible than today (Boyd, 1989). Besides, as Larissa (2001) points out, perhaps early migrants did not need to keep linkages with their countries or places of origin because they were relatively welcome in the host communities and their integration was almost certainly easier than today. It was also more commonplace for entire families to migrate and therefore there was not much cause to hold them back, unlike contemporary migration which is "highly selective and context-specific" (Kok et al, 2003), wherein migrants tend to maintain strong connections with their homelands.

Due to current restrictive immigration policies, contemporary prospective migrants must necessarily make recourse to a variety of strategies to succeed in their endeavours, particularly at the time the decision to migrate is being contemplated. These include the utilization of transnational networks of friends and familes to ensure the success of their emigration plans, as well as to start strategizing around their livelihoods once in the settlement countries (Portes, 1999; Larissa, 2001). Today, the combination of economic, social and political disarray in home countries (Gold, 2005) and tight immigration policies in the potential destinations (see Landau, 2004), kinship and community based transnational linkages have become an important platform to access opportunities across national borders that can almost only be accessible through migration. This notion of "transnational linkages" acts as replacement social organization that somehow replaces the national social order (Favell, 2003:3), particularly where state institutions have failed.

In this regard, the improved telecommunication and transportation facilities of today, more adequately sustain transnational ties, and thus are a convenient tool for the presumed ease and speed of migration decisions investigated in this study. Given this, there can be no doubt why a significant number of scholars now agree that any attempt to theorize contemporary international migration, without taking into account the role of social networks, would be simplistic and deprived of the real essence of the complexity of migration today within the "global village" (Cfr: Massey et al, 1994; Crush and McDonald, 2002; Basch et al, 1994; Jacobsen and Landau, 2004, vertovec, 2002, Gold, 2005). This study is one of the few to investigate the significance of the

causal relationship between transnational networks and migration decision timing, while accounting for other important independent factors that are assumed to influence the migration decision-making process.

2.3.2 The Correlates of Migration Decision-making period and its Timing

The interest in specific correlates of migration decision-making period and its timing (referred to as *intentional interval* in this study) is not new in migration research (Heberkron, 1981:252). Heberkorn (1981) cites Rossi (1955) as the first migration researcher who stressed the existence of thorough decision-making activities before eventual migration takes place. Goldsmith and Beegle (1962) referred to in Herbekorn (1981:253) define this period between intention and migration behavior (*migration intentional interval)* as a migration decision-making process progressing from the intention to move, to the consideration of movement, to the expectation that movement will take place, to the actual movement. The factors involved in this process of migration decision can range from reason for migration (the socioeconomic and political conditions in the home countries), the personal psychosocial conditions in relation to community or family norms of individual migration decision-makers to transnational networks with relatives and/or friends abroad. Rossi (1955) observed that in most situations, people deliberated for approximately more than a year (intentional interval) before their eventual movement occurs, assuming voluntary migration. The question this study investigates is how all these factors affect or shape *intentional interval* or the migration decision-making process. From the outset, it was expected that transnational ties of family and friends abroad would stand out as the strongest factor and predictor of migration decision-making and its timing.

Whereas reasons for migration have a significant role to play in attempting to explain observed patterns of migration, they hold little theoretical value where people sharing the same circumstances did not migrate (Heberkorn, 1981: 259). This implies that even though the reasons for migration constitute an important factor, theoretically they have little importance, because the study only deals with those who have already migrated while cognizant of the fact that many people who were experiencing the same social, economic or political hardships and with the same desire to migrate, did not do so. This justifies the critical importance of transnational networks between migrants and their

friends and family *in situ*, in the explanation and understanding of migration processes and their timing.

Nevertheless, the effect of transnational networks on migration decision timing can not be properly detected and measured without considering other independent confounders because migration decisions are not made in a vacuum. The decision to migrate and its timing are context-specific. That is why for instance, as Heberkorn (1081:255) emphasizes, the theory of individual behavior in migration decision-making does not sufficiently explain migration decision timing. He suggests that any approach to the analysis of migration decision-making must refer to migration in its whole social context, to provide the necessary theoretical flexibility that allows the integration of a wider spectrum of intervening variables (Heberkon, 1981: 254). Conversely, even though the study sets transnational networks as the focal causal variable, its effect has been measured against other important independent variables within the whole context of the socioeconomic, demographic and political conditions in the home countries of individual migration decision-makers, at the time of the intention to migrate and during the decision-making times.

Different socioeconomic, political and demographic contexts provide different reasons and opportunities for migration. This explains the reason why factors such as country of origin and the general socioeconomic and political circumstances (e.g. education level, upbringing settlement), demographic factors (age, sex), whether the respondents had alternate destinations to consider besides Johannesburg, and whether the decision was taken as a household or alone, are all considered as important explanatory variables in the analysis of migration decision-making process and its timing. In this study for instance, it was important to consider whether the decision was taken as a household or alone because as Harbison in De Jong and Gardner (1981: 225) pointed out, family structure is far more than just another additional variable to be included in the model. For her, the "family" is very important because it is the structural and functional context in which motivation and values for migration are born and shaped, where human capital is accrued and where information is received and interpreted. In that sense, it is expected that the process of migration decision-making and its timing can significantly differ by whether the decision is made individually or as a household. Solomon Asch cited in Heberkorn (19810) shared this feeling in his study on social

conformity, when he observed that in most cases, especially in a non-western context, decision-makers tend to wait for the family or social approval or blessing before they depart. This may be true in some societal context; the analysis below sheds light on this observation in the context of the population studied in this project.

This study's test results on Asch's observation yield surprising results that do not necessarily agree with him. In the bivariate model, the findings show no significant association between the *intentional interval* and whether the decision was taken alone by those respondents who did not have friends and family members in the destination (see table 14, p55). However, the findings show a significant association between those who had network ties in the destination (see p52 below). This association disappears in all regression models except for forced migrants. In their case, the findings show that the intentional interval tends to be shorter when the migration decision is made alone compared to when it is made as a group or as a household. This divergence demonstrates the complexity of the dynamics of migration decision-making processes.

For the purpose of this study, those who did not have any assistance whatsoever from the existing migrant networks at the time they decided to migrate, were analyzed separately for comparative reasons. In some cases, people acquire the confidence to migrate because of the encouragement of relatives or friends, while others are risk-takers, who migrate because they perceive no superior choice. Then there are those who move because they are compelled to, due to socioeconomic or political circumstances in their home countries. Other possibilities could include those temporarily transiting Johannesburg to a third country. These trends are discussed in later chapters.

As can now be readily understood from the foregoing, migration decision-making is a complex process with no single theoretical explanation (Chang, 1981). Whereas the traditional "pull/push" factors remain important in the explanation of migration, transnational networks can and indeed do, help to understand the current migration decision–timing and its process, from the intention to the actual movement. The theoretical framework outlined below, explains the importance of cross border social networks. It borrows from the one developed by De Jong (2000:310) and includes all the above mentioned variables.

2.4 Theoretical and Conceptual Framework

The theoretical framework discussed here comprises three components: The macro-level aspects that include the pre-migration demographic, geographic social-economic and political conditions of the neighborhoods where the individual or household decision-maker lived, the personal characteristics of individual decision-makers as well as the transnational network factors. It is predicted that these three components interact in affecting migration decision timing and the period spent on the decision to migrate and the reason why different models have been developed to track the interaction effect and to rank migration decision-making predictors in order of importance. This is what Vertovec (2002) implies when he suggested that each transnational field of study (whether concerning corporation, NGOs, Religion, migrants or other social groups), in its analysis of transnational activities, must necessarily look at the social forms and the political and economic factors that conditions their creation and production in the first place (p3).

Whereas the likelihood is that these three components interact in affecting the decision-making process, this study expects to find that the causal relationship between transnational ties of family and friends at the destination will stand out as the strongest predictor of migration decision-making and its timing in the general model. It is argued that this is due to restrictive immigration policies and tight border controls by South Africa, which leaves kinship, language and community ties as the most practical method of access to resources at the destination (Landau and Jacobsen, 2004).

In the face of the reality that government institutions and the public at large in potential host societies generally oppose immigration and remain socially and economically exclusivist of immigrants, the timing of migration decisions can no longer be entirely and/or primarily assumed to be dictated by expectations that one's socioeconomic conditions will improve as a result of migration (Petersen and Williams (2001). Many migration experts argue that migration decision timing is rather dictated and made possible by, the encouragement and support of friends and relatives in the potential destination (Massey et al, 1993; Boyd, 1994; Heering and Van Wessen, 2004; Fawcett and De Jong, 1981; Goodman, 1981; Van Hear, 1998; McDonald, Taylor and Barlow, 2003).

The empirical study on South Africa by McDonald, Taylor and Barlow (2000: 163), demonstrated that the current primary deciding factors in migration, are the strong intimate family, friendship and cross-community ties in the potential destinations and elsewhere. According to them, having family and friendship ties in the potential destination, assists the timing and easing of migration decisions. Friends and family reassure prospective migrants with offers of tangible support in the form of accommodation, emotional comfort and survival suggestions through regular communication during the contemplation of the idea to move.

Similarly, Ritchy referred to in De Jong and Gardener (1981) indicates that relatives and friends are major sources of migration information on which investors in migration base their decisions as to when and where to go. This study agrees with these theories, and thus sets the working assumption that the *intentional interval* will shorten where friends and family members have promised help & support to the prospective migrant upon arrival. In other words, the intentional interval will shorten because the sponsors of the prospective migrant, control migration timing rather than the decision-maker and because they are the ones to sponsoring the trip and preparing the arrangements. A number other of studies have demonstrated this trend.

Goodman, (1981) observed that migration decision-makers attach far more credibility to information acquired from trusted friends and relatives than to market and/or government sources and viewing theses sources as the best way to minimize uncertainty and unwelcome surprises upon arrival at the destination. Van Hear (1998) takes this argument further by pointing out that the sophisticated personal, family, friendship, community and other network linkages that future migrants engage in (transactions in terms of remittances, information sharing, material support, etc) provide them with necessary information about the destination, contacts with relevant gatekeepers and most of all, funds for brokers' charges and travel expenses; all of which mediate migration intentional interval depending on whether one has the support from friends and/or relatives at the destination.

It must be noted however, that these arguments do not completely repudiate the contention that contemporary migration decision-making and timing can still be explained on basis of other independent variables (see framework below). After all,

networks cannot explain the migration decision-making of those who move with no relatives or friends in the destination. Hence, the theoretical framework of this study includes other important socioeconomic, political and other important independent variables that might dictate the timing of migration and where necessary, the correlation analysis was done separately for the respondents who had social ties in the potential destinations during the decision making period and those who did not. Each set of factors have been investigated in separate models before they were included in the general models, to establish the net causality.

Definition of variables in the explanatory model

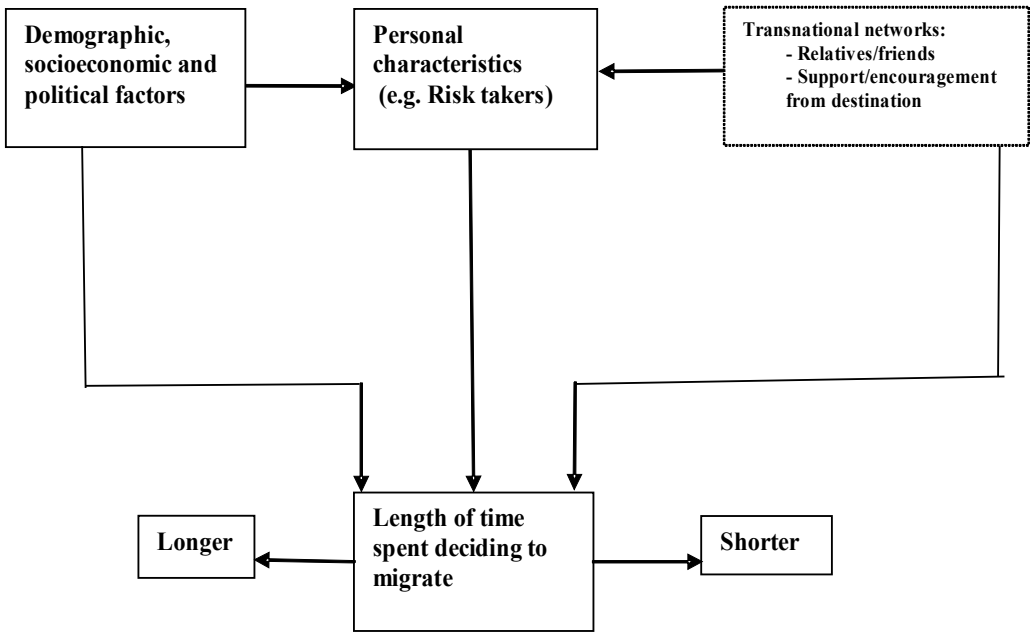
As the theoretical framework below indicates, there are three set of variables involved:

1) **Independent variables**: in this study, these include all micro and macro level socioeconomic and political conditions in the home countries that are capable of triggering or shaping the decision to migrate, but which individual migration decision-makers have little or no control over, such as generalized economic misery, political disarray, natural disaster, etc. These factors have been identified through the analysis of reason for migration that individual respondents have claimed during the interview.
2) **Personal characteristics**: these are unique characteristics, innate or not, that shape the individuals migration decision behavior. They range from inherent physiological make-up to psychosocial conditions that shape individual behavior developed in reaction to the current surrounding socioeconomic circumstances. Although personal characteristics are hard to measure, they are important indirect factors in the analysis of migration decision making (De Jong and Gardener, 1981).
3) **Proximate factors of migration**: these are factors that are directly able not only to trigger the move but also to provide the willing investors in migration with the incentives for migration and which drive them to finally choose going, over staying. These are transnational opportunities which are increasingly seen as the essential basis of replacement social organization and resource mobilization, where states are in flux (Jacobsen and Landau, 2004; Gold, 2005).

In fact the framework hypothesizes, that the *intentional interval* will be shorter where migration decision-makers have ties with family members or friends at the destination and even shorter where those ties are active through phone calls, electronic communication, etc. On the other hand, it is hypothesized that the *intentional interval* will tend to be longer where the decision-makers have no ties at all. All these trends are expected to vary from context to context.

The theoretical framework of the research:

Independent factors ***Personal factors*** ***Proximate factors***



CHAPTER III: THE DATASET AND RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This research is based on secondary data; there were no field work activities on the part of the researcher.

3.1 Study design and dataset

The 2006 Forced Migration Studies Programme survey dataset was used. The data collection was carried out within the broader context of the African cities project and is a purposive, cross-sectional study of African immigrants in the Johannesburg inner-city. Statistically, it has been treated as a representative random sample. The Wits Department of Forced Migration Studies Programme retroactively collected the data on immigrant residents in the Johannesburg inner-city in 2006

3.1.1 Population covered and sample size

This study covers male and female African immigrants in the city of Johannesburg. The sample size was 847 immigrants aged 18 and older from African countries including the host - South Africa, Mozambique, The Democratic Republic of the Congo and Somalia.

3.1.2 Sample design and selection

The final sample was generated using a combination of purposive sampling and link-tracing, which were used to get the complete number of respondents needed using local informants and through discussion with the staff of migrant organisations and NGOs. The sampling approach was first to identify neighborhoods known to have high densities of migrants from the subject group within the Johannesburg inner-city. These were Yeoville, Mayfair, Berea, Bertrams, Rosettenville, Hillbrow, Joubert Park and Bez-Valley. With the identification of the target neighborhoods, cluster sampling followed. Here, instead of randomly interviewing respondents from the entire suburb, enumerator areas from which to work were circumscribed. These enumerator areas correspond with those used for 1996 census.

South African internal migrants have been dropped from this study's final sample because:

(1) There were a number of questions in this study that were not relevant to South Africans.

(2) A significant number of South African respondents were born in Johannesburg or moved there at an early age and therefore they were not involved in making the decision to migrate. Moreover, the data on internal migration lacks the critical border-crossing factor, an important aspect of migration that this study sought to explain.

Respondents who were younger than 11 at the time the intention to migrate formed in their minds were not included in the variable age analysis as it was assumed that at the time they migrated, they were not mature enough to make their own decision. This reduced the total number of respondents for this particular variable to only 588 (see sample characteristics, Table 1 below). After all the sampling criteria were observed, the total number of cases in this study reduced to 594 - except for age at the intention - and included 235 immigrants from the DRC; 195 from Mozambique and 164 from Somalia.

The primary rationale behind the choice of these three countries lies in their different socio-cultural features, their geographical locations and, of course, their socioeconomic and political context. Their fundamental differences hopefully allow a sound comparison in terms of migration decision-making trends.

3.1.3 Questionnaire design

The preparation of the questionnaire involved its translation into the respondents' mother tongue in order to avoid confusion and complication of the interview process. The questionnaire was approved after a pilot project was conducted in the inner-city by a well-trained team of researchers including Wits postgraduate students from the Forced Migration Studies Programme. The purpose of the pilot project was not only to catch immigrant concerns, but also to assess their willingness to participate and to test the adequacy of the questionnaire in order to avoid misunderstandings and ensure the accuracy and consistency of the data collected.

3.2 Variables measurement and definition

Dependent variable: this refers to the length of time between migration intentions and actual migration behavior, termed "*intentional interval*" in this study. It is the time beginning from the formation of intention to migrate in the mind of the then potential migrant through to actual migration behavior (De Jong and Gardener, 1981). The length of time between migration intention and actual migration behavior is a good dependent variable for this study as it allows the establishment of the relationship between the transnational links and migration decision timing, a phase where migration incentives, consequences and challenges are appraised. This dependent variable was derived from the question that asked the respondent: "*How long did it take from the time the intention to migrate formed in your mind to the time you actually left?*"

Independent variables: include the "transnational network of family, friendship and cross-community ties", sustained through regular contact and support through telephones, faxes, Internet, and other commercial /informal transaction facilities between prospective migrants and their relatives/friends in the potential destinations – a hypothetical causal variable. Additionally, the social, economic, and political conditions in the home countries and psychosocial conditions of the decision-makers are assumed to have an independent effect on the dependent variable – the control factors. The analysis paid attention to the gross effect between each independent variable and the dependent variable as well as the net effect of the interaction of all the significant independent variables on the dependent variables.

3.3 Data analysis Methods

The analysis was undertaken on three levels:

1. The descriptive level which merely presents the general statistical distribution for each factor involved and the cross tabulation of each independent factor against the dependent variable in order to establish patterns of association.
2. The bivariate regression that looked at the significance of the effect of each independent variable on the dependent variable (the intentional interval)

3. Multiple regression to test the hypothesized causal relationship between identified explanatory factors and the dependent variable and detect the interaction effect of the significant independent factors on the intentional interval.

Ordered probit regression was employed to examine both the gross and net effect of the above-identified independent variables on the dependent variable. It is important to stress that since the information on the dependent variable was inherently presented in ordered categorical form on the questionnaire, ordered probit regression was more appropriate than ordinary regression, logistic or Cox regression because the actual values used to label the categories makes no difference other than through the order they imply.

The dependent variable has seven ordered categories, scaled from 1 to 6: (1) less than 1 week, (2) 1 week to 1 month, (3) 1-3 months (4) 3-6 months, (5) 6 months to 1 year, (6) 1-2 years and (7) 2 years and longer.

3.4 Limitations

This study has an inherent limitation stemming from the nature of the dataset used since it is solely based on secondary data, quantitative in nature, and which was not specifically designed for this project. As a result, some data relevant to the achievement of the objectives of this study were not collected. Nevertheless, the dataset is a mine of retroactive information on transnational networks and on the migration intentional interval, which is usually lacking from most population survey data. Hence, despite this, the core objectives of this study were nonetheless achieved. Combined with an innovative approach to analysis, the study has yielded valuable new information relevant to the body of existing literature on international migration.

In addition to the foregoing, it is also necessary to highlight certain inherent theoretical and methodological limitations in terms of validity and inference.

3.4.1 Theoretical limitation

The main inherent theoretical challenge lies with the dependent variable – the length of time each respondent spent in making the decision to migrate. This is taken as the time the desire to migrate was experienced to the actual migration behavior. This dependent variable is somewhat problematic as a measurement unit for this study as it is inherently categorical, which puts limits on analysis model alternatives. Morover, at the time of the interview, some of the respondents had already lived in Johannesburg for 5 years or more. Thus in reality, they could only give a close estimation of the period of time spent between the intention to migrate and actual migration, based on their recollection of those events. Nevertheless, the study achieved its goal of provoking further investigation on migration decision-making.

3.4.2 Methodological limitations.

Besides the foregoing theoretical limitation, the study also has some methodological limitations. First of all, since this study is quantitative in nature, it lacks the qualitative ingredients that would deepen our understanding and clarify the causality under investigation.

Another limitation worth mentioning is that the sample only focuses on the immigrants residing in the Central District of Johannesburg; therefore missed the so-called intellectual or professional immigrants, aloof from xenophobia and marginalization (academics, investors, doctors and western immigrants) residing in the Johannesburg "richer' suburbs who, as Landau (2006) points out, are tolerated and sometimes celebrated as symbols of South African cosmopolitanism. Yet, the study is still relevant because it paves the way for future studies which will extend their inquiry to that other group of foreigners referred to in Landau for comparative reasons.

Furthermore, the initial ambition was to include in the sample those *in situ,* who were stuck in the home countries with the desire to move to Johannesburg or elsewhere. The idea was to catch the obstacles they were facing as they thought of migrating and the means, if any, they were using to overcome those obstacles so as to be able to migrate in the future. Unfortunately, this category of people was unable to be surveyed due to

financial and time constraints. However, since the questionnaire was retroactive and included all the relevant pre-migration information on factors that led to migration intentions and decision to move, the study's findings still remain useful in understanding processes that leads to successful migration decisions. It is hoped that these findings will stimulate further investigations into the enabling/inhibiting factors of migration decisions for those *in situ*. The following chapter discusses the findings.

CHAPTER IV: FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Introduction

This study investigates factors that inform migration decision timing, and affect migration intentional intervals. More precisely, based on the information and personal experience of immigrants (now based in Johannesburg), seeks to explore that period of time when they were contemplating the idea of migrating, prior to their movement to Johannesburg. It explores factors that affect the time investors in migration spend on the decision to migrate. That is, the length of time from the formation of the intention to migrate to the actual migration. This refers both to the factors that shorten and those that lengthen this decision-making period.

Specific attention is paid to both hypothesized causal factors and independent variables that affect the migration decision-making period. From the outset, although the reason for migration and the demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of each prospective migrant has a significant influence on the length of the contemporary migration decision-making period (Heberkorn, 1981), transnational networks play a more critical role in setting up the timing of migration. It is hypothesized that the intentional interval will be shorter where the departure of the decision-makers significantly depends on transnational networks. This is because, it is argued, prospective migrants tend to wait for the reassurance of relatives and friends in the destination with regard to of accommodation and job opportunities upon arrival (Goodman and Ritch in De Jong and Gardner, 1981).

Since the study is measuring the migration decision-making period - *migration intentional interval*, the key and focal causal variables of interest here are the transnational networks. The independent variables include the demographic and socioeconomic variables: country of origin, age, sex, marital status, level of education, residential background or upbringing settlement and the reason for migration. The results below present different patterns and correlates of migration timing and their interactions in affecting migration intentional interval.

4.2 Descriptive statistics

4.2.1 Sample characteristics

The characteristics of the sample refer to relevant information about the respondents' complete identity, ranging from their age to their socioeconomic, political backgrounds. These include age, educational level at the time of the intention, upbringing settlements, reasons for migration, country of origin, gender and other information that may help in understanding the circumstances that prevailed at the time of the contemplation of the idea to move. The table below presents respondents characteristics and other relevant statistics that provide a basis for causality analysis,

Table1: Sample characteristics

Country of origin

Country	Frequencies	%
DRC	235	39.56
Mozambique	195	32.83
Somalia	164	27.61
Total	**594**	**100**

Age of respondents at the time of interview

Categories	Frequencies	%
18/24	101	17
25/29	165	27.78
30/34	151	25.42
35/39	104	17.51
40/Max	73	12.29
Total	**594**	**100**

Age at the time intention to migrate formed (age 2)

Categories	Frequencies	%
18/24	55	9.35
25/29	268	45.58
30/34	177	30.10
35/39	67	11.39
40/Max	21	3.57
Total	**588**	**100**

Marital Status

Categories	Frequencies	%
Single	263	44.28
Married	293	49.33
Divorced	29	4.88
Widow	9	1.52
Total	**594**	**100**

Education Level

Categories	Frequencies	%
No education	40	6.73
Primary	124	20.88
Secondary	289	48.65
Tertiary	141	23.74
Total	**594**	**100**

Upbringing settlement

Categories	Frequencies	%
City	382	64.31
Town	152	25.59
Rural	59	9.93
No clear response	1	0.17
	594	**100**

Sex of respondents

Categories	Frequencies	%
Male	378	63.64
Female	216	36.36
Total	**594**	**100**

As Table 1 above shows, the majority of respondents came from the DRC (39.5%) followed by Mozambique (32.8) and Somalia (27.61). The majority of the respondents at the time of interview were between the ages of 18 and 34. This corroborates migration literature which consistently demonstrates that younger and more active people are the most likely to migrate (Kok et al, 2003).

Over 9% of respondents formed the intention to migrate between the ages of 11 and 17, indicating that migration desires are not exclusively the affair of adults and supports the notion that desire to migrate can be formed at an early age. This finding, to a significant degree, corroborates the empirical observation by Sycip cited in Kok et al (2003:26) that suggested that where migration has become a community tradition, background factors, including those that are widely known as important explanatory factors in international migration theories, lose much of their significance in societies that have a strong migration history and well established international social networks. Well established social networks can, in some cases, be enough to trigger and facilitate migration irrespective of socioeconomic, geographic and demographic profiles of prospective migrants. In this context, it makes sense that a child younger than 10, receiving attractive photographs from relatives living abroad, develops a desire to unite or re-unite with them. Respondents aged 40 or older only scored 3.57% which is relatively small, further corroborating the general literature that migration is likely to occur at a young age. The study findings suggest that interest in migrating considerably

reduces from age 35 onwards (see graph 6, p63). Table 1 also shows that 44.3% of respondents were single, while 49.3% were married.

We learn that more than 70% of respondents completed their secondary education and from the same group, 23.7% had exposure to some tertiary education. Only 6.7% had no formal education. This shows that successful migration decision makers are also likely to be educated. This is normal, especially in the case of economic migrants who most likely, do migrate in search of better employment opportunities, higher wages and better living standards (see Massey et al, 1993; Deutsche Bank, 2003). However, the link between education level and migration completely loses its significance in the regression models when education level is measured against other factors, probably because of its correlation with other socioeconomic variables such as reason for migration. Of all the respondents, more than 64% lived in a city before migrating to Johannesburg and only 9.9% coming from rural areas, signaling the importance of transnational networks between cities and well documented in the literature in the contemporary international migration. This is especially the case of African cities (Johannesburg in particular) which, were once relatively isolated from each other but are now connected via telecommunication and transportation links (Castles, Faist and Castells in Jacobsen and Landau (2003). This pattern already agrees with this study's primary working hypothesis that puts transnationalism as the key predictor of contemporary international migration decision timing given that social networks are more easily sustainable in cities where telecommunication infrastructure is widespread and relatively affordable as compared to isolated African rural areas (Simone, 2001).

Although current literature suggests that females are almost as dominant in contemporary migration as males, unlike in the past, where migration, especially labor migration, was almost exclusively a male affair, it is evident that males are still dominant in current migration trends (63.6% males versus only 36.3% females – see Table 1 above). Assuming that the sampling was random enough, the finding corroborates the two latest censuses in South Africa which show that males are still more prevalent in migration than females (Kok et al, 2003).

4.2.2. Other relevant descriptive statistics

4.2.2.1 Reason for migration (socioeconomic and political factors)

The socioeconomic factors were discussed under one rubric – reason for migration. Reason for migration is usually taken as one of the ideal variables that help to capture socioeconomic and political conditions in the analysis of international migration, but also it is on basis of reason claimed that we are able to classify some as forced migrants and others voluntary. Based on the literature on migration, it is argued that those who migrated were somewhat dissatisfied with the socioeconomic and/or political conditions at home. It is trusted that the analysis of various reasons claimed for migration help detect these pre-migration socioeconomic and political conditions in the respondents' countries of origin. Therefore, an index was developed to include expressed reasons under four categories:

- ***Conflicts*:** this refers mainly to forced migrants who migrated due to civil unrest or political crisis in their home countries or who feared persecution. A significant number in this category came from Somalia and DRC.
- ***Economic reasons***: This refers to respondents who moved to Johannesburg because of economic hardships in their home countries. The highest percentage in this category came from Mozambique, followed by Somalia.
- ***Transit to a third country***: These are respondents whose final destination was not necessarily Johannesburg, but saw it as a strategic transit point to a third country, with mainly European and American countries cited as the final destination.
- ***Family reunification***: Those migrants who went to Johannesburg to reunite with family members already resident in Johannesburg.
- Approximately 12% were not able to provide sensible reasons why they chose to migrate to Johannesburg (No Response). Table 2 below explains this in more detail.

Table 2: Various reasons for migration

Reason for migration	Frequencies	%
Conflicts	189	31.82
Economic	257	43.27
Transit	30	5.05
Reunite with family	43	7.24
No response	75	12.63
Total	**594**	**100**

As Table 2 shows, among all the reasons underlying the respondents' migration to Johannesburg, Economic scored the highest percentage (43.3%), followed by Conflicts (32.8%). The remaining score was almost equally divided between Family reunification reasons and Transit to a third country. Interestingly, while some respondents from Somalia and DRC reported to be transiting to a third country (mainly western countries), respondents from Mozambique demonstrate 100% satisfaction with Johannesburg as their final destination; no single Mozambican reported transiting to a third country. The fact that already 30 out of 594 respondents reported transiting in Johannesburg to a third country explains the fluidity of Johannesburg, a city that Landau (2006) describes as a frontier zone (p130). Moreover, the fact that a significant number of respondents reported migrating to reunite with family members or transiting to a third country, suggests the presence of transnational networks and indeed, indicates that Johannesburg is a convenient city for transnational transactions.

4.2.2.2 Transnational links: types and distribution

The key causal variable in this study are the transnational linkages between potential destination and future migrants' homelands. Transnational links can range from merely knowing someone to being in regular exchange of information and material transactions with that person. In order to establish whether the respondents were involved in networks, a series of questions were asked: Firstly, each respondent was asked whether they knew a family member or friend in Johannesburg before coming. A follow-up question then asked; if the answer to the previous question was yes, whether they were in contact with them. If the answer to both questions was yes, a final question asked whether, in addition to having relatives or friends in Johannesburg and being in contact with them before leaving the home country, had they received some form of assistance, especially in a form of financial support from them? An index showing

different degrees of networks has been developed to show the importance of networks for respondents at the time of they were making their decisions to migrate. The table below presents the distribution of the responses.

Table 3: Whether the respondent knew someone in Johannesburg before migrating

Knew someone in JHB before migrating	Frequencies	%
Yes	337	56.73
No	257	43.27
Total	**594**	**100**

Respondents who knew at least on person in Johannesburg were classified in three categories. This categorization is important since it deals with networks. The objective is to detect whether there is any difference in the decision making duration between for instance, knowing someone in a destination but not being in contact with them and knowing someone in the destination and being in contact with them and finally, being in contact and receiving support from them. The causality is discussed in the regression section below. Table 4 presents the distribution of responses.

Table 4: Degree of networks in the destination before migrating

Type of links in JHB before migrating	Frequencies	%
Had no contacts	69	11.62
Had contacts only	30	5.05
Had contacts and support	238	40.07
Total	**337**	**100**

Table 4 shows that the majority of the respondents knew at least one family member or a friend living in Johannesburg before migrating (56.7%), which is already indicative of the importance of transnational community ties in the decision by prospective migrants' to choose to migrate there. However, the Table also shows that at least 43% of respondents had neither relatives nor friends in Johannesburg; it was a 'leap of faith'. This category of respondents were considered separately in the analysis in order to compare the difference that networks make in terms of time spent on the migration decision. About 40% of respondents not only knew at least one relative or a friend in Johannesburg, but were also in contact with them and received some form of support during the migration decision making period. While 11.6% of the respondents had a

relative/friend in Johannesburg, they were not in contact with them. About 5% of the respondents were in contact with at least one friend or relative but did not receive any assistance during the decision to migrate, until the actual movement took place.

4.2.2.3 Descriptive statistics of other independent factors

The questionnaire also asked respondents whether, during the migration decision-making period, they had spent any time evaluating alternatives to Johannesburg. This is an important variable because individual decision-makers who had more than one destination to consider may delay the decision (see Heberkorn, 1981). It is therefore assumed that evaluating more than one destination might have lengthened the migration decision making period. The findings in the regression are presented below in Table 5.

Table 5: **Consideration of alternate destinations**

Alternative destination	**Frequencies**	**%**
Yes	321	54.04
No	212	35.69
No response	61	10.27
Total	**594**	**100**

As can be seen, the majority of respondents (54%) spent some time considering alternatives to Johannesburg while 35.7% of respondents focused exclusively on the city. The remainder did not have clear responses to the question. The conclusion here must be that the majority of would be migrants do not rush their decisions and evaluate more than one destination with a view to making the best choice.

Whether one traveled alone or with another household member

Neoclassical theories of migration suggest that some individuals prefer to migrate alone to maximize income (see Kok et al, 2003). Inversely, Oded Stark cited in Massey et al (1993) stressed that, even where individuals may finally move alone, the decision to migrate is usually not taken by isolated individuals but by the family or household. These two arguments have been tested against each other to see how their influence to migration decision timing differs. Table 6 below shows respondents' response distribution of whether they made the decision to migrate alone or as a group.

Table 6: Whether the decision was made alone or as a group

Made the decision to migrate alone	Frequencies	%
Yes	188	31.65
No	406	68.35
Total	**594**	**100**

According to Table 6 above, over 68% of respondents traveled alone. Only about 31 admitted to have traveled with at least one household member. Whether this implies the evidence that it is easier to make a migration decision alone or whether it implies the argued maximization of income is discussed below in the regression analysis. Of course knowing that individuals traveled alone does not tell us whether the decision was or was not taken in household context or as a group before they departed. Details on this information go beyond the scope of this work.

4.2.2.4 Migration intentional interval distribution

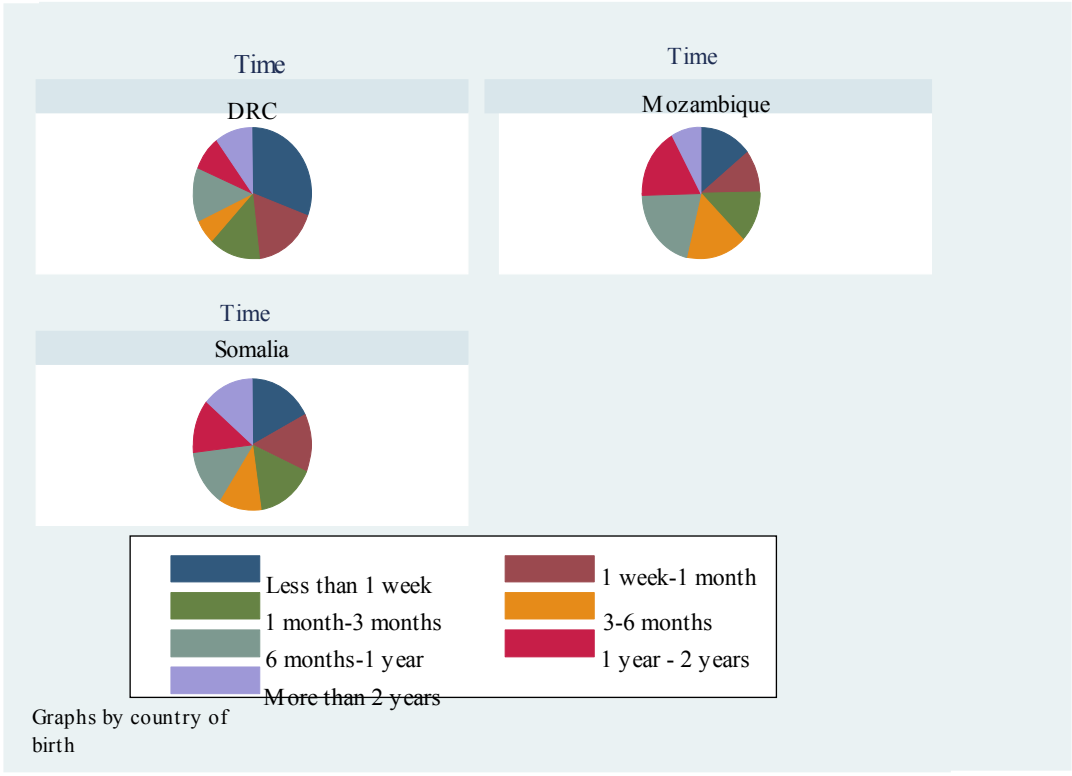
Rossi cited in Heberkorn (1981) was the first to observe, in his study on psychosocial correlates of migration, that "in most situations people deliberated approximately one year before they eventually move' (p253). The findings in this study reveal similar findings (see tables 8 to 13 on the distribution of intentional interval by selected independent variables). The only difference between these two studies, can be attributed to the fact that the sample contains a significant number of respondents who claimed to be forced migrants and thus, whose intentional interval is anticipated to be fairly unusual as they have no time for migration challenge appraisal. The tables below show the distribution of intentional interval and intentional interval by selected independent variables.

Table 7: Migration Intentional Intervals

Migration decision-making duration	Frequencies	%
<1week	129	21.72
1week-1months	84	14.14
1-3months	84	14.14
3-6months	65	10.94
6months-1year	94	15.82
1-2years	75	12.63
>2years	63	10.61
Total	**594**	**100**

As Table 7 above demonstrates, the decision to migrate was relatively quick for the majority of the respondents. Over 60% of respondents spent less than 6 months between deciding and actually migrating to Johannesburg while only 10.6% took more than two years before finally leaving their homelands. This probably has much to do with the nature of the reason for their migration as discussed above. Also significant number of the respondents identified themselves as forced migrants from countries in conflicts, such as Somalia and the Democratic Republic of the Congo. This trend will be discussed further in the detailed analysis below. Whether proximity, and/or reason for migration have an influence on migration decision-making processes (Deutsch Bank Research 2003) or whether transnational networks exercised an effect on the migration decision-making period (Goodman, 1981; Kok et al, 2003) is discussed in the regression findings in next sections. The graph below shows the distribution of the duration of migration decision by country.

Figure 1: Time spent on migration decision per country



So far, the study has presented the descriptive statistics, which includes the profiles of respondents and cross-tabulation, to establish the association between each independent factor and the dependent variable – *the intentional interval*. Hence, a chi-square test in the bivariate analysis was performed to detect the importance of each independent variable and its association with the dependent variable -*intentional interval*. Since the bivariate statistics only tabulated the difference but did not quantify or explain it, there is a need to perform regression in order to control for other factors. Except for sex of respondents, those variables initially considered in the analysis but which did not show statistically significant association with the dependent variable, were not included in the regression models. This is because sex is highly dominant in migration theories and thus was included in each and every model and sub-model to detect its eventual hidden effect on migration decision timing and intentional interval.

4.3 Descriptive Bivariate statistics

Descriptive bivariate statistics refer to cross-tabulation whose objective is to detect the possible association that exists between the dependent variable and each selected independent variable. The cross-tabulation tables below present the relationship/association between the *intentional interval* and important factors that include country of origin, age at the formation of intention to migrate, upbringing settlement, cross-border networking and whether the respondents had other destinations to consider alongside Johannesburg. It is important to note that the cross-tabulations only include factors that have demonstrated some significant association with the dependent variable under consideration. For this reason, because the Chi-square test of both marital status and education level were not significant, testing at 5% when tabulated against the time spent considering leaving, they are not included in the tables. Moreover, it is important to note that although the statistical test showed significant relationship between age of the respondents at the time of interview and the length of time they spent on their migration decision-making (P-value=0.01), it was dropped due to its high correlation with the age of the respondent at the time the intention to migrate formed in their minds, which better informs us of the impact of factor *age* on the migration decision timing in the context of this study. Finally, it is also worth mentioning that sex of respondent is not included here because it did not show a

significant association with the intentional interval in the general model, but it reappears in the specific sub-models of economic migrants and the Mozambican economic migrants only because it demonstrates valuable information at that level. The following tables present the separate association of each selected independent variable to the dependent variable.

4.3.1 Time by country of origin

Table 8: Intentional Interval by country

	Country of origin			
Intentional interval	*DRC*	*Mozambique*	*Somalia*	***Total***
<1week	72	28	29	129
1week-1month	41	20	23	84
1week-3months	33	25	26	84
3months-6months	14	32	19	65
6months-1year	31	40	23	94
1year-2years	20	34	21	75
>2years	24	16	23	63
Total	**235**	**195**	**164**	**594**
Mean time in (months)	**8.3**	**10**	**11.2**	**9.8**

P-value=0.000

Table 8 above demonstrates a significant relationship between country of origin and the time immigrants spent on their decision to migrate to Johannesburg. The chi-squared test value is significant at 1%, which allows us to claim that migration intentional interval differs by country. However at this level, since the chi-squared test is not directional, one is neither able to quantify this difference nor to pinpoint factors that underlie this difference nor to explain it. The probability of the Congolese migrants having already made their decision to migrate in less than one week from the day the intention to migrate forms in their minds, is 0.30, while it is 0.14 and 0.17 for Mozambican and Somali migrants respectively. The probability of the Congolese spending two years deciding to migrate to Johannesburg was 0.1 compared to 0.14 for the Somali , who have the slowest probability score for the interval of less than one week. This makes us claim, that at this level, the Congolese are fastest in deciding to migrate whereas the Somalis are the slowest as confirmed in Figure 1 below. This claim will be tested against other factors that affect migration decision timing in the regression models. Table 8 above also shows that the Somalis spent the highest average time (in months) on their migration decision followed by the Mozambicans.

At this level, the interpretation is not straightforward since there are still many other factors involved. Nevertheless, this implies to a significant extent, that migration decision-making for the Congolese was relatively quicker compared to the rest because most of the Congolese in the sample identified themselves as forced migrants. The delay in migration decision-making for Somalis can be partly explained by factor proximity. A Somali prospective migrant making the decision to move to South Africa not only spent the time thinking about the logistics involved in getting to a country that is far away, but more importantly, in identifying a strategy enabling them to cross intervening national borders. The charts below demonstrate the distribution of intentional interval by selected variables and relational similarities between some independent variables.

Figure 2: Intentional Interval by Country of Origin

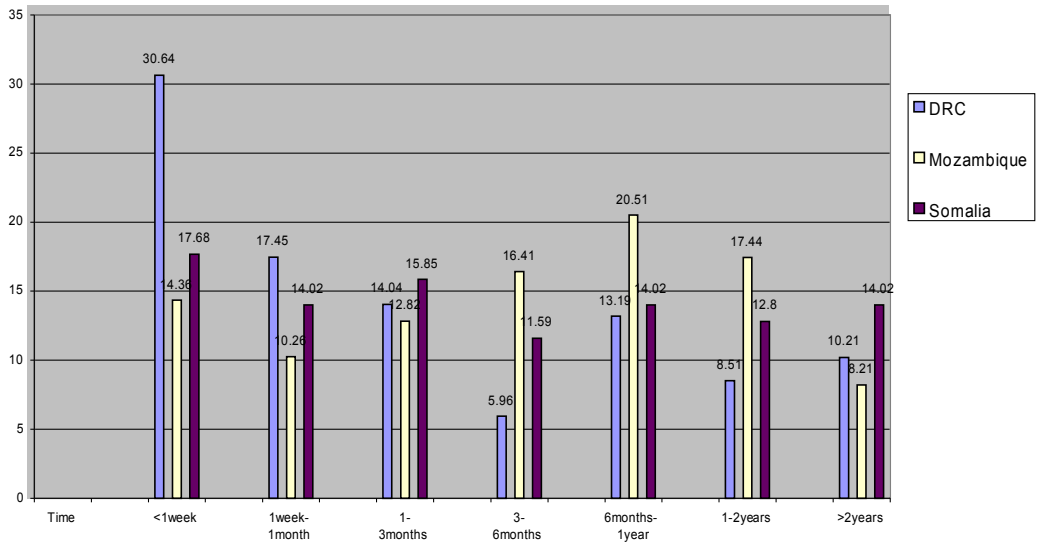


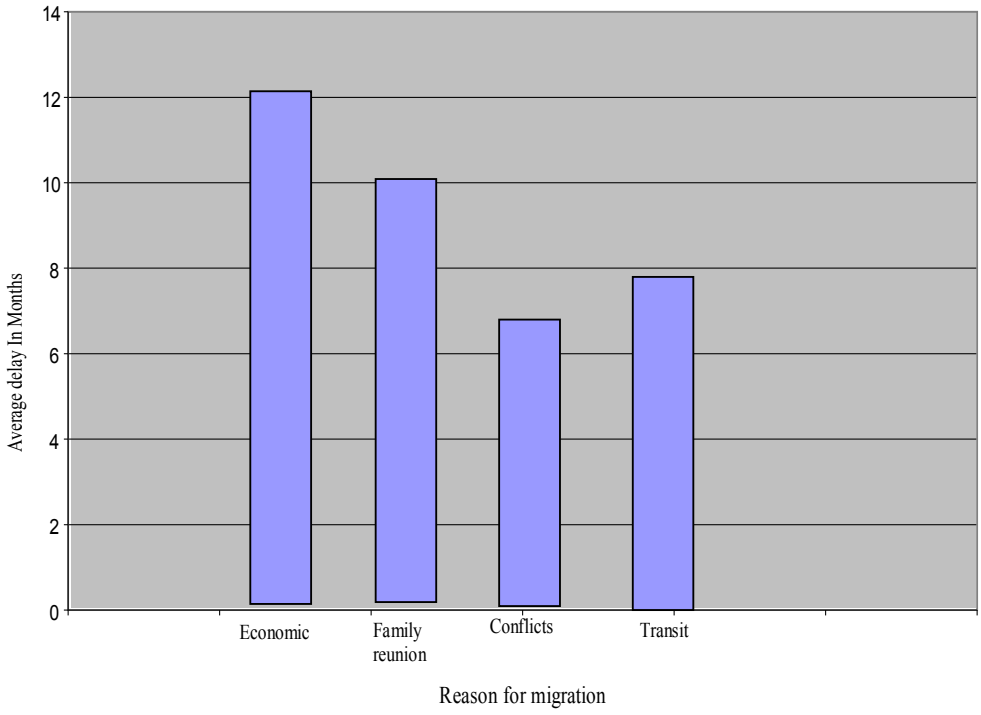
Figure 2 shows that Congolese respondents had the highest score in the category that spent less than one week on their decision to migrate. As mentioned earlier, the majority of the Congolese in the sample claimed to be forced migrants (refugees and asylum seekers fleeing conflict) which partly explains why their decision-making period was relatively short. Mozambicans had the lowest scores in this category because most respondents identified themselves as voluntary migrants, who either went

to Johannesburg looking for employment opportunities or to reunite with family members or friends. Here the presumption is that voluntary migrants take their time planning the move unlike forced migrants, who often have to flee life threatening situations at short notice. Obviously this cannot be the sole reason since there are other factors involved. The comprehensive results are discussed later, in the regression analysis.

4.3.2 Time by Reason for Migration

It has been argued in this study that, inherently, the reason for migration has a significant effect on migration intentional interval. The assumption was that people who migrate due fear of personal prosecution (at the time of war), or those who migrate fleeing imminent death (e.g. forced migrants due to natural disasters) would be expected to take relatively shorter time deciding to migrate as they have so little time to explore available alternatives. Figure below presents the distribution of *intentional interval* (estimated in months) by reason for migration.

Figure 3: Migration Intentional Interval by reason of migration



As illustrated in Figure 3 above, migration *intentional interval* is the shortest for forced migrants probably because they had less time to contemplate the available options. Those migrating for economic reasons took the longest time, followed by those migrating to reunite with family members. The tentative explanation is that those migrating for economic reasons have, and need, time to prepare. Moreover, they have to prepare the necessary logistics to settle in once at the destination, including employment opportunities and accommodation (see van Hear, 1998; Goodman, 1981; Heberkorn, 1981). The intentional interval for those who claimed to transit to Johannesburg to a third country is relatively short (second shortest, see chart above). This can in part, be attributable to the fact that they were not planning to stay, and therefore did not need to consider a survival strategy in Johannesburg.

4.3.3 Reason for Migration by Country

Figure 4

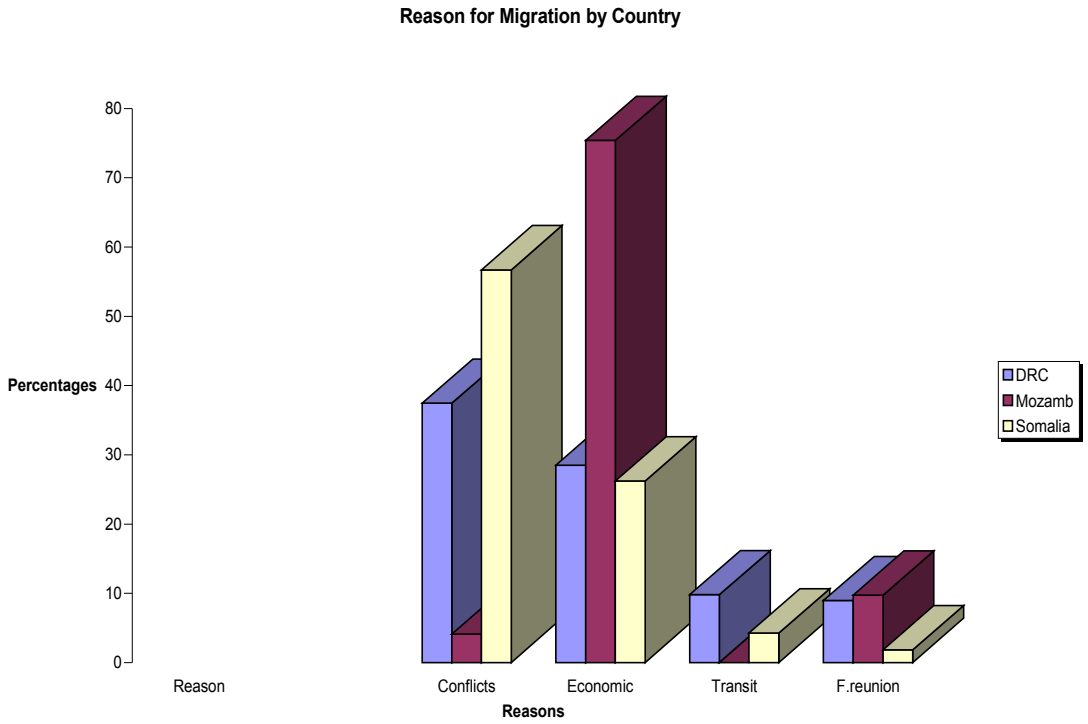


Figure 4 above, shows that of all forced migrants who migrated to Johannesburg due to conflicts, Somalis scored the highest followed by the Congolese. Of all 189 respondents who claimed to have migrated to Johannesburg due to conflict, only 8 were Mozambicans. Over 75% of all respondents from Mozambique reported to have

migrated to Johannesburg for economic reasons compared to their Congolese and Somali counterparts who scored 28.5% and 26.2% respectively. Figure 4 also shows that all Mozambican migrants had Johannesburg as their final destination whereas 9.8% and 4.3% Congolese and Somalis respectively reported to be transiting in Johannesburg. Finally, the chart shows that while 8.9% and 9.7% of the Congolese and Mozambican respondents respectively, claimed to have moved to Johannesburg to join relatives who were already living there, only 1.8% of Somalis migrated to Johannesburg to reunite with family.

4.3.4 Time by respondent age at time of migration intention

In the context of this study, it is important to differentiate the age of the respondents at the time of interview and their age at the time the intention to migrate formed in their minds. The age of the respondents at the time the intention to migrate formed in their minds equals their age at the time of interview minus time already spent in South Africa, minus the time spent deciding to migrate. The age at the intention, overrides the age at the time of interview, an important explanatory variable, as the study is particularly interested in its implications during the migration decision-making process, not on what was currently happening in Johannesburg at the time of the interview. Table 9 below, demonstrates the distribution of *intentional intervals* by the age of respondents at the time the desire to migrate formed in their minds.

Table 9: Intentional interval by age at the intention

	Age					
Intentional interval	11/17	18/24	25/29	30/34	35/max	**Total**
<1week	13	44	47	22	2	128
1week-1month	8	36	20	13	6	83
1month-3month	4	38	26	15	1	84
3months-6months	4	26	27	5	3	65
6monts-1year	8	46	30	5	2	91
1year-2years	8	43	14	4	5	74
>2years	10	35	13	3	2	63
Total	**55**	**268**	**177**	**67**	**21**	**588**
Mean time (in months	**27**	**12**	**9.3**	**7.1**	**11**	**13.8**

P-value=0.001

As Table 9 above shows, the time spent on the decision to migrate, differs by age. Because the Chi-squared test is not directional, one can not quantify the difference or explain factors that underlie that difference. Nevertheless, as Table 9 shows, the probability of potential migrants, whose intention to migrate forms at the age between 11-17, having already decided to migrate within one week, is 0.23, while it is 0.16; 0.26; 0.33 respectively for those aged 18/24, 25/29 and 30/34. This may mean that the probability of making the decision to migrate within one week is slightly higher for older potential migrants than their young counterparts. This is not conclusive because there are other covariates that need to be taken into consideration. This causality is discussed further in the regression analysis.

4.3.5 Time by respondents' upbringing settlement

Often the variable "upbringing settlement" is broadened to include, to some degree, the socioeconomic conditions, the neighborhood circumstances, the type of the household and other indicators of well being. For the purpose of this study, the meaning of this concept has been limited to the settlement types or categories: (1) City; (2) Town and (3) Rural area. Since the core interest of this study is to establish the role of transnational networks on the length of time spent on the decision to migrate, it is important to look at the effect of the respondents' residential backgrounds. The study's argument follows the observation by Gold (2005) that residing in a city affords potential migrants the necessary access to transnational networks (e.g. telecommunication facilities) that not only "encourages the intention to migrate but also facilitates information acquisition with regard to their decision to migrate and the actual move". Table 10 below demonstrates the relational distribution of upbringing settlement of migrants by time spent on their decision to migrate.

Table 10: Intentional Interval by Upbringing settlement

Upbringing settlement					
Intentional interval	*City*	*Town*	*Rural*	*DK*	***Totals***
<1week	89	34	6	0	129
1week-1month	62	15	7	0	84
1montn-3months	54	26	4	0	84
3months-6m	40	14	11	0	65
6months-1year	41	33	19	1	94
1year-2years	51	17	7	0	75
>2years	45	13	5	0	63
Totals	**382**	**152**	**59**	**1**	**594**
Mean time (in months)	**10**	**9**	**10.1**		**9.7**

P-value=0.002

The cross-tabulation in Table 10 above shows a significant variation on the time spent on the decision to migrate by upbringing settlement. The probability of future migrants to have already migrated within one week, counting from the day the intention to migrate formed in their minds is: 0.23; 0.22; 0.1 for potential migrants who grew up in the cities, towns and rural areas, respectively. This implies that the decision to migrate is easier and quicker for prospective migrants that live in cities compared to their counterparts in small towns and rural areas and it is relatively quicker for those in towns compared to those in remote rural areas. This already show evidence of the theorized importance of transnational networks in the contemporary international migration processes (see Jacobsen and Landau, 2003; Massey et al, 1993; Crush and McDonald, 2002; Solomon, 2003).

4.3.6 Time by whether migration respondents considered other destinations.

As mentioned earlier, some theories demonstrate that when migration decision-makers have more than one destination to choose from, they may take longer in completing their decision to finally go because they spend relatively more time comparing information, some of which may even be negative (Heberkorn, 1981). It is within this reasoning, that the question whether the respondents considered other destinations alongside Johannesburg during the decision making, was included in the analysis. Table 11 below presents these associations.

Table 11: Intentional Interval by whether other destinations were considered

Considered other places alongside Johannesburg				
Intentional interval	*Yes*	*No*	*Not clear*	***Total***
<1week	62	44	23	129
1week-1month	45	32	7	84
1month-3months	49	26	9	84
3months-6months	41	22	2	65
6months-1year	53	38	3	94
1year-2years	47	22	6	75
>2yearrs	24	28	11	63
Total	**321**	**212**	**61**	**594**

P-value=0.078

The results shown in Table 11 above show no significant difference in time spent deciding to migrate, by whether the decision-maker had one or more destination to choose from, testing at 5%. While one cannot generalize these findings at this level, it implies that individuals making the decision to migrate do not necessarily need more time when they have alternative destinations to choose from.

4.3.7 Time by whether the decision was taken alone or as a household

Table 12 below, shows the distribution of time by whether respondents decided to migrate in group or with other household members. The inclusion of this variable in the analysis derives from Chang's (1981) theory that emphasizes the role of family members in the process of migration decision-making, particularly in the context of societies in the developing world. According to Chang (1981), whereas migration seems a lot easier when the decision to migrate is made as a household, in many cases, the household needs to reach agreement on the migration decision before they depart, which it is presumed, lengthens the time spent on the decision. Table 12 below, presents the result of the test of this hypothesis.

Table 12: Intentional interval by whether the decision was taken as a household or alone

	Left with other		
Intentional interval	Yes	No	**Total**
>1week	32	97	129
1week-1months	23	61	84
1month-3months	17	67	84
3months-6months	31	34	65
6months-1years	38	56	94
1year-2years	23	52	75
2years/max	24	39	63
Total	**188**	**406**	**594**
Mean time (in months)	**11.1**	**10**	**10.6**

P-value=0.002

Table 12 above, demonstrates a statistically significant association between migration intentional interval and whether people migrated with other household members, testing at 5% (p-value). That is, the migration decision-making duration differs by whether the decision was taken alone or as a household/group.

4.3.8 Time by Transnational ties

Many researchers on international migration agree that migration networks are very important in migration processes, at least in the modern world, where networks facilities have considerably increased and improved (Vertovec, 2002; Gold, 2005; Portes, 2001). Networks are referred to in terms of the following index:

1. Not having relatives/friends at the destination. This is included as one of the indicators to allow pattern comparison between those whose decision did not depend on the networks and those whose decision did.
2. Having relatives and/or friends at the destination, but not being in contact with them.
3. Being in contact with them but receiving no assistance.
4. Being in contact them and receiving some form of support or encouragement to come.

Table 13 illustrates the relational distribution between the two variables.

Table 13: Intentional Interval by network levels

	Network levels				
Intentional interval	*Knew nobody in JHB*	*Knew someone in JHB but not in contact*	*Knew a person & we were in contact*	*Had contact and support in JHB before migrating*	***Total***
<1 week	75	19	7	28	129
1 week-1 month	29	17	5	33	84
1 month-3 months	34	4	3	43	84
3 months-6 months	23	4	6	32	65
6 months-1 year	36	12	4	42	94
1 year-2 years	29	11	2	33	75
>2 years	31	2	3	27	63
Total	**257**	**69**	**30**	**238**	**594**
Mean time(in months)	**10**	**6.4**	**8.4**	**10.6**	**8.9**

P-value=0.000

Table 13 above shows that there is a statistically significant variation in length of time spent on the decision to migrate as one moves from one degree of networks to the other, testing at 5%. The cause and direction of that difference can only be explained and quantified by regression analysis that will confront it with other important factors in the migration decision making process in the following section.

Since this is a comparative study of correlates of migration decision-timing in three countries, it was important to look at the distribution of the transnational network ties by country.

4.3.9 Transnational ties by country of origin

Figure 5 below, merely compares the differences in network types between the migrants' countries of origin.

Figure 5: Transnational ties by country of origin

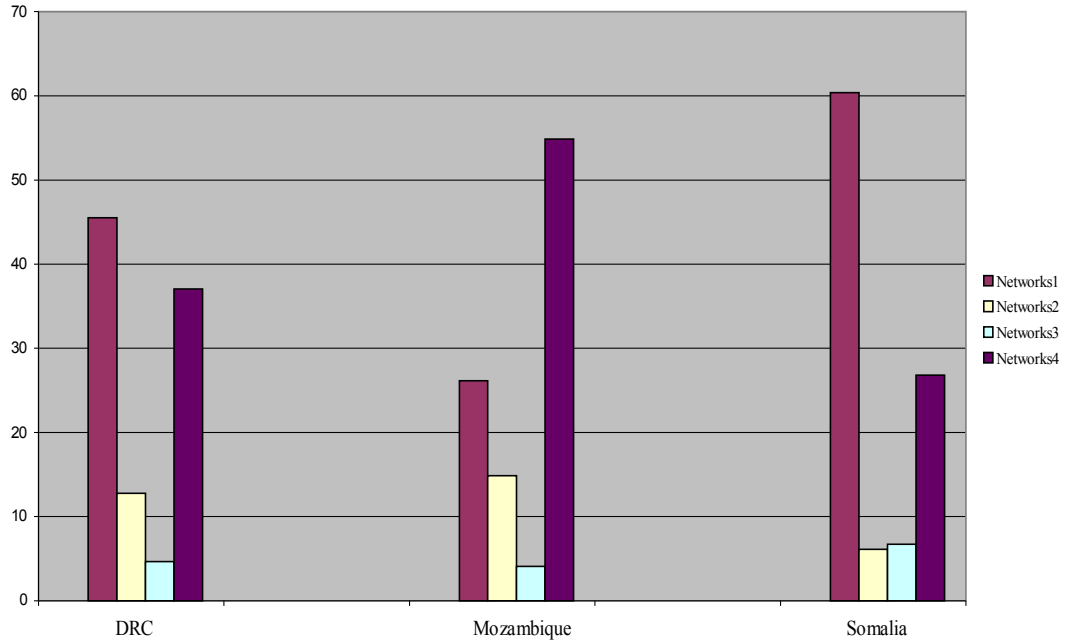


Figure 5 demonstrates a significant variation by country in the types of networks prospective migrants were involved in before leaving. As the chart shows, the Somalis had fewer networks in Johannesburg at the time they were making the decision to migrate. In other words, the findings suggest that Somali migrants' involvement in migrant networks is the lowest as compared to the other countries. Whether that lengthens or shortens their *intentional interval* is discussed in the regression analysis below. Mozambican migrant networks, on the other hand, are the strongest of all; they not only stayed in regular contact with their friends/relatives in Johannesburg but also received relatively good support from them before leaving for Johannesburg. The Congolese have the second highest score in terms of support from their family members/friends in Johannesburg, and of course the Somalis scoring the lowest, because few of them had relatives or friends in Johannesburg. The causal relationship under investigation in this study is discussed in the next section.

4.4 Regression analysis

4.4.1 Bivariate regression

The objective of the bivariate regression is to establish the direction of the causal relationship between each independent factor and the dependent variable. In this study, bivariate ordered probit regression is used to establish how the socioeconomic, political, demographic, networks and other independent characteristics and/or conditions of the respondents affected the time they spent deciding to migrate - the *intentional interval.* Unlike cross-tabulation, ordered probit regression enables us to determine not only the significance of the relationships but is also able to quantify it and shows the direction of that relationship. Table 14 presents the results.

Table 14: Model for respondents who knew at least one person in Johannesburg before migrating

Intentional interval	**Coefficient**
Country	
Mozambique	0.404***
Somalia	0.346**
Omitted: DRC	
Reason	
Family reunion	-0.039
Conflict	-0.676***
Transit	-0.425**
Omitted: Economic	
Age at which intention formed	
18/24	-0.024
25/29	-0.349
30/34	-0.684***
35/max	-0.122
Omitted: 11/17	
Networks	
Knew nobody in JHB before migrating	-0.153
Knew someone in JHB before migrating & were only in contact	-0.013
Knew someone in JHB before migrating & received support	0.270***
Omitted: No relatives	
Left with household members	
Left alone	-0.232**
Omitted: left with a member	
Sex	
Female	-0.149**
Omitted: Male	

N= 412 Note, ***p-value<0.01; **p-value<0.05; ns=Not significant

In the first model of bivariate regression the study shows the separate effect of each independent variable on the period respondents spent on the decision to migrate. In general, the decision making period (intentional interval) of respondents from Mozambique and Somalia is longer than that of their counterparts from DRC. For the Somali this can be partly attributed to geographical distance between Somalia and South Africa and the underlying substantial costs of migration and cultural differences, which requires more preparation in terms of investment in the new society (Deutsche Bank, 2003). For the Mozambicans on the other hand, the underlying cause may lie in the observation by Kok et al (2003) that, in some cases, the complex web of transnational networks satisfactorily facilitate transactions between the family in the home countries and immigrants at the destination and may reduce the urgency of migration or even render migration irrelevant for those at home because both needed information and material assistance flow easily and regularly across borders.

The intentional interval for people fleeing conflicts in their home countries, as well as those who ended up in Johannesburg while transiting to a third country, is shorter than those who were migrating for economic reasons. This may link to the fact that people fleeing persecution have insufficient time to weigh the available alternatives. In the case of those transiting to a third country, there was almost nothing to consider since they only expected to be in Johannesburg for a very short time.

Moreover, the intentional interval tends to shorten as age increases, at least until the age of 34 (see graph 6 below). According to the findings, the intentional interval of a future migrant whose intention to migrate is formed at an early age (between 11 and 17 years) is relatively longer than those whose intention to migrate was formed at a later age. This can be attributable, on the one hand, to the fact that at a young age one has not yet acquired the necessary migration decision making freedom and is still financially dependent. On the other hand, those whose intention to migrate formed at a later age, say between 30 and 34, not only have the necessary freedom to make such a decision concerning their futures but also are likely to be financially able to afford the costs of migration.

People who were receiving support or encouragement from relatives or friends in Johannesburg during migration decision times, showed a rather longer intentional

interval than their counterparts who did not. This is one of the surprising results that disagree with the main working hypothesis that posits that networks would shorten the intentional interval. Whether this significance can survive other confounders is revealed in the multiple regression below.

Respondents, who reported having made the decision to migrate alone, show a relatively shorter intentional interval than their counterparts who made the decision to migrate with other household members. Some of these may be those referred to in the neo-classical economic theories of migration, who prefer migrating alone to maximize income (Kok et al, 2003). The findings show intentional interval difference by gender. There are various ways to interpret this pattern. To a significant extent, as noted by Harbison in De Jong and Gardener (1981), since the household is a structural and functional context in which all important information is received and analyzed and where the most important decisions are taken, family structure can have different implications by gender. Obviously the circumstances that surround migration decision-making for a woman in a household will not be exactly the same as for a man, especially in an African context, where men and women have to adhere to a set of well defined cultural rules.

Table 15 below presents the results on whether there is a significant difference in *intentional interval* for those who did not have friends and relatives in Johannesburg during their migration decision timing (before they left their home countries). A detailed interpretation of the finding has been provided in the inclusive models which controlled for other confounders. At the bivariate levels, only a brief interpretation of the meaning of the results in the table is provided.

Table 15: Model for respondents who did not know anyone in JHB before migrating

Intentional interval	**Coefficient**
Country	
Mozambique	1.034***
Somalia	0.597***
Omitted: DRC	
Reason	
Family reunion	-0.616
Conflict	-1.081***
Transit	-0.668**
Omitted: Economic	
Age	
18/24	0.254
25/29	-0.446
30/34	-0.689**
35/max	-0.023
Omitted:11/17	
Left with	
Left alone	-0.291
Omitted: Left with a member	
Sex	
Female	0.152
Omitted: male	

N=152 Note, ***p-value<0.01; **p-value<0.05; ns=Not significant

Table 15 shows that:

1 The Mozambican and Somalis took longer on their decision to migrate than their Congolese counterparts.

2 The intentional interval for those who migrated to Johannesburg due to conflicts and those transiting to a third country is shorter than that of those who migrated for economic reasons.

3 The intentional interval of those whose intention to migrate formed between the ages of 30 and 34 is shorter than those whose intention to migrate formed at a younger age, especially those aged between 11 and 17 at the time the intention to migrate formed in their minds.

4 There is no difference in intentional interval by gender, for those who did not have relatives or friends in Johannesburg, before they migrated there.

The bivariate regression analysis shows the separate effect of each independent variable on *intentional interval,* referred to as the time spent on the migration decision. While suggestive, these findings in the bivariate regression do not indicate whether associations are direct or whether they are the result of the impact of other independent variables. Moreover, they only provide a gross effect because they do not control for other confounding factors. In order to untangle the web, it is important to combine all these significant independent variables in one model. Various results are presented in multiple regression below.

4.4.2 Multiple Regression

Multiple regression analysis allows the researcher to examine the impact of a single social dimension on behavior, as if all other social dimensions/aspect remained exactly the same (Kok, 2003). The multiple regression model used in this study, is an ordered probit model with *intentional interval* as the dependent variable and country of origin, reason for migrating, age at the time of forming the intention to migrate, sex, and whether the migrant left with other household members being the explanatory variables. Transnational networks are hypothesized to be the key causal variable in this research. In order to identify the most significant explanatory variables with respect to migration decision timing, ordered probit regression that includes all selected important variables, was used. Ordered probit regression is appropriate for this study's data because the dependent variable is inherently categorized and the difference between these categories makes no other sense than the mere category they imply. The results are presented in tables below. Table 16 below summarizes the results of the net regression model that includes networks.

Table 16: Model for respondents who knew at least one person in Johannesburg before migrating

Intentional interval	Coefficient
Country	
Mozambique	-0.015
Somalia	0.208
Omitted: DRC	
Reason	
Family Reunion	0.001
Conflict	-0.508***
Transit	-0.342
Omitted: Economic	
Age	
18/24	-0.264
25/29	-0.521**
30/34	-0.797***
35/max	-0.474
Omitted: 11-17	
Networks	
Knew nobody in JHB before migrating	-0.098
Knew someone in JHB & were only in contact	-0.273
Knew someone in JHB & the person supported me before I migrated	0.166
Omitted: No contacts	
Left with	
Left alone	-0.183
Omitted: Left with a household member	
Sex	
Female	-0.226**
Omitted: Male	

N=412 Note, ***p-value<0.01; **p-value<0.05; ns=Not significant

Table 16 above, shows that reason for migration, age at the time intention to migrate formed in the mind of the then future migrant and gender are important explanatory variables of migration intentional interval. In fact, the findings of the model presented in Table 16 above, confirms hypothesis (1) that posits that the timing and *intentional interval* varies by the geographical, social, economic, political and environmental context of each individual or household making the decision to migrate. The fact that country of origin, and networks did not have a significant explanatory power on the intentional interval in this model, may be that they are highly correlated with reason for migration, in the context of this study. The table shows that:

1. The intentional interval for those respondents who migrated to Johannesburg due to conflicts in their home countries is significantly shorter than that of those who moved to Johannesburg for other reasons, especially economic immigrants. As discussed earlier, this can be partly attributed to the assumption that people fleeing persecution are relatively faster in leaving their homes due to fear and imminent danger, and thus have little or no time to explore alternatives. This finding corroborates the finding by Solomon Asch in Heberkorn (1981) who demonstrated that under normal circumstances, people migrating for economic reasons tend to take longer and are able to calculate the social and economic payoffs of migrating. In addition to that, the decision-maker must necessarily wait for the approval or blessing of the decision by the family or society (p270).
2. The intentional interval for those whose intention to migrate formed between the ages of 30 and 34, is shorter compared to those who were younger (particularly those who were aged between 11 and 17) at the time they formed the intention to migrate (see Graph 6). The fact that respondents aged between 30 and 34 took relatively less time on their decision to migrate can, to a large extent, be explained by the fact that not only are they likely to have accumulated the resources needed to migrate but are also mature and need no family or community approval before migration. On the other hand, for a 10 year old child to be contemplating international migration is surely something that has much to do with international family and friendship networks. As suggested by Massey et al (1993), where migration has reached a certain threshold, it becomes partly independent from the factors that created it. Moreover, as suggested by the study by Cycip and Fawcett referred to in Kok et al (2003), when migration has become a community tradition, background factors (including demographic factors such as age) lose much of their significance in explaining migration patterns. This implies that in such cases, it is no longer the personal characteristics of the prospect migrant, but rather the participation in networks, which trigger migration intention and mediate the duration of migration decisions. In that sense, it is no surprise that someone as young as 10 may be having an intention to migrate if that child has close family members in the desired destination.

Country of origin and transnational network ties, which were important predictors of intentional interval in the bivariate models, lost their significance in multiple regression because of the effect and interaction of other important confounding variables in the model. Reason for migration and the age at the time intention to migrate formed in the mind of the future migrants, remained significant in multiple regression, despite the effect of other confounding effect in the model. This implies a possibility of high correlation between country of origin and networks, with reason for migration and the age at the time intention to migrate formed as already observed in the sample characteristics.

According to the findings, the intentional interval of the female is shorter than that of the male. Although there may be other explanations for this, Kok et al (2003) suggested that this is because women are more like to migrate to join relatives already in the destination, especially in the African context. This observation is echoed in the findings by Heering et al (2004) about migration patterns of Moroccans to Europe. They observed that a significant number of Morrocan females were migrating to unite with their husbands or to get married. In same line of reasoning, Kok et al (2003) further concluded on their study of South Africa, that family reunification continues to be the main reason for female migration. If such is case, there is little needed to be considered as everything is expected to be pre-arranged by the family or relatives already at the destination.

Variable gender yielded interesting results in the multiple regression. Gender did not have a significant explanatory power in the bivariate model, not even with the Chie-Squared test, but in the multiple regression it became a significant predictor of the dependent variable. This shows the case-specific importance of gender as a variable in the theories on international migration. Ellis et al cited in Heering et al (2003), warns that considering gender in theoretical accounts of international migration involves more than just adding a sex variable to the explanatory models. This is because of the different socio-cultural settings and various roles and positions women and men are assigned, [particularly] in developing societies in which gender bias is still manifest. Once the gender dimension is included in the explanatory models, the picture becomes more diverse. This is exactly what the findings demonstrate. For this reason, it is was important to test gender in different sub-models to track its behavior change, in the

multiple regression, even though at the bivariate level, it did not show any association with the *intentional interval*. A number of sub-models were run on restricted populations.

Table 17 focuses on the patterns for economic migrants only.

Table 17: Model for Economic migrant respondents only

Intentional interval	**Coefficient**
Country	
Mozambique	-0.073
Somalia	-0.021
Omitted: DRC	
Age at intention	
18/24	-0.722**
25/29	-0.930***
30/34	-1.647***
35/max	-0.837**
Omitted: 11-17	
Networks	
Knew nobody in JHB before coming	-0.593**
Knew someone & were in contact	-.0.727**
Knew someone & the person supported me before coming	-0.170
Omitted: No relatives	
Left with household members	
Left alone	-0.252
Omitted: left with a household member	
Sex	
Female	
Omitted: Male	-0.280

N=253 Note, ***p-value<0.01; **p-value<0.05; ns=Not significant

The results in Table 17 above, demonstrate that only age at the time the intention to migrate formed in the mind of the prospective migrant and the membership to a transnational networks, are the most important predictors of migration intentional interval. Country of origin once again lost its prediction power in the net regression, as did gender. This once again, may be attributed to the eventual correlation between these two variables and age at intention to migrate and membership in a transnational network that facilitate migration processes. The findings in the Tables above, for instance, show that most Mozambicans were economic migrants and had the strongest

networks, which significantly helped them in the process of migration decision. In addition, it is well documented that Mozambicans have a long history of migration to South Africa, which explains why even at such an early age, children could already start thinking about migrating before they attain maturity (see Sycip in Fawcett, 1981).

Moreover, the study shows that migration intentional interval becomes shorter as age increases. This finding is both new and interesting. Since no previous inquiry was conducted on the age at the intention to migrate, this finding cannot necessarily be extrapolated to other cases because it is based on a relatively small population, in a specific area. However, we can surmise that at a young age, the nascent migrant has not yet acquired decision making freedom nor possesses the financial means, whereas respondents whose decision to migrate formed at the later age (30-34), not only possess decision making freedom but also are likely to have the financial means to do so.

In terms of the findings in Table 17 above, transnational networks speed migration decision timing for economic migrants. As the results in Table 17 showed, the intentional interval for future economic migrants who belong to migrant networks operating from the potential destination, is shorter than that of those without networks. These results confirm hypothesis (3) which posits that; transnational networks have a significant explanatory power on migration timing. This is because of the encouragement, as well as moral and financial support, that prospective migrants receive from relatives and friends at the destination (Vertovec, 2002) and Van Hear, 1998). This is a positive influence and it is an aggregated pattern. For some individuals willing to invest in migration, transnational networks may rather exercise a negative impact on their migration decision timing, especially when receiving mixed messages, including negative feedback, from friends or relatives in the potential destinations (Heberkorn, 1981).

Whether the decision to migrate was taken individually or as a household, did not make any difference for economic migrants. In addition, there was no significant causality between gender and migration timing.

Table 18 below presents the results of the model that focused only on the Mozambican economic migrants.

Table 18: **Model for Mozambican Economic Migrant respondents only**

Intentional interval	**Coefficient**
Age	
18/24	-0.423
25/29	-0.564
30/34	-1.394
35/max	-0.819
Omitted: 11-17	
Networks	
Knew nobody in JHB before coming	-1.238***
Knew someone &we were in contact	-.1.224**
Knew someone &he supported me before coming	-0.513**
Omitted: No relatives	
Left with household members	
Left alone	-0.164
Omitted: left with a household member	
Sex	
Female	
Omitted: Male	-0.504***

N=143 Note, ***p-value<0.01; **p-value<0.05; ns=Not significant

Table 18 above, presents a multiple regression model exclusively for the Mozambican economic migrants. Overall, it suggests that the intentional interval for the Mozambican economic migrants was not significantly dependent on age at the time the intention to migrate formed or on whether the decision to migrate was taken as a household or individually. For the Mozambican economic migrants, networks are the most important explanatory factor in migration decision timing, followed by gender. Gender failed to make a difference in the model above (Table 17) when looking at all the economic migrants, but in the exclusive model for the Mozambican economic migrants, it became quite important. The findings in Table 18 are summarized below.

For the Mozambican economic migrants, transnational networks played a key role in their migration timing. We may also observe from Table 18 above, that the intentional interval is more likely to be shorter for females than males, in the case of the economic migrants from Mozambique. Due to a long history of migration from Mozambique to South Africa (Solomon, 2003), there is already a well-established community of Mozambican economic migrant 'veterans' in Johannesburg. Thus, it is highly likely that many are migrating to reunite with their relatives, particularly females, known to

dominate in family reunification type migration (Kok et al, 2003). Age at intention lost its predictive power, most probably, due to its correlation with the effect of factor networks in that model.

Table 19 below, presents the results of a model, which only focused on respondents who migrated due to conflicts

Table 19: Model for forced migrant respondents only

Intentional interval	**Coefficient**
Country	
Mozambique	0.676
Somalia	0.353
Omitted: DRC	
Age	
18/24	0.760
25/29	-0.048
30/34	-0.207
35/max	0.274
Omitted: 11-17	
Networks	
Had no contact in JHB before coming	0.381
Knew a person in JHB but we were not in contact	0.930
Knew someone in JHB and he supported me before migrating	1.098***
Omitted: No relatives	
Left with household members	
Left alone	0.687**
Omitted: left with a household member	
Sex	
Female	0.197
Omitted: Male	

N=86 Note, ***p-value<0.01; **p-value<0.05; ns=Not significant

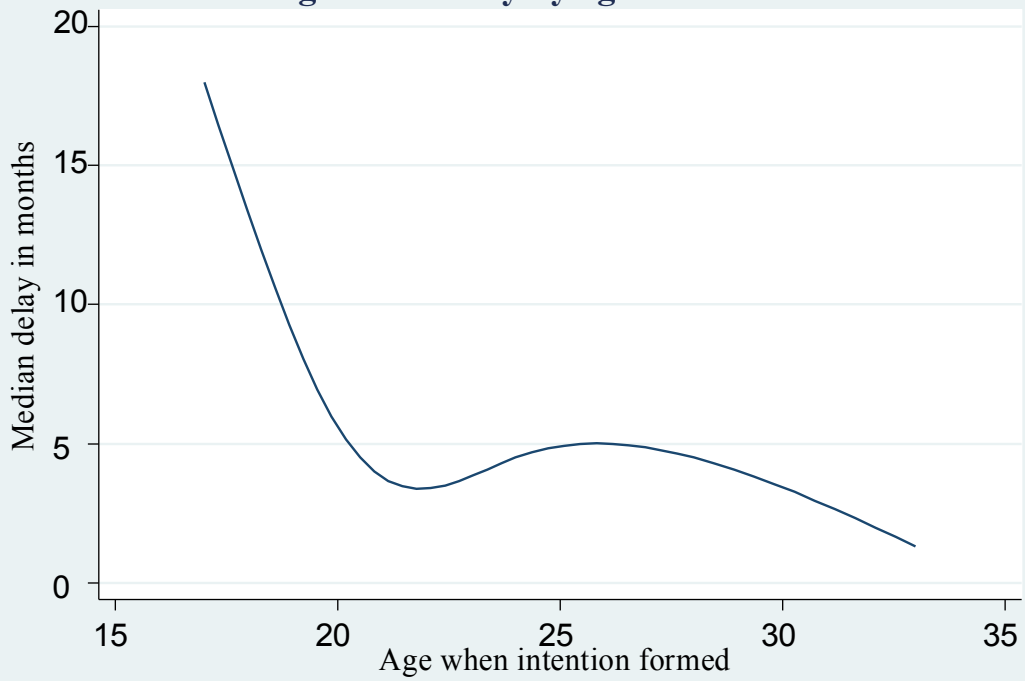
Table 19 above, presents A multiple regression model exclusively for those respondents who claimed to have migrated to Johannesburg due to conflict in their home countries. The results show that in the case of forced migrants, factors such as country of origin, age and gender are immaterial. What matters, is whether there are relatives/friends to help move them to safer areas, on the one hand, and on the other, whether one migrates alone or as a household. The results of Table 19 show that:

(1) In fact, transnational networks significantly lengthen the time spent on the decision to migrate for forced migrants, at least in this study. The exclusive sub-model for those who claimed to migrate as a result of conflicts in their home countries, shows that transnational networks lengthened their migration intentional interval. This is interesting, because forced migrants fleeing from danger are not expected to have enough time to explore alternatives. This finding disagrees with Hypothesis (2), which posits that forced migrants' intentional interval is shorter than that of other types of migrants. The probable implication of this, is that although people may claim that they have migrated as a result of conflict in their home countries, it is highly likely that some of them, with networks in Johannesburg, migrated there primarily for economic incentives, something worth investigating further.

In case of forced migration, the intentional interval is longer for those who migrate alone than for those who migrate as a household. This maybe attributable to the fact, that during war or any disaster, people are terrified and only feel safe moving as a family. Moreover, since forced migrants are generally vulnerable and deprived and, more importantly, uncertain about where they are going, they are always expected to move in a group of family or friends.

Although one cannot generalize with this study alone and with the exception of the Mozambican economic migrants, the evidence of the findings in Tables 15-19 above, suggest that the younger the age at which the intention to migrate forms, the longer it takes to complete the decision to migrate, at least up to the age of 34. Figure 6 below, translates these patterns.

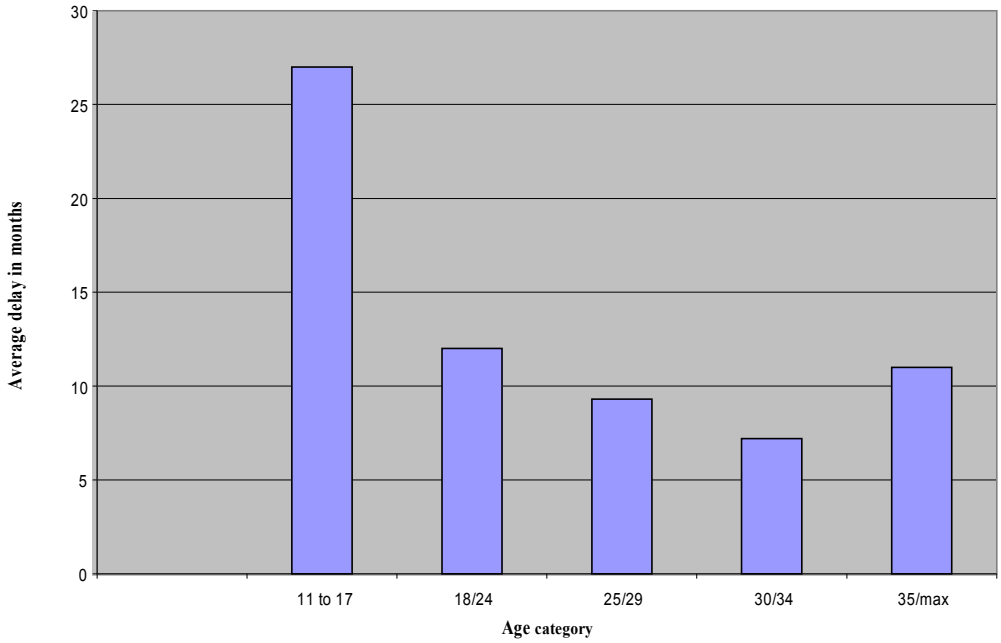
Figure 6 - Delay by age at intention



As Figure 6 above demonstrates, *migration intentional interval* shortens as you move from a younger to older age (up to the age of 34). The interpretation of this, is that the intentional interval is shorter for those whose intention to migrate forms between ages 30 and 34, because they are relatively independent at that age and thus rarely have to wait for "social approval" or blessing before leaving, as suggested in the work of Social Conformity by Solomon Asch in Heberkorn (1981). Moreover, as mature adults, they are expected to have the financial wherewithal to afford migration, which may ease and shorten their decision-making period.

Figure 7 below, shows these trends in chart form.

Figure 7: Average delay by Age at the time of intention to migrate



From the outset, we hypothesized that networks shorten *migration intentional interval* and the findings presented in the tables above, with the exception of forced migrants (Table 20), confirm the hypothesis. According to the findings in the model above, networks can and indeed do, exercise a significant influence on the time spent on the decision to migrate – the *intentional interval*. But what are the correlates of migration decision timing, for those who succeed in migrating without depending on transnational networks? How different are the correlates of migration decision timing, for those who migrated without networks compared to those who depended on them?

Table 20 below presents the findings of the net regression of those who did not utilize transnational networks to migrate.

Table 20: Model for respondents who did not know anyone in JHB before migrating

Intentional interval	**Coefficient**
Country	
Mozambique	0.374
Somalia	0.348
Omitted: DRC	
Reason	
Family Reunion	-0.844
Conflict	-0.785***
Transit	-0.394
Omitted: Economic	
Age	
18/24	-0.313
25/29	-0.835**
30/34	-0.972**
35/max	-0.407
Omitted: 11-17	
Left with household members	
Left alone	-0.216
Omitted: left with a household member	
Sex	
Female	-0.028
Omitted: Male	

N=152 Note, ***p-value<0.01; **p-value<0.05; ns=Not significant

Table 20 above, presents the model for migrants who did not utilizing networks and included all factors that were significant at the bivariate regression level. The results in the Table 20 suggests that factors such as country of origin, gender and whether the decision to migrate was taken as a household or individually did not have any significant prediction on the intentional interval. The findings in Table 20 show instead, that reason for migration and age at the time intention to migrate are the significant explanatory variables. The results in table 20 are summarized in the following paragraph.

The intentional interval for forced migrants is shorter than that of their economic migrant counterparts. This has been attributed to the fact that those migrating from fear, have little or no time to plan and compare alternatives, unlike their economic migrant counterparts. The intentional interval is shorter for those whose intention to migrate

formed between ages 30-34 than those aged between 11 and 17. Again, the explanation here is that the older migrants are likely to have the necessary freedoms (decision making and financial wherewithal) to fulfill their plans.

CHAPTER V: CONCLUSION AND RESEARCH IMPLICATION

4.1 Conclusion

This study pursued the argument that, in a world that is increasingly mobile, particularly on the African continent, it is useful to investigate migration decision-making in order to understand issues that are important to current migration decision-makers during the decision making process. This will subsequently help to forecast migration and their typologies and to project migration, and thus develop adequate progressive immigration policies that take into account the complex trends presented in this study. The study argues that, if we are to come up with appropriate policies for better immigration management, it is important to unravel factors that trigger, speed up, delay or hinder migration. In other words, the increased research interest in migration decision-making can greatly assist, not only to quantitatively distinguish forms of migration, but also to predict when a particular type of migration is likely to happen and its implications, and therefore create appropriate policy interventions.

Despite the existence of large volumes of literature on international migration, most of it either bypasses migration decision-making and its correlates or are theoretical in nature. The few studies that have touched on migration decision-making were usually either only theoretical or qualitative in design, and thus fail to provide any precise migration timing prediction because they do not control for significant confounders. This study investigated the migration decision making period with the objective of unraveling what goes on during that phase and, primarily, identifying common patterns in terms of issues or factors that are universally important during the migration decision-making period. It is only after identifying these factors that we can disaggregate and discover which among them ease, complicate, speed up, delay or hinder migration decisions. The study mainly focused on the questions of which factors accelerated migration decision making and which delayed it?

The core hypothesis was, that the length of time spent on migration decisions would be shorter where prospective migrants have some form of membership in active transnational connections, linking them to friends and family members in the

destinations during their decision making period. It was assumed that this was because they are receiving encouragement or support from relatives/friends at the destination.

In general, the empirical findings in the overall model, show that transnational linkages do not have a significant influence on the time spent on migration decision, which disagree with the main hypothesis of the study, which posited that transnational networks are one of the primary decisive factors that underpin migration decision-making and its timing.. However, in the exclusive sub-models (context-specific), the predicting power of transnational linkages became quite significant. For example, the model for economic migrants only, shows a significant influence by transnational linkages on time spent on the decision to migrate and even more so, for Mozambican economic migrants. The study reveals that for economic migrants, the *intentional interval* is likely to be shorter when the prospective migrants have relatives in the potential destination, and even more so, if they are receiving some form of assistance from them at the time of the decision to migrate. For forced migrants on the other hand, the study yields findings that are contrary to what was expected. In the sub-model restricted to forced migrants only, the study shows that ties with family or friends in the destination does have an influence on the time spent making the decision to migrate, but only when the forced migrants expected or received support from those networks during migration decision making. What is more intriguing in the case of forced migrants, is that support from friends and relatives in the destinations seems to lengthen their intentional interval. The interpretation of this trend is not so obvious and merits further investigation. Forced migrants would normally be expected to move quickly in the face of imminent danger and so do not have the luxury of rationalizing or appraising multiple options. The convenient alternative interpretation here maybe partly, that some respondents who claimed to be forced migrants may well have migrated for other reasons.

The hypothesis that changes in time spent on migration decision was a function of control/independent variables, was empirically supported. It was consistently found that change in intentional interval significantly depended on reason for migration and, the age at the time intention to migrate formed, especially for those who did not belong to any transnational networks.

In the context of international migration, it cannot be assumed that a future investors in migration would base their decisions on a single variable (see Deutsche Bank Research, 2003: 16). The overall conclusion is that change in time spent on migration decision by each individual respondent, was not necessarily or solely a function of transnational networks. Rather, it was a function of the interaction effect of various confounding factors, together with that of transnational networks. Transnational ties generally stood out strongly in variation regression models, as was expected from the outset. For those who did not utilize or benefit from networks, the control variables have a significant independent effect on their intentional interval.

The results in this report are generally congruent with prevailing theoretical reasoning; that transnational networks significantly facilitate contemporary international migration processes (Vertovec, 2002; Gold, 2005, Heering et al, 2003; Massey et al, 1993). However, it must also be noted that the transnational network prediction power varies, depending on, and alongside other predictors. Moreover, it is important to emphasize that in the some explanatory models, where it was found that transnational networks were insignificant, it was because of their correlation with other confounders. Three interesting findings emerged from the study:

1. The study reveals that, transnational ties with relatives or friends in the potential destination can and indeed do, lengthen the intentional interval of those who migrate due to conflict. This is particularly interesting because it challenges the widely held view that, the decision to migrate for forced migrants should be relatively quicker, since they have little or no time to evaluate options while facing imminent danger. This trend suggests a high probability that some of the respondents, who claim to migrate as a result of conflicts, may have moved for various reasons other than conflicts in their homelands.
2. Interestingly, the study shows that the intention to migrate can form as early as 10 years of age and sometimes, even younger. This is most likely to occur in communities with a migration tradition. This finding deserves further exploration.
3. That the time spent making the decision to migrate gets shorter as age at the time the intention to migrate forms in the mind of the future migrant increases, at least up to the age of 34.

4.2 Research implications

Because it is only an embedded case study, this research does not claim a generalizable inference on the identified causality that exists between transnational networks and migration decision timing**.** Despite this limitation, the researcher is confident that the findings from this study are sufficiently interesting, or at least provocative enough, to pave the way for two further empirical investigations:

(1) What possible theoretical paradigm can explain the relative delay to the migration decision-making process of forced migrants, detected in this study?

(2) How reliable is the finding that individuals aged 10 and younger, can already develop the intention to internationally migrate? In what specific societal context, would the intention to migrate form at such an early age, a time when the child is assumed to be enjoying the comfort and support of the home environment?

Empirical studies on contemporary migration decision-making timing are still rare. Using a relatively new analysis approach, this study has revealed a number of new patterns and correlates of migration decision-making and its timing. However these findings have limited inference since they are based on a relatively small and specific sample. Further research should extend its' inquiry to other social and economic contexts, particularly with a particular focus on those *in situ,* who wish to migrate but do not, and discover what factors prevented them from succeeding? The first challenge for such researchers will be how to identify them.

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