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HOW DO TRANSNATIONAL NETWORKS FACILITATE THE MOVEMENT OF CONGOLESE MIGRANTS AND REFUGEES INTO JOHANNESBURG?

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A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Humanities, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of Masters of Arts (Development Studies).

Johannesburg, November 2006

DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis is my own work. It is submitted for the degree of Masters of Arts (Development Studies) in the University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any other degree or examination in any other university.

Jean Didier Losango Nzinga

Johannesburg, 10 November 2006

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A special thanks also goes to all the Mulayas (Dad, Maman, Brothers and Sisters), and also my wife (Caline Iduma Mandembo), my son (Mulaya Josias) and my daughter (Mulaya Dorcas), to whom I dedicate this research report.

ABSTRACT.

The failure of the 1990 political transition in the Democratic Republic of Congo to deliver on promises of better living conditions for all Congolese and the diminishing job opportunities available to young Congolese have resulted in many looking for economic opportunities outside their country of nationality. With most of the European and North American countries effectively off limits due to restrictive measures on migration (Bauman, 1998; Soguk 1999).

The post-apartheid South Africa is relatively prosperous. This fact couple with a corrupt immigration and asylum system make the country very attractive for an increasing number of Congolese migrants who desire a better standard of living. Although the borders are relatively porous, the expense and hazards of moving require resources that are not available to all. This project explores how migrant networks can provide those resources through information and access to documentation, housing, and opportunities for income-generation.

In particular, this thesis explores the role of social networks in structuring the movements of Congolese into Johannesburg and their integration into its social fabric. It intersects with a part of a growing body of literature demonstrating numerous new ways in which contemporary global migrants remain closely connected to their places of origin, to co-nationals or co-ethnics across nation-state borders, and indeed across the world [1](Transnational Communities Programme; 1999).

While this analytical perspective has been applied fairly extensively to other groups of migrants, few scholars have sought to examine the extent to which refugees and asylum seekers maintain such a worldwide web of relationships (Crisp, 1999). Indeed, academic discourses on refugees, and also the practical efforts made on their behalf by United Nations High Commissioner of Refugees (UNHCR) and other humanitarian organizations, continue to be informed by the assumption of a rigid separation between the exile country of origin and country of asylum (Crisp, 1999).

[1] Programme of a workshop on 'Policy challenge of the new migrants diasporas', Chatham House, London, 22-23 April 1999. Quoted by Jeff Crisp in: Policy challenges of the new diasporas: migrant networks and their impact on asylum flows and regimes. WPTC-99-05 Policy Research Unit, UNHCR, CP 2500, CH-1211 Geneva Switzerland. www.transcomm.ox.ac.uk/working%20papers/riia3.pdf

Against this background, social networks play an important role in facilitating migration, whether across borders or across regions (Guzman, Haslag and Orrenius 2004). These networks are likely to act as an important source of information to prospective migrants, refugees and asylum seekers, providing them with details on matters such as transport arrangements, entry requirements, asylum procedures and social welfare benefits, as well as the detention and deportation policies of different destination states (Crisp, 1999). Consequently, refugees and other migrants who have access to such data are better placed to negotiate entry into developed countries than those who do not[2].

[2] Given the increasingly important role these networks play in facilitating movement of people around the world today, the emergence of the internet plays a major role in making these networks possible. See report prepared for the Knowledge for Development Program of the World Bank: Role of Diaspora in Facilitating Participation in Global Knowledge Networks: Lessons of Red Caldas in Colombia (Bogota, December 2004).

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I. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Overview and statements of the problem.

Many scholars emphasise differences in wages, employment conditions between countries, migrations costs, and international labour migration in the process of economic development among factors that can explain international migration. An analysis of migration trends indicates that economically motivated emigration is more likely to occur in countries that have already reached a certain level of development and are advancing in the development path than in countries that are low in the development scale and continue to experience economic stagnation[3]. Lewis, (1954); Ranis and Fei, (1961); Harris and Todaro, (1970); and Todaro, (1976) also claim that the theory of international migration has its roots in model developed originally to explain international labour migration in the process of economic development. According to this theory and its extensions, international migration, like its internal counterpart, is caused by geographic differences in the supply of and demand for labour (Lewis, 1954).

Is this approach a unique way to explain international migration? Many scholars of social scientific research reject this approach. Transnational notions such as globalization, Diasporas and social networks have been slow to find their way into the literature, reflecting the longstanding division (both intellectually and institutionally) between the field of 'refugee studies' and the study of international migration[4]. While this analytical perspective has been applied extensively to other groups of migrants, few scholars have sought to examine the extent to which refugees and asylum seekers maintain such a worldwide web of relationships (Crisp, 1999). This study attempts to explore in greater detail the interrelationship between networks, migration decisions, border deterrence and other factors. Based on the city of Johannesburg's experience, which has been relatively well documented[5] (SAMP 2000), this study focuses on the

[3] Key issues suggested for the United Nations high-level dialogue on international migration and development 2004. www.un.org/esa/populatio/publications/thirdcoord2004/P16_IUSSP.pdf

[4] Interestingly, the intellectual causes and consequences of this division have never been fully explored. The recent work of scholars such as Cohen, Koser, McDowell, Wahlbeck and Van Hear, attest to the fact that the gap between refugee and migration studies is finally being bridged.

[5] In 2002, the Forced Migration Studies Programme at the University of the Witwatersrand and the Refugees and Forced Migration Program at Tufts University began collaboration on a three-city study of urban forced migrants and their effects on the city, entitled " Forced Migration and the New African City: Transnational Livelihoods and Politics in Johannesburg. Maputo and Dar es Salaam."

numerous new ways in which contemporary global migrants are connected to their places of origin, to co-nationals or co-ethnics across nation-state borders, and indeed across the world, and tries to determine specific evidence of what parts of social networks matter, as distinct from those that do not? Or specifically, what roles do they play -or not- in facilitating the movement of Congolese into Johannesburg.

I proceed through the lenses of the narratives that are the contemporary theories of international migration. Then moving from the broad analysis of networks based on the different roles of social networks in facilitating movement, I side with both the contemporary theories and social views of thoughts to assess whether networks play a crucial role, as potential migrants rely on social networks for information regarding matters such as migration routes, employment opportunities, housing, etc. From these theoretical works, I finally argue that social networks act as an important source of information to prospective migrants, refugees and asylum seekers, providing them with details on issues such as transport arrangements, entry requirements, asylum procedures and social welfare benefits, and also the detention and deportation policies of different destination states. In my view however, it will be proved that among all the social networks that will be discussed in this research, the most important factor influencing the movement of the Congolese to South Africa is the use of computer network. The reasons for my choice of this channel of network as the most influential factor in the migration of Congolese to South Africa will be explained in the course of this research.

Lastly, I provide specific evidence of other parts of social networks that are important for a better understanding of how and why Congolese come to Johannesburg.

1.2. Rational of the study.

Despite attempts by some governments to enforce restrictions to entry into their territories, people continue to move in significant numbers from poorer countries to

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Survey Research on Urban Refugees: Forced Migration and the New African City. University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg with Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University. Loren B. Landau and Karen Jacobsen 2002.

richer ones[6]. These influxes are made possible either by fulfilling formal migration requirements, or by using informal channels. However, in refugee studies, relatively little attention has been given to the role played by social networks in prompting, facilitating, sustaining and directing the movement of asylum seekers and other migrants into the developed world (Crisp, 1999)[7].

Against this background, it seems clear that in our world today, the interplay of individuals, motivations, and the spread of information and lowering the costs of movement become fundamental in building an accurate understanding of contemporary migrant flows. While differences in wages and employment conditions exist among developed and developing countries, developed countries enforce regulations and restrict migration into their land. Therefore, networks provide the right information to willing migrants on how to bypass entry barriers into developed countries and create a synergic link between explanatory factors of international migration as contented by different scholars, and the spread of information through networks in helping them to move from one place to another.

In the light of this, there is need to explore how and why people move to Johannesburg. In particular, to examine how transnational networks might facilitate Congolese's movement into Johannesburg, and to examine the role played by social networks in helping Congolese to get into central Johannesburg. More specifically, to explore the role of social networks in structuring migration from the Democratic Republic of Congo to South Africa and their integration in its social fabric.

1.3. Aims of the research.

This research aims to explore how transnational networks facilitate Congolese movement into Johannesburg. It seeks to ascertain the factors in transnational networks that play an important role in facilitating Congolese movement into Johannesburg; and if they exist, why they are important, and what role they play in

[6] See for example: Alejandro Gaviria: "Visa USA: Fortunas y Extravios de los Immigrants Colombianos en los Estrados Unidos"; Bogota, Universidad de los Andes, Documento CEDE 2004-17, marzo 2004.

[7] Those migration specialists who have focused on social networks have declined the opportunity to extend their analysis to the movement of migrants, refugees and asylum seekers. See, for example, Douglas Gurak and Fe Caces, 'Migration networks and the shaping of migration systems', in Mary Kritz et al, (eds). International Migration Systems: a Global Approach, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1992.

facilitating the movement of Congolese into Johannesburg vis-à-vis money, information and lodging?

1.4. Research methodology.

The post 1994 openness of South Africa, its emergence on the African political scene, the failure of the Congolese transition and the relative ease with which Congolese may get to South Africa as the alternative option to developed countries are some other factors that might influence the migration of Congolese to central Johannesburg. Apart from these factors, I hypothesize that, for many Congolese migrants and refugees living in central Johannesburg, the spread of information through networks seems to be a significant factor in facilitating and shaping their trajectories of movement into Johannesburg. Therefore, my hypothesis is that although they left their country of origin for the reasons mentioned above, whether across borders or across regions, social networks play an important role in facilitating migration.

To prove the existence of networks that could possibly influence the decisions of many Congolese to migrate to South Africa, I focus on the following factors: Information, which might be one of the most important factors of social networks to prospective migrants; opportunities of income generation, that might exist in South Africa; types of materials and assistance received from relatives already living in South Africa, access to accommodation; and assistance in the actual physical move.

The objective of this study is to find out which of these roles is most significant.

1.4.1. Overview and Analysis of Social Networks.

Study of social relationships among actors, whether individual human beings or animals; small groups or economic organizations; occupations or social classes; nations or world military alliances is fundamental to the social science (Ronald Breiger. 2004). Social network analysis may be defined as the disciplined inquiry into the patterns in relations among social actors, and also the patterns in relationships among actors at different levels of analysis such as persons and groups (Ronald Breiger. 2004).

1.4.1.1 From Metaphor to Data Analysis.

Network metaphors have long had great intuitive appeal to social thinkers and social scientists. M, Karl ([1857] 1956:96) held that "society is not merely an aggregate of individuals; it is the sum of the relations in which these individuals stand to one another." Durkheim (1965), in his thesis, traced his interest in social morphology to that of the eighteenth-century thinker Montesquieu, who had identified various types of societies, these included monarchy, aristocracy, and republic "not on the basis of division of labor or the nature of their social ties, but solely according to the nature of their sovereign authority," he criticized this strategy as a failure to see " that the essential is not the number of persons subject to the same authority, but the number bound by some form of relationship" (Durkheim [1892] 1965: 32,38). Leopold Von Wiese, a writer in the German "formal school" centered around Georg Simmel, asked his reader to imagine what would be seen if "the constantly flowing stream of interhuman activity" were halted in its course for just one moment, and suggested that " we would then see that it is an apparently impenetrable network of lines between men;" furthermore, " a static analysis of the sphere of the interhuman will… consist in the dismemberment and reconstruction of this system of relations" (Wiese, [1931] 1941: 29-30). In America, Charles Horton Cooley maintained the necessity of "social" or "sociological" pragmatism (Joas 1993; 23), a tradition in which not only consciousness of social relations, but self-consciousness, was theorized explicitly. He held that " a man may be regarded as the point of intersection of an indefinite number of lines representing social groups, having as many arcs passing through him as there are groups"(Cooley, [1902] 1964:148). The English social anthropologist A.R. Radcliffe-Brown (1940) wrote that "direct observation does reveal to us that…human beings are connected by a complex network of social relations. I use the term "social structure" to denote these networks."

A prominent commentator on the history of social scientific thought and contemporary development writes that "network sociology is doing the very thing that early sociologists and anthropologists saw as crucial- the mapping of the relations that create social structures" (Turner 1991:571). Much contemporary research over the past decades can be seen as a move from network thinking as vague metaphors to the elaboration of the network concept. It can now be used as an exact representation of at least some central elements of social structure (Freeman 1989, Smith-Lovin and

McPherson 1993, Wellman 1988). A particularly notable move from metaphor to analytical method is the relatively recent development of highly sophisticated computer programs for producing pictorial representations of social networks. Freeman (2000) illustrates some of the most recent procedures for producing web-based pictures that allow viewers to interact with the network data and thus to use visual input in exploring a variety of analytical models of their structural properties.

1.4.1.2 Culture and Cognition.

The emphasis of network analysis on formal aspects of social structure often seems the opposite of a concern for culture and cognition; indeed, in the early work on structural equivalence "the cultural and social-psychological meanings of actual ties are largely bypassed. White focuses instead on interpreting the patterns among types of tie" (White et al. 1976:734). However, over the past decade a fusion of concern across structural modeling and problems of culture, cognition action, and agency has been among the most important developments for an influential segment of networks researchers.

An important impetus to network thinking about culture and cognition was White's rethinking of network theory in his 1992 book *Identity and Control.* He now wrote of agency as "the dynamic face of networks," as motivating "ways of upending institutions and initiating fresh action" (pp.315, 245). White (1992) considers discursive "narratives" and "stories" to be fundamental to structural pursuits, asserting that "stories describe the ties in networks" and that "a social network is a network of meaning" (pp.65, 67). Emirbayer and Goodwin (1994), who characterized *Identity and Control* in exactly this way (p.1437), went on to encourage network analysts to conceptualize more clearly the role of "ideas, beliefs, and values, and of the actors that strive to realize them"(p.1446).

A recent empirical work of Breiger (2004) suggests that the importance of networks is unable to accommodate these recent findings as a result of the manner in which networks were modeled, namely networks were equivalent to the stock of older migrants.

More particularly in this study, I model networks as a combination of the number of migrants and the physical resources they devote to maintaining and improving the network. Indeed, I also make more explicit description of the various existing barriers to entry and their roles in the migrant's decision-making process. In other words, I try to determine from the network analysis the degree in which an individual lies between other individuals in the network. This improvement would develop our understanding of how migrants use and build networks aimed at facilitating the migration process.

1.4.2. Keys tasks.

It seems that the increasing number of Congolese refugees and migrants living in central Johannesburg may be a product of wider processes of transnational social networks which play an important role in facilitating their movement into Johannesburg.

My research therefore will explore the actual roles of social networks and their relative importance in the movement of Congolese into Johannesburg.

Firstly, are these networks important sources of information providing the migrants with details on issues such as transport arrangement, entry requirements, job opportunities, and social welfare benefits in Johannesburg? Secondly, are these networks a vital means of mobilizing the financial resources required for a Congolese to leave a low or middle-income country and seek refuge in a more prosperous country such as South Africa? Thirdly, are trans-national networks providing the organizational infrastructure required for them to move into Johannesburg, especially when that movement has to be arranged in an irregular or clandestine manner? Finally, in addition to information, resources and organizational infrastructures, do transnational social networks provide Congolese migrants and refugees with subsistence and support (especially employment) when they arrive in Johannesburg?

In order to answer these questions, I must first analyse the potential relationships that exist between those resources: information, access to documentation, housing, and opportunities for income generation within their social networks. More specifically, to explore what parts of social networks provide those resources and what parts do not in facilitating and sustaining the movements of Congolese into Johannesburg.

Nevertheless, it is important to point out among all these factors that the emergence of Internet also plays a major role in making these networks possible.

1.4.3. Variables and measures.

For the purpose of this study, it is important to point out the need for greater conceptual clarity, especially regarding definitions in order to be clear about concepts, variables and hypotheses, and how these will be evaluated and measured.

On the question of social networks in Johannesburg, it is tempting to treat refugees as a special and separate case. This is so for two reasons: because both recognised refugees and registered asylum applicants enjoy a specific legal status that sets them apart from other migrants; and because of the longstanding belief that refugees share a particular psychology and orientation towards their homeland, probably due to involuntary departure. While such legal and psychological considerations may be important, it is the contention of this paper that asylum seekers, refugees and 'refugee networks' should be considered not in isolation but as an integral part of the new migrant networks.

UNHCR asserts that "migration and refugee flows were for many years regarded as discrete phenomena and the task of distinguishing refugees from ordinary migrants did not present any serious difficulties to state[8]". But it has now become increasingly difficult to make a clear distinction between 'voluntary' and 'involuntary' population movements, between people who are fleeing from threats to their lives and those wanting to escape poverty and social injustice (Crisp 1999). Today, to a greater extent more than previously, refugees are part of a complex migratory phenomenon, in which political, ethnic, economic, environmental and human rights factors combine and lead to population movements'[9]. A recent UN report (2001) on international migration makes a similar point in somewhat different language. "Many people", it suggests, "are prompted to leave their own country by a mixture of fears, hopes and aspirations which can be very difficult, if not impossible, to unravel."[10]

[8] 'Managing migration in the Wider Europe', paper submitted by UNHCR to a seminar on Managing Migration in the Wider Europe, Strasbourg 12-13 October 1998.
[9] ibid
[10] Technical Symposium on International Migration and Development, the Hague, 29 June- 03 July 1998, UNFPA New York, 1989 p.70.

It should also be noted that many of the refugees in South Africa inhabit a heterogeneous social universe, living alongside compatriots and co-ethnics who are part of a transnational community, but who are not necessarily refugees. Recently, the largest number of asylum seekers in South Africa originated from the Sub-Saharan African countries and other parts of Africa. Significantly, most of African countries have substantial numbers of their citizens in South Africa, not only as refugee and asylum seekers, but also under several other legal statuses. In terms of social networks and for more substantial future research, therefore, it is almost certainly more profitable to focus on such communities as a whole, rather than on those people who have been recognised as refugees.

It is also important to note that the global networks and transnational communities, of which refugees are part in Johannesburg, consist solely of refugees. In fact, those networks, linking together people of the same family, community or ethnic group, are much more likely to include several different Congolese migrant.

1.4.4. Significance of the study.

The significance of the study is, firstly to establish that there are numerous ways in which contemporary global migrants remain closely connected to their place of origin, to co-nationals or co-ethnics across nation-state borders, and indeed across the world. Secondly, to emphasise that the emergence of transnational communities is tied to the logic of capitalism through the tools provided by globalisation such as modern transportation, and telecommunication. Thirdly, to facilitate the empirical inquiry into the theory of international migration, which according to Lewis (1954) has its roots in models, developed originally to explain international labour migration in the process of economic development. Finally, to understand that networks can act as an important source of information to prospective migrants and refugees by providing them with details on matters such as transport arrangements, entry requirements, asylum procedures, social welfare benefits, and also the detention and deportation policies of different destination states.

1.4.5. Sampling method and population of study.

The sample for this study is drawn from different categories of Congolese, and the institutions that provide structure for most of them living in central Johannesburg.

These non-profit institutions (religious organisations, families, associations, clubs, and political parties) are chosen because they represent different categories of Congolese migrants, refuges and asylum seekers living in Johannesburg, and they are also accessible to the researcher. In other words, I select the respondents according to the social networks, and the institutions that structure most of them, as they are somehow representatives of the Congolese community living in Johannesburg.

The thirty skilled and unskilled Congolese migrants, refugees and asylum seekers are selected and identified according to their backgrounds and needs which determine their motivations for coming to Johannesburg. These categories include professional (doctors, engineers and students); economic immigrants; immigrants in transit to overseas, and immigrants in venture. Five people are selected in each of these categories as they have different needs and experiences in getting into Johannesburg.

Furthermore, I select the respondents in terms of their composition and in relation to their ultimate destination (which is often facilitated by means of transnational social network) and why they ultimately decided to come to South Africa.

1.4.6. Research design.

In order to answer the central question of this research, I define social networks and identify the roles they play in facilitating the Congolese movement to central Johannesburg? Here, the objective is to identify the most important role networks actually play in facilitating their movement into Johannesburg, when that is established, to understand why, and which of these possible networks may really play a helping role in getting them into Johannesburg.

The data-gathering process is guided by the following questions:

- What factors in networks play an important role in facilitating the Congolese movement into Johannesburg?
- How do they use these possible networks roles to get into Johannesburg?

At this stage, I identify the social networks Congolese migrants and refugees use in coming to Johannesburg and understand how and why they do.

Furthermore, I adopt a research designed to understand why social networks may play one particular kind of role and not another in facilitating the Congolese movement into Johannesburg and particularly their integration into its social fabric.

The data need to answer the questions about how-

- they reached the decision to leave their own county;
- what information was available to them;
- when they made the decision;
- how their journey was financed;
- whether it was planned with a specific destination in mind; and
- The extent to which they had prior information about South Africa. This includes an analysis of the relationships between social networks among Congolese living in Johannesburg and the resources and also materials and other assistance they provided in facilitating Congolese migrants movement into South Africa.

1.4.7. Method and procedure.

The interviews are wholly qualitative and tape-recorded. According to Kenneth D. Baily (1987), if done with care, sampling can be highly accurate. In addition, the savings in time and money should be self-evident. He notes that surveying an entire population would take much longer than a sample study, and time is often important. If a total population were to be surveyed, it would be difficult to conduct the interviews in a short time without using an enormous number of interviewers. Using a large number of interviewers, as Babbie (1973, pp.73-74) notes, may actually decrease the accuracy of the data because one may be obliged to employ marginal interviewers rather than selecting the most competent.

The qualitative data is corroborated with the quantitative data from the Wits Forced Migration Studies Programme - a project that seeks to understand the lives and livelihoods of people living in various parts of Johannesburg[11]. The data provided by

[11] Human Displacement, Survival, and the Politics of Space. Final Survey Results (19 June 2003). Data collection took place in Berea, Bertrams, Bezuidenhout Valley, Fordsburg, Mayfair, Rosettenville, Yeoville, and neighbourhoods of Johannesburg, South Africa between 1 February and 17 March 2003.

the findings of this project took place in Berea, Betrams, Bezuidenhout Valley, Fordsburg, Mayfair, Rosettenville, Yeoville, and neighbourhoods of Johannesburg, South Africa between 1 February and 17 March 2003. The study was concerned with questions related to Human Displacement, Survival, and the Politics of Space. From the Final Survey Results (2003), the data collected on questions of Pre-flight Conditions and Expectations, and also on Documenting Flight and Arrival are useful[12]. Information on qualitative aspects of the study is gathered through structured questionnaires and in-depth interviews with the selected sample of Congolese living in central Johannesburg.

1.4.8. Data collection.

Social scientists often face a dual imperative when researching on forced migration; to provide a research that is both academically sound and relevant to policy (Jacobsen, and Landau 2003). The study is based mainly on interviews as the method suited to collect the relevant data from the sample of 30 skilled and unskilled Congolese migrants, refugees and asylum seekers living in central Johannesburg as mentioned above.

The data collected from this sample focuses mostly on the nature of information or advice they provide to people living outside South Africa, especially in the country of origin about economic conditions and job opportunities in central Johannesburg (Hillbrow; Yeoville; Bramfontein; Berea, etc); legal advice (immigration, and refugee status in Johannesburg); housing or accommodation information in this part of Johannesburg, and information about the social climate; organizations and Aid agencies; education and schools; cultural condition and lifestyle; travelling to and from Johannesburg, and political conditions in inner city of Johannesburg.

I must acknowledge that the selection of these respondents is not entirely representative of the Congolese community living in central Johannesburg, as they are not all parts of these categories and members of one of these institutions which structure them as mentioned above. However, this sample is partly representative in relations to several migrant networks and can provide a rich narrative. This sample

[12] I will also make reference to the results of the 2006 if they will be available in the course of my research.

yields useful insights into the role and significance of social networks among Congolese immigrants from various backgrounds and with different expectations.

This case study has two layers; a descriptive and a follow-up explanatory one to each portion of inquiry. To understand how and why people come to Johannesburg, I focus on the following aspects:

- 1) the cities of the origin to which the respondents belong (Kinshasa, Lubumbashi, Kasai, Maniema and Kivu);
- 2) channel of migration personal networks;
- 3) examination of the nature of networks through qualitative data; and
- 4) role of the networks in the spread of information and also in the financing of migration.

Findings on each of these aspects are reported under the "results" section. Their implications are then discussed and analysed under "discussion and conclusions" in relations to the possible roles that networks play in encouraging their movement into Johannesburg.

The result is identified in context first, followed by an attempt to understand in what ways social networks play their roles in facilitating their movements into central Johannesburg, and to determine why social networks play one particular kind of role and not another.

Qualitative data: in-depth interviews.

As mentioned above, in-depth interviews with open-ended questions are used as data-gathering tools to analyse the possible role that networks play in facilitating their movement into Johannesburg. According to Grinnell (1988), an interview schedule allows for the researcher to ask questions from a prepared face-to-face interview schedule and record the answers. This gives the interviewer an opportunity to use probes and also ask for clarity if necessary. Though the interview has a number of structured questions, it gives latitude to the interviewer to explore other avenues. This ensures a higher response than any other form of research design that uses questionnaires. These interviews have the following three purposes in order to

understand the ways transnational networks might facilitate or encourage Congolese movements in Johannesburg, and to determine why such networks may play one particular kind of role rather than another as mentioned above.

- to outline the history of interviewees' processes of getting to central Johannesburg in keeping with the decision as facilitated by networks, and to identify the links among such processes.
- to understand how they are using networks to get into central Johannesburg, and to analyse the relative importance of these networks if they exist in terms of the potential roles networks can play; and finally
- to determine the most important factors which affect how networks can help them to get into Johannesburg.

In addition, the interviews are guided by a question schedule. Most of the interviews are conducted in French, English and Lingala. However, in some cases interviews are conducted in Swahili and Tshiluba. To assist the researcher, some interview sessions are recorded on an audiotape.

In order to answer the questions this research is raising, a qualitative approach is required as mentioned. As theory generating and inductive, this approach enables the researcher to gain a valid understanding of the population's response. Banister et al, (1994) states that this approach encourages engagement with participants and acknowledges that understanding is constructed and that multiple realities exist. To deduce the specific role that networks play, I compare different groups according to their backgrounds, their experiences in getting into Johannesburg and needs which determine their motivations for coming to Johannesburg, as they are so widely different in terms of their composition.

This method of gathering data offers me a comprehensive and systematic framework for understanding and analysing the different ways through which networks can play an important role in facilitating Congolese movements in this particular part of Johannesburg; I analyse whether or not networks help them. This method ensures that the findings emerging from this study answer the question of how transnational

networks facilitate or encourage movement of people in central Johannesburg, and determine why social networks play a particular kind of role and not another.

In addition to conducting in-depth interviews, I focus on the following specific questions:

- why they ultimately decide to live in central Johannesburg (in order to identify how the interviewees use networks to develop their strategies to get into Johannesburg);
- 2) if they already had relatives living in central Johannesburg when they decided to migrate (in order to understand if most of them had any contact in Johannesburg before leaving their country of origin), and to outline the possibilities that networks can provide to facilitate their movements into Johannesburg, and also the different ways in which they establish and develop social networks. Finally,
- 3) to determine what kind of help and encouragement they receive from members already living in central Johannesburg in order to demonstrate how networks can influence their decision to come in central Johannesburg. Concurrently, what kind of help did they give to them? How did they get money to pay for their trips? What means of transport did they use to come to central Johannesburg? What borders did they cross?

1.4.9. Data analysis.

Analytical techniques used in order to allow the data to provide specific evidence of what parts of social networks matter, or specifically what roles they do or do not play in structuring migration from the DRC to South Africa. These include an analysis of the relationship between the resources, information and assistance that those social networks provide and views through qualitative techniques applied to the findings of in-depth interviews with open-ended questions analysis of textual material, and integration of both.

The findings from the data sets are therefore analysed as fully as possible to generate a comprehensive data set, which allow a range of competing variables and hypotheses to be tested. After the collection of data, the researcher organises the collected raw

data in order to analyse it in relation to the respondents' understanding of the possible roles played by social networks in getting them into Johannesburg. The data are analysed in terms of the groups, as they are so different in terms of their composition, in relations to the different patterns of networks emerging across the sample, and the roles these networks play for the various groups of the sample.

The researcher categorises the raw data in order to analyse it easily. Then he conceptualises the data in order to interpret it. The data are analysed in relation to the aims of the research study.

1.4.10. Ethical consideration.

I consider the ethical issues seriously before conducting the study with the research participants. I respect the autonomy, and protect the identity of participants; I must be fair in both conception and implementation, and must maximize potential benefits while minimizing possible harm. Even when risks are reasonable, the respondents are not asked to participate in research without giving voluntary informed consent. Investigators make appropriate disclosures and ensure that participants have a good understanding of the subject. I acknowledge that I will likely hear about illegal practices in the course of the research, but I will be bound by a code of confidentiality not to divulge these for legal purposes.

In order to conduct the study, - permission is sought from the leaders of each institutions (religious organisations, families, associations, clubs, and political parties) that structured the participants.

The researcher informs the research participants about the aims of the study before obtaining their consent to be involved. This is aimed at helping them to make informed decisions about their involvement. They are informed that their involvement is completely voluntary, and can be terminated at any time without penalty. They are also assured that their names are kept confidential and anonymous, and that all audiotapes and transcripts will be destroyed once the results are written in the form of a report.

The researcher informs the participants that the findings will be written down as a report and that a copy of it will be handed to the institutions of which they are members.

1.4.11. Limitation of the study.

- Time was a limiting factor in this study. The research was conducted in a limited period of a couple of months. The data were collected from April up to May 2006, and analysed between June and October 2006.
- The sample is not representative of the Congolese community living in central Johannesburg as not all Congolese belong to one of these institutions, which support most of them in central Johannesburg, and as not all Congolese is part of one of these categories.
- Accuracy of information provided by the respondents may be affected adversely by the relationship that exists between the researcher and the respondents, as I am also a Congolese migrant.

II. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.

2.1. Introduction.

My expectation of social networks in this study shows that Congolese migrants often rely on kin already established in South Africa to secure job, accommodation and other types of supports during their initial periods of adaptation. That is, kinship ties between potential Congolese migrants in the country of origin and Congolese residents in the country of destination reduce the cost of migration, and lower the risks involved.

I argue that the key elements of the Congolese migration network are the ties between Congolese migrants already established in South Africa and Congolese remaining in the area of origin.

The Congolese network connections in this study may be considered as a form of social capital that Congolese draw upon to gain information, and also material or psychological support to facilitate their migration and the adaptation process once in South Africa. The implication of this is that the assistance provided by the Congolese living in South Africa to their counterparts intending to move from Congo reduces the cost and risk of migration into South Africa. This leads to an important question, to know whether these networks are sustained once the move has been made and what happens to them? Are they sustained, and if so, how?

Furthermore, in the course of my study, the Congolese migrant networks were perceived to maintain the Congolese migration momentum, even after the factors responsible for initiating the Congolese flow into South Africa had lost their relevance. From that empirical observation, I finally assert that the concept of a Congolese migration network into South Africa, which encompasses all interpersonal ties that connect Congolese migrants, former Congolese migrants, and non-Congolese migrants in the Democratic Republic of Congo and South Africa, provides a generalization of the kinship group since the ties considered include not only those based on kinship, but also those resulting from friendships or shared community origin. The increasing number of Congolese migrants into Johannesburg settling in a specific area such as Yeoville, may illustrate that Congolese migrants from a

particular city of origin build a veritable community network abroad, and develop their own activities and social infrastructures in this part of Johannesburg. This section presents some literature reviews and asserts that networks exist, and could possibly influence the Congolese decisions to migrate into Johannesburg.

2.2. Concept of Social Networks.

The term 'social network' was first coined in 1954 by Barnes. According to him, 'a social network' is a social structure between actors, mostly individuals or organisations. It indicates the ways in which they are connected through various social familiarities ranging from casual acquaintance to close familial bonds.

Research in a number of academic fields has also demonstrated that social networks operate on many levels, from families up to the level of nations, and play a critical role in determining how problems are solved, organizations are run, and the degree to which individuals succeed in achieving their goals (See Crisp, 1999; Munshi, 2003; Massey et al., 2002; Orrenius, 2001; Helmenstein and Yegorov, 2000; Massey et al., 1994; Massey, 1987; and Massey et al, 1987).

In addition, social networks refer to a category of Internet applications to help connect friends, business partners, or other individuals together using various tools "http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Social_networks".

Geographically, social networks operate income for a number of economic activities. For instance, highlighted by Sassen (1994), they lead to long distance labour markets where opportunities in distant locations are identified and appropriated. In another, described by Zhou (1992), they lead to pooling of resources to lower consumption costs and produce enough savings for business or real estate acquisition. In a third, extensively studied by Light (1984) and his associates (Light and Bonacich, 1988), they lead to the emergence of informal credit associations where pooled savings are allocated on a rotating basis. A fourth of such initiative consists of appropriating the price and information differentials between sending and receiving countries through the creation of transnational enterprises.

It is important in this study to mention that not all immigrants or refuges are involved in transnational activities, nor is everyone in the country of origin affected by them (Portes 1997). But today's uncertain and minimally –paid service-sector strongly encourage Congolese refuges and immigrants to seek alternative economic paths. Communications and transportation technologies were such as to make it prohibitive for turn-of-the-century refugees and immigrants to make a living out of bridging the cultural gap between countries of origin and destination or lead simultaneous lives in both.

Apart from this, Portes (1997) observes that airplanes, telephones, fax machines, and electronic mail facilitate contact and exchange among common people on vastly greater scale than what could be done a century earlier. Concomitantly, social networks basically provide the channels for the migration process; migration being a process that both depends on and creates social networks (Vertovec, 650). What are new in the contemporary period are the range of modalities and the intensity of the process, driven by technological improvements in communications and transportation (Portes, 1997). However, the interest of the study remains to provide specific evidence of what parts of these social networks are important in Johannesburg? Additional insights will be gained through the literature review, which would also help to provide a center for the argument; something to confirm or refute these assertions.

2.3. Transnational Networks

Portes (1997) states that, 'Transnationalism' is defined as the processes by which immigrants develop and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement. According to him, these processes are called transnationalism to emphasize that many immigrants and refugees today build social fields that cross-geographical, cultural, and political borders. An essential element is the multiplicity of involvements that refugees and immigrants sustain in both home and host countries.

2.4. Theory of Social Capital

Gaur and Saxena (2005) state that, "the theories of Social Capital and also Theory of Cumulative Causation have emerged as major explanations for perpetuation of international migration movements". These two perspectives recognize that migration

is a social process, drawing attention to the role of informal and formal institutions in increasing migration. According to social capital theory, migrant networks (personal and social networks of migrants) and migrant institutions (migrant organizations and the migration industry) promote further migration (ESCAP, 2002)[13]. Moreover, Massey et al (1998) say that, "migrant networks are sets of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants, and non-migrants in origin and destination areas through ties of kinship, friendship, and shared community of origin".

In fact, the notion of social capital is said to have first appeared in Lyda Judson Hanifan's discussions of rural school community centre (see, for example, Hanifan 1916, 1920). He used the term to describe 'those tangible substances that count for most in the daily lives of people' (1916:130). Hanifan was particularly concerned with the cultivation of good will, fellowship, sympathy and social intercourse among those that 'make up a social unit'. It took some time for the term to come into widespread usage. Contributions from Jane Jacobs (1961) in relation to urban life and neighbourliness, Pierre Bourdieu (1983) with regard to social theory, and then James S. Coleman (1988) in his discussions of social context of education moved the idea into academic debates. However, it was the work of Robert D. Putman (1993; 2000) that launched social capital as a popular focus for research and policy discussion.

2.5 Defining social capital

Bourdieu: 'Social capital is the 'the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition' (Bourdieu 1983: 249).

Coleman: 'Social capital is defined by its function. It is not a single entity, but a variety of different entities, having two characteristics in common: they all consist of some aspect of a social structure, and they facilitate certain actions of individuals who are within the structure' (Coleman 1994: 302)

[13] Economic and Social Commission for Asia and The Pacific (ESCAP), 2002, International Migration: An Emerging Opportunity for the Socio-Economic Development of the ESCAP Region, Social Policy No. 6, United Nations, and New York.

Putman: 'Whereas physical capital refers to physical objects and human capital refers to the properties of individuals, social capital refers to connections among individuals-social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them. In that sense social capital is closely related to what some have called "civic virtue." The difference is that "social capital" calls attention to the fact that civic virtue is most powerful when embedded in a sense network of reciprocal social relations. A society of many virtuous but isolated individuals is not necessarily rich in social capital' (Putnam 2000: 19).

2.6. Contemporary Theories of International Migration.

Among factors that can explain international migration, many scholars emphasise differentials in wages, employment conditions between countries, migration costs, and international labour migration in the process of economic development.

Massey (1998) for instance uses evidence of the neoclassical economics of migration that emphasises differentials in wages and employment conditions between countries, and on migration costs. According to him, the concept of migration is generally conceived of as movements due to individual decisions for income maximisation.

The new economics of migration however, considers conditions in various markets, not just labour market, and views migration as a household decision taken to minimise risk and to overcome constraints on family production.

In addition, Lewis, (1954); Ranis and Fei, (1961); Harris and Todaro, (1970); and Todaro, (1976) argue that the theory of international migration has its roots in models developed originally to explain international labour migration in the process of economic development. According to this theory and its extensions, international migration, like its internal counterpart, is caused by geographic differences in the supply of and demand for labour (Lewis, 1954). As result, individual rational actors decide to migrate because of a cost benefit calculation, which leads them to expect a positive net return, usually monetary, from movement (Massey, 1998).

2.7. Social Network Usage and Migration Dynamics.

Over the past two decades, there has been a considerable amount of empirical work by Massey and many others (and some theoretical work) exploring in greater detail the interrelationships among networks, migration decisions, border deterrence, and other factors[14]. Although many factors influence an individual's decision to migrate, economists have increasingly focused on the important role played by social networks. Social networks play an important role in facilitating migration, whether across borders or across regions[15]. As Massey et al. (1987) observe, these networks play a crucial role, as potential migrants rely on social networks for information regarding issues such as migration routes, employment opportunities, housing, etc.

Guzman, Haslag and Orrenius (2004) also support the view that networks are modeled as affecting the migration decision in many ways. According to their model, network capital affects the migrant's decision via three channels. They serve to a) reduce the time spent crossing the border due to border crossing frictions, b) reduce the time spent looking for a job -, and c) increase the remittances received from young migrants when old[16]. In their analysis, they break with the previous works[17] and instead model networks as a combination of the number of migrants and the physical resources they devote to maintaining and improving the network.

In addition, they consider network capital to be a factor that reduces the real world friction surrounding crossing borders and looking for employment. Their analysis suggests that the specifics of how networks are explicitly modeled are crucial to obtaining a better understanding of migration flows and the role played by networks. According to them, the existing level of network capital for instance, affects both a potential migrant's decision (where to spend her time) and also her income allocation decision (by which means to save) and thus migration flows and network capital are not one and the same, as suggested by the previous literature. Guzman, Haslag and

[14] For recent additional work on the importance of networks in the migration process see Munshi (2003), Massey et al. (2002), Orrenius (2001), Helmenstein and Yegorov (2000), Massey et al. (1994), Massey (1987), and Massey et al. (1987).
[15] Quoted by Mark G. Guzman, Joseph H. Haslag and Pia M. Orrenius: Accounting for Fluctuations in Social Network Usage and Migration Dynamics. August 2004.
[16] See Suro (2003) and Massey and Parrado (1994) for papers that examine the importance of remittances by migrants.
[17] More recently Fussell and Massey (2004): "The limits to Cumulative Causation: International Migration from Mexican Urban Areas," Demography, 41(1), pp. 151-171.

Orrenius (2004) recognize that both current migrants' efforts and the stock of (old) migrants and their other accumulated resources are important determinants to developing and maintaining social networks, which reduce migration costs by providing information about housing, transport, knowledge of employment opportunities, etc.

2.8. Migrants networks and their impact on asylum flows and regimes.

An analysis of migration trends indicates that economically motivated emigration is more likely to occur in countries that have already reached a certain level of development and are advancing on the development path than in countries that are low in the development scale and continue to experience economic stagnation[18].

While travelling tends to be easier for some in countries that have reached a certain level of development, more restrictive measures on migration adopted by many of those countries prevent others from fulfilling their dreams of journeying to the desired land. Consequently, some members of communities, individually and collectively, distribute their time, ideas, material resources and loyalty between their host countries and communities of origin in their homelands. Accordingly, these communities develop strategies to bypass entry barriers in the developed countries.

Furthermore, the number of asylum seekers (and, more recently it would seem, the number of irregular or clandestine migrants) making their way to Western Europe, for instance increased very rapidly after the early 1980s: from less than 100, 000 in 1984 to almost 700,000 in 1992 (Crisp, 1999). While the level has subsided since that time, the number of new arrivals continues to be high in relation to the early 1980s and has started to rise again. The total for 1998-approximately 350,000-was about 70,000 higher than the figure for 1997 (Crisp, 1999).

Some of the factors underlying these statistics are well known: the incidence of persecution, armed conflict and human rights violations in certain parts of the world; the simultaneous presence of migration pressures such as poverty and unemployment; the lifting of emigration restrictions in the former Soviet bloc; the penetration of the

[18] Key issues suggested for the United Nations high-level dialogue on international migration and development 2004. www.un.org/esa/populatio/publications/thirdcoord2004/P16_IUSSP.pdf

international transport, communications and media industries into low and middle-income regions; and the absence of regular migration opportunities, coupled with the continued need for low-wage, low-status labour in the world's wealthier states.

2.9. Role of Networks in facilitating movement.

The studies undertaken in the area of social networks suggest that transnational social networks perform a number of important functions in the process of migration.

First, those networks act as an important source of *information* to prospective migrants, providing them with details on issues such as transportation arrangements, entry requirements, asylum procedures and social welfare benefits, and also the detention and deportation policies of different destination states.

Is the flow of information one of the most important factors for improving and maintaining the social networks?

This study showed that the information transmitted through social networks concerning the quality of life in South Africa might strongly contribute to the prospective Congolese asylum seeker's decision to migrate. As Bimal Ghosh argues, the less accurate such information is, the greater its impact is likely to be: "As a rule, migrants pretend to be better off than they actually are…The information is often transmitted through informal channels, and at each new link in the transmission process, the success story tends to be further magnified, with the result that the distorted information serves as a strong incentive for out migration."[19]

Second, migrant networks provide a means of mobilizing the *financial resources* required for a person to leave a low or middle-income country and seek asylum in a more prosperous state. While the evidence on this is fragmentary, there are reasons in the course of this study to believe that Congolese transnational networks in Johannesburg play an increasingly important role in relation to this function.

[19] Bimal Ghosh, *Huddled Masses and Uncertain Shores: Insights Into Irregular Migration,* IOM and Martinus Nijhoff, The Hague, 1998, p.67.

In recent years, with the borders of South Africa more permeable, the cash that a Congolese asylum seeker needs to finance his or her journey into South Africa is often met from domestic sources: by the use of savings and the sale of personal possessions, and also loans from relatives. The emergence of a highly profitable Congolese human trafficking industry due to the introduction of more rigorous control also contributes to an appreciable increase in the cost of irregular Congolese migration into South Africa.

How will Congolese asylum seekers and others be able to raise the large amount of money needed to pay for their journey into South Africa? To what extent are these resources mobilized by means of remittances, sent home by members of the diaspora community? And to what extent do the members of Congolese migrant networks in South Africa make direct payments to traffickers and their local agents, so as to finance the journey of their relatives, kin, compatriots and co-ethnics? The answers to these questions must be left to more substantial future research, and additional research on these admittedly sensitive issues would evidently be welcome.

Third, transnational migrant networks can provide the *organizational infrastructure* required for people to move from one part of the world to another, especially when that movement has to be arranged in an irregular or clandestine manner. As indicated in the preceding paragraph, there is evidence to suggest that this function is in the process of being appropriated by organized criminal syndicates-another (and in some cases related form) of transnational network, whose growth is also a product of the globalization process.[20] But as Bimal Ghosh reminds us, "trafficking may take the form…of illegal entry through informal modes, supported and facilitated by social networks of migrant's relatives and countrymen in the sending, receiving and transit countries."[21]

To illustrate this function in the context of Congolese migrants living in South Africa, the Sri Lankan Tamils' study who have sought asylum in Western Europe and North America during the present decade can serve as a case study. This latter statement

[20] See Manuel Castells, *The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture, Volume III: End of Millennium,* Blackwell, Oxford, 1998, pp. 166-180.
[21] Bimal Ghosh, *op cit.,* p.23.

certainly holds true with regard to them. The origins of that diaspora are to be found in the emigration of Tamil professionals, workers and students in the 1970s and early 1980s, not only to Europe and North America, but also to the Middle East and South-East Asia. This early diaspora provided the social infrastructure required to arrange the departure of asylum seekers following the outbreak of the civil war. As the number of Tamils making their way to Western Europe and North America increased, so that infrastructure grew stronger, thereby facilitating further asylum migration. This sequence of events can provide a neat demonstration of the demographic principle identified by Douglas Massey: "once the number of network connections in an origin area reaches a critical level, migration becomes self-perpetuating, because migration itself creates the social structure to sustain it".[22]

How exactly does the Congolese community in Johannesburg facilitate the migration of their co-ethnics and relatives into South Africa? Our results suggest with few interviews that members of the Congolese community in South Africa play an important part in providing details on issues such as transport arrangement and sometimes false documentation needed to bring their relatives, friends and family members from the Democratic Republic of Congo. To date, established Congolese communities in Western Europe, Canada and North America provide a series of assistance, materials and staging posts for prospective Congolese asylum seekers in transit to South Africa. Therefore, this study suggests that the line between network-based Congolese migration in South Africa and the commercial trafficking of Congolese migrants is not easy to determine.[23]

Finally, in addition to information, resources and an organizational infrastructure, transnational social networks provide asylum seekers and irregular migrants, with *subsistence and support* (especially employment, and housing) when they arrive at their final destination. As Jochen Blaschke concludes in his study of irregular migrants in Germany, "migrant knowledge about possible sources of income and assistance is collective knowledge in networks. Concrete points of access to the labour

[22] Douglas Massey, quoted in Nicholas Van Hear, *New Diaspora: the Mass Exodus, Dispersal and Regrouping of Migrant Communities*, UCL Press, London, 1998, p.259.
[23] Nicholas Van Hear also points out, Albanian traffickers, whose business was initially to organize the migration of fellow Albanians, have since diversified their activities to include a wide range of other nationalities. See Van Hear, *op cit*, p.259.

market are found with the help of friends and acquaintances. The immigrant, and especially the illegal immigrant, is dependent on being embedded in networks." [24] Similarly, as Engbersen and Van der Leun conclude in their study of undocumented migrants in the Netherlands, " the informal network of family, friends, acquaintances and relatives in the Netherlands, and also in the country of origin…is critical in finding accommodation, financial support, a possible partner and a first introduction to Dutch society." [25]

In the case of Congolese community living in Johannesburg, our results suggest that the employment provided through Congolese migrant networks is likely to be dirty, possibly dangerous and may even be downright exploitative. But in the context of South Africa, where asylum seekers, refugees and other migrants tend to be progressively excluded from formal labour markets and social security systems through the implementation of the Black Economic Empowerment (BEE), it represents a means of survival.

2.10. Concepts of Refugees

In the research, I use the term 'Congolese refugee' to refer to all Congolese who identify themselves as people who fled their homeland because they have not been able to find security and stability since the two recent conflicts, which began in 1996.

The use of the term 'refugee' is based on a conceptualisation of 'refugeeness' that is rooted not only in the flight and displacement of particular individuals and groups but also in the complex daily practices of living, networking, forming relationships, and constructing identities that such individuals and groups experience and take part in as they live in one or several host-countries. In other words, being a refugee is not a simple identity that emerges from one or more experiences of violence, war, persecution and displacement from the homeland. It is rather, in Liisa Malkki's words, 'a process of becoming a gradual transformation, not an automatic result of the crossing of a national border' (Malkki 1995: 114).

[24] Jochen Blaschke, ' Addressing the employment of migrants in an irregular situation: the case of Germany', paper presented to the Technical Symposium on International Migration and Development, The Hague, 29 June-3 July 1998, p.19.

[25] Godfried Engbersen and Joanne Van der Lun, 'illegality and criminality: the differential opportunity structure of undocumented immigrants', In Khalid Koser and Helma Lutz (eds), *The New Migration in Europe: Social Constructions and Social Realities*, Macmillian Press, Basingstoke, 1998, p. 205.

Finally, I use the terms 'to migrate' or 'migration' as something we do, not something that is done to us; a willing move to a foreign country for the hope of a promising future. Travelling widens knowledge and has proven to give greater opportunities to migrants than in their countries of origin like the Democratic Republic of Congo; where potential for business venture or gainful employment is very slim; making it difficult for most people to make ends meet. Therefore, the need to look else for provision of basic means of livelihood becomes a necessity

2.11. Refugees and Immigration Controls

In numerical terms, refugees, exiles and asylum seekers constitute a significant component of the new migrant diaspora.[26] According to some estimates, about one in three of the 100 to 120 million people currently living outside their country of birth can be considered as refugees.[27] Moreover, the UNHCR *2002 Global Appeal* some 1,115,651 refugees and asylum seekers were projected to be in the Southern African region as of January 2002. The countries of asylum (with the number of refugees in bracket) were Angola (12,000); Botswana (5,000), DRC (337,100), Malawi (8,000), Mozambique (3,362), Namibia (25,875); South Africa (70,000); Swaziland (1,014), Tanzania (495,100) and Zimbabwe (8,500)[28]. As of July 2002, there were 268,237 in Zambia.[29] As with all refugee figures, the above numbers must be taken to be estimates and the actual figure of asylum is likely to be much higher.

In political terms, refugees and asylum seekers have arguably assumed an even greater significance, a development which derives from the growing perception that they represent a threat to national security, and that they undermine the sovereign right of states to control the admission of foreign nationals into their territories. Such attitudes have been particularly pronounced in the countries of Western Europe, where immigration from other regions of the world has generally (albeit unsuccessfully) been discouraged since the economic recession of the early 1970s.

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[26] For a discussion of the 'new' dimension of international migration, see the introductory chapter in Steven Vertovec and Robin Cohen (eds), *Migration, Diasporas and Transnationalism*, Edward Elgar Publishing, Cheltenham, 1999.
[27] Demetrios Papademetriou, ' Migration', *Foreign Policy*, no 109, 1997-98, p.18.
[28] UNHCR , *Global Appeal 2002*, pp. 116-127.
[29] Republic of Zambia, Office of the Commissioner for Refugees "Zambia Refugee Population as at 26/97/2002.

However, refugee law enjoins states to guarantee certain minimum conditions of sojourn including with regard to freedom of movement and engagement in gainful employment (Klaaren, Jonathan and Bonabenture, Rutinwa, 2004). Differential treatment of refugees in various countries is known to be a cause of irregular movement of asylum seekers and refugees. For these reasons, Klaaren and Rutinwa (2004) suggest that: "the quality of refugee legislation has an impact on the efficiency of immigration regimes". The overwhelming majority of SADEC countries have ratified the key international instruments relating to refugees and have enacted legislation to deal with the phenomenon. Unfortunately, the practice on the ground is different in that the principles of international protection are adhered to (Klaaren; and Rutinwa, 2004).

Much SADC refugee legislation expressly protects asylum seekers from being penalised for illegal entry or presence. Section 21(4) of South African Act provides that, notwithstanding any law to the contrary, no proceedings may be instituted or continued against any person who has applied for asylum in respect of his illegal entry or presence in the Republic. Equally, the legislation of Lesotho and Zimbabwe state that the provisions of immigration legislation that impose penalties on aliens for illegal entry or residence do not apply to asylum seekers.[30] A similar provision is found under section 5 of the Angola Act.

According to Klaaren; and Rutinwa, (2004), there is no prescribed procedure under international refugee law for refugee status determination. In practice, two main procedures are employed for this purpose. The first is group determination where a group of asylum seekers are recognised as refugees on *a prime facie basis* in terms of circumstances that led to their departure from the country of origin.[31] The second is by examining each claimant to determine whether or not he or she is indeed a refugee. Some refugee legislation in SADC makes provisions for one of these procedures, others for both (Klaaren; and Rutinwa, 2004).

[30] Lesotho Act, section 9 and the Zimbabwe Act, sections 8 and 9.
[31] B. Rutinwa, Refugee Admission and Eligibility Procedures: The Law and Practice in Tanzania (Centre of Study of Forced Migration, University of Dar es Salaam, 2001), p.20.

It is clear from the foregoing discussion that refugee law has a significant effect on immigration regulation. All countries under review have ratified international instruments on refugees. Unfortunately, and according to Klaaren; and Rutinwa, (2004), not all refugee Acts have incorporated all the key principles of international instruments on refugee protection. This is particularly so with laws passed in the 1970s. These Acts are much more concerned with controlling refugees than protecting them. Nevertheless, these laws have been complemented or supplanted by administrative arrangements, which have brought the practice in those countries in line with acceptable standards. While there is a degree of uniformity in the way refugee matters are dealt with, there are some differences in law and practice, with implications for migration controls (Klaaren; and Rutinwa, 2004).

2.12. Conclusion

My understanding of networks in this study suggests that Congolese network connections can be considered as a form of social capital that Congolese often draw upon to gain information and also material or psychological support to facilitate their migrations and adaptation processes into Johannesburg.

The next section provides support for the theories of social capital and cumulative causation through quantitative data. Its results show that movement of more and more Congolese migrants and refugees into Johannesburg tends to create stimulus for increased Congolese migration making it a city specific self-perpetuating phenomenon as evidenced in other studies (Shah, 1998; Nair, 1998, World Migration Report. 2000). Its increasing reach is proved by the following section in that even those without any means find it now possible to move through such networks.

Further, I also consider that it is not only interpersonal ties but also institutions such as churches, mutuality and associations that help in sustaining and perpetuating their movements into South Africa. Although, the key elements of migration networks are the ties between migrants already established in the area of destination and persons remaining in the area of origin, the primary task of the next section is to determine the essential role those networks play in helping or encouraging Congolese to get into Johannesburg. This requires further consideration. To that end, additional insights will be gained.

III. Empirical results and discussion of the final survey results- Wits forced migration studies programme (19 June 2003) on human displacement, survival and the politics of space.

3.1 Introduction.

The increasing number of Congolese migrants and refugees particularly in Yeoville and Berea indicates the effect of migrant networks in Johannesburg. This may have significant and positive effect on subsequent Congolese migration into South Africa; implying that transnational networks facilitate their movements into Johannesburg.

Early in this study, it is supposed that social networks play an important role in facilitating and shaping the Congolese movements into Johannesburg. This role may be particularly prominent when Congolese refugees and other migrants have access to such networks and are better placed to negotiate entry into South Africa than those who do not. From that expectation, I argue that Congolese migrants among other social network factors also often obtain information, resources, assistance, materials, accommodation, and job placement or secure financial and other types of support during their trip out of the Democratic Republic of Congo from kin already established in South Africa.

I also argue that professional Congolese migrants such as doctors, engineers and students are more likely to sustain social networks in Johannesburg than other Congolese migrants. Thus, there is a need to consider in much greater detail the provision of social networks by doctors, engineers and students as one way that can help in interpreting data and provide basis for the argument rising in the study. The study suggests that educated Congolese migrants are most effective in providing assistance, resources and materials to prospective migrants wishing to get into South Africa. Support for this argument is left to more substantial analysis in the next chapter. However, the task of this section is to provide specific evidence of what parts of the Congolese social networks are most important.

In order to answer this question, I structure the essay around the nature of information or advice Congolese provide to people living outside of South Africa, especially in the country of origin about economic conditions and job opportunities; legal advice on

immigration, and refugees status; housing or accommodation; information about the social climate or conditions; organizations and aid agencies; education and schools; cultural condition and lifestyle; travel to and from Johannesburg; and the political conditions in inner city of Johannesburg. It seems that there exist different forms of participation in which those networks operate; that can be derived from the different categories of Congolese selected in the study. The following discussion of the quantitative data on questions such as pre-flight conditions; routes for journeys, and expectations focuses in such away as to explore in general, what roles they do or do not play in facilitating their movements into South Africa?

3.2. Networks as source of information:

3.2.1. Computer Technology as the most Vital of the Social Networks

In recent years, computer scientists and developers have come to realize that when computer systems connect people and organizations, they are inherently social. They are also coming to realize that the popular term "groupware" is misleading, because computer networks principally support social networks, not only groups. A group is only special type of a social network; one that is highly interconnected and clearly bounded. In fact, Barry Wellman (2001) states that: "When computer-mediated communication networks link people, institutions, and knowledge, they are computer-supported social networks".

Often computer networks and social networks work conjointly, with computer networks linking people in social networks and with people bringing their offline situations to bear when they use computer networks to interact. Therefore, I suggest that community, like computers, becomes networked. Although community was once synonymous with densely knit, bounded neighborhood groups, it is now seen as a less bounded social network of relationships that provide sociability support, information, and a sense of belonging.

Undoubtedly, the invention of computer system has brought about international accessibility to diversified information; a state that has changed the whole world to a universal village. Findings have shown that communication through the internet is increasing probably because it is relatively cheaper than the other social networks

Not only that, it is most preferred when confidentiality and accuracy of information is required. The major advantage of computer over other factors of social networks in transmitting messages is that the possibilities of distortion, exaggeration and omission of information common with oral communication can be avoided. Likewise chances of information being lost in transit as in the case of letter or telegram is ruled out. Misinformation of report can be due to human error and vice. In either case, it can be misleading and confusing; I have realized in the course of this research that misguided reports have adversely affected many Congolese migrants to South Africa. Consequently many of them are faced with a lot of hardship; particularly, those migrants in transit and venture. They are often confronted with difficulties of survival that they never expected.

It is the finding of this research that accurate facts about South Africa vis-à-vis migration requirements can generally be obtained from necessary web cite. In the case Congolese migrants, it is evidenced that the use of internet has greatly facilitated the possibility of their movement to South Africa. This is more applicable to professional Congolese migrants who according to this report got informed and facilitated about their migration to South Africa by accessing the internet.

Barlow (2004) asserts that: "with the development of Internet …we are in the middle of the most transforming technological event since the capture of fire". Furthermore, he points to the ability of the Internet to span distances and time zones at low cost, to sustain relationships based on shared interest (even when the participants are residentially dispersed), and to provide powerful links between people and dispersed knowledge. It may be assumed that the Internet is not destroying community, but is resonating with and extending the types of networked community. Old ties with relatives and former neighbors are maintained; new ties are developed among people sharing interests. Consequently, I argue that it is not only that time and space become less important in computer-mediated communication, but that it is easy to communicate with large groups of community members and to bring unconnected community members into direct contact.

The Internet is now used by a majority of Congolese community in South Africa. Final Survey Results on Human Displacement, Survival, and the Politics of Space

(2003) reports that 66.0 % of Congolese migrants living Johannesburg use computer networks to connect with friends and relatives for most of their times before and after leaving country of origin; only 29.2% do not. This implies that computer networks are highly efficient in providing information and could possibly play a major role in facilitating their movements out of the country.

The result of the study provides evidence that the medium of e-mail to transmit information by the Congolese migrants living in Johannesburg is fast replacing telephony of relatives from country of origin. Perhaps there are differences in the kinds of communication that take place on the internet compared with the telephone. However, similarity is found in the course of this research in what is said by means of each of these media, to somewhat different languages, the e-mail is preferred when Congolese migrants want to gather information efficiently.

This possible impact of the Internet on Congolese community ties is true for those living both near and farther away. The proportionate gain in contact is found to be greatest for contact with friends and relatives living at a distance, as one might expect from a system able to cross time zones at a single bound, and in which there is no differentiation between short-distance and long-distance messages. Nevertheless, this medium provides much detail on questions such as transport arrangements, entry requirement, asylum procedures and social welfare benefits in South Africa. It doesn't provide the materials, such as money, to help the move of Congolese migrants from the Democratic Republic of Congo to South Africa. But, it possibly influences the Congolese decisions to migrate into South Africa and actually play a very significant role in migration.

3.2.2. Expectations towards, and the role of networks in the risks of moving

It is argued in the study that among factors that can explain international migration, many scholars emphasise differentials in wages, employment conditions between countries, migration costs, and international labour migration in the process of economic development. Without denying those factors, I suggest that the increasing number of Congolese migrant's doctors, engineers and students among the Congolese migrants in Johannesburg today may be linked to the differentials in wages and employment conditions between the Democratic Republic of Congo and South Africa.

Analysis of this statement will be more substantiated in the next section of the research report.

Despite the fact that Congolese refugees and other migrants who have access to such data are better placed to negotiate entry into South Africa than those who do not, the study reveals that some time, those networks fail to provide them with details on some questions required for entry into South Africa. To illustrate, the findings of this report survey show that the risk of moving from the Democratic Republic of Congo to South Africa remains great for many Congolese migrants. An estimated 20% of Congolese migrants travel with other members of their household. Among them 1.9% left with spouse; 0.0% left with child; 1.9% left with children; 1.9 % left with mother and father; 8.7% left with sister; 9.5% left with brother; 2.9 % left with first cousin; 0.0% left with aunt; 1.0% left with uncle and 0.0% left with grandmother, grandfather, mother in law and/ or father in law. This leads to the important point of how uncertain can be the decision of an individual rational actors to move from one place to another, because of a cost benefit calculation, which may or may not lead them to expect a positive net return, usually monetary, from movement (Massey, 1998).

3.2.3. The Economic functions leading to emigration

It is now generally accepted that migration decisions are made within households or families with the aims not only of increasing expected income but also of minimizing risks and reducing the constraints imposed by various market failures (Massey, 1998). Such market failures are particularly common in developing countries and include lack of crop insurance markets, future markets or unemployment insurance. If the economic conditions in countries of origin can promote international migration through the mechanisms detailed above, so can the conditions in countries of destination.

This study suggests that Congolese migration today is maintained by the permanent demand for foreign labour that is inherent in the economic structure of developed countries. The survey results report that 44.3% of Congolese migrants and refugees decide to leave country of origin for economic reasons, to get job and improve their standard of living, and an estimated 15.1% decide to leave for educational opportunities. Only 9% decide to leave to be reunited with relatives. Some of the

factors underlying these statistics are well known: the simultaneous presence of Congolese migration pressures such as poverty and unemployment, diminishing job opportunities, penetration of the international transport, communications and media industries into low and middle-income regions, and the absence of regular migration opportunities, coupled with the continued need for low-wage, low-status labour in the world's wealthier states.

This study notices that economic function can contribute to build a new view of the factors leading to Congolese migration into South Africa. Lacking such back-ups, Congolese migrants attempt to look for economic opportunities outside their country of nationality. Consequently, migration will not necessarily stop once wage differentials between the Democratic Republic of Congo and destination have been eliminated because, as long as other markets in country of origin are non-existent, imperfect or inaccessible, incentives for Congolese migration may continue.

For these reasons, the study assumes that government of the Democratic Republic of Congo influences Congolese migration not only through labour-market policies and but also through those that shape the insurance and capital markets. Moreover, we find evidence that the Congolese government policies and economic changes that modify income distribution will change the relative deprivation of some Congolese households and will thus affect incentives to migrate. In particular, the study finds that when poor households in areas of origin do not share equitably in the income gains of other households, their motivation to send some family members abroad increases.

3.3. Networks as a means of mobilizing the finance resources:

3.3.1. The function of remittance as social network

A crucial factor in the international migration and development nexus is the effect of remittances. This section shows how remittances can allow Congolese households to obtain the capital needed to increase the productivity of assets in the community of origin, and more particularly, to provide the expense of moving. The evidence available combined with adequate economic models at the micro-level also shows that remittances increase productive investment in the areas of origin (e.g., greater use of machinery, land and hired labour) and promote future migration abroad. As a result,

remittance can raise household income over time by more than the value of the remittance themselves and possibly facilitate the movement of migrants in the world.

Thus, the findings of this survey report that a significant number of Congolese migrants send money to their families or friends in country of origin. One explanation for this may be the obligations to respond to the financial needs of family outside South Africa or to help the move of relatives out of the country. This has also been reported by the preliminary research in Johannesburg together with the research literature (Van Hear 2002, Horst 2001, MacGaffey and Bazenguisa-Ganga 2002), which indicates that powerful continuing obligations to families and communities in source countries leads to the remittance of considerable money and goods from refugees in urban areas to their source countries.[32] In recent past years, in both Kinshasa and Lubumbashi, remittances from Congolese migrants leaving Europe, America and South Africa were the most important source of finance to the survival of Congolese communities living in the Democratic Republic of Congo, and possibly helped some to move out of the country of origin.

3.4. Networks as a means of organizational infrastructure:

3.4.1. Role of networks in targeting specific areas

Most developed countries are effectively off limits due to restrictive measures on migration (See Bauman, 1998; Soguk 1999). The Final Survey Results show that 42.5% of Congolese migrants consider living South Africa when they are thinking of leaving country of origin, and an estimated 30.3 % of Congolese migrants left their country of origin for South Africa in a period within a period of 1 week to 1 month of their thinking about leaving. One explanation for this may be the fact that the primary reasons they ultimately decide to come to South Africa may well be defined according to their different expectations. If these were not well defined they could probably decide to live anywhere other than South Africa.

[32] In both Burkina Faso and Mozambique, remittances from labor migrants in Cote d'Ivoire and South Africa are key to the survival of communities of origin (Preliminary findings from Manhica (Mozambique) and Nouna (Burkina Faso) Demographic and Health and Demographic Surveillance Study (HDSS). In Bangladesh, remittances are strongly associated with a range of social changes from higher rates of female education, lower rates of divorces, and decreased use of dowries (Hadi 1999). See also Fall's (1998) work on the central role remittances and circular migration play in sustaining rural livelihoods.

Furthermore, the same source of data reports a lower but still significant proportion of 14.2% Congolese migrants living in South Africa considered going to other European countries, 16.0% considered living to the United State and Canada, and 15.1% considered living in England. One explanation of this may be the relative ease with which Congolese may reach those countries through the different ways in which networks operate among them in South Africa. More particularly, the different possibilities the post-apartheid South Africa; with a corrupt immigration, and the relatively porous borders, offers an option to those Congolese migrants targeting those countries.

Consequently, and because of the efficient operation of those migration networks, governments of countries of destination may have difficulty in controlling the size of migration flows, particularly when their migration policies reinforce the operation of networks by facilitating the admission of new migrants on the basis of kinship ties with previous migrants. But the cohesiveness of migrant communities can also provide opportunities for promoting their continued involvement in the communities of origin and, as several countries are now doing, fostering formal support linkages between the communities abroad and those at home.

3.4.2. Role of networks in learning about how to reach South Africa

The political situation in the Democratic Republic of Congo is unstable. However, the UNHCR asserts that “more than ever, refugees are part of a complex migratory phenomenon, in which political, ethnic, economic, and environmental and human rights factors combine and lead to population movements”. It seems that Congolese migrants and refugees are lured with promises of employment or educational opportunities abroad. These offers made appealing and credible in the context of migration network patterns in the region, which flow southwards to the relative prosperity of South Africa, or northwards to Europe. But, the ways in which some of them reach their destinations are not sufficiently explored.

For that reason, the Final Survey Results reports that 50.5% of Congolese migrants on their journey to South Africa stayed in Angola for more than a week. Here, an attempt is made to understand why they ultimately decide to stay in Angola not somewhere

else. Special attention is focused on single Congolese migrants and refugees from poor families of origin, with more expectations.

The study suggests that in the movement of more and more Congolese migrants on their journey to South Africa more are likely to transit Angola in order to get the necessary resources required to reach their final destination. This income generated in Angola shapes effect on Congolese migration from a poor family of origin to South Africa. This may have significant effects on subsequent Congolese migration into South Africa. Consequently, this mechanism will continue after the Congolese migrants get to South Africa, because the income generated in Angola seems to be enough to facilitate their movements into South Africa, and help in the process of promoting future Congolese migration into South Africa.

It is also reported that Congolese migrants and refugees use two different ways in shaping their movements into South Africa. First, networks facilitate their movement through Angola as a transit option to reach South Africa. Other possible ways are Zambia and Zimbabwe. To illustrate it, the Final Survey Results (2003) shows that 37.0% of Congolese migrants stopped in Zambia and 24.0 % stopped in Zimbabwe during their movements into South Africa. But, only 6.5 % of those who chose Zambia as a transit country worked there and a lower but still significant proportion of 13.3% have found supporting themselves by savings. One explanation for those in both cases may be the difficulty in obtaining permanent resident status, which limits the Congolese migrants and refugees' access to work in those countries. The evidence is that if those possibilities existed in the countries cited above, most of them labelled as refugees or migrants would ultimately decide to remain in those countries instead of coming to South Africa.

Apart from this, the Final Survey reports that 92.5% of Congolese migrants during their movements into South Africa chose not to stay in a camp or settlement designated for refugees or the displaced persons under any circumstances. The implication of this may be that networks provide sufficient information to prospective Congolese migrants, on issues regarding the detention and deportation policies of different destination states and the difficulties encountered in living in refugee camps. Thus, having informed about these difficulties, Congolese refugees and other

Congolese migrants who have access to such data are better placed to avoid the living in camps.

To sum up, I find that the number of Congolese migrants and refugees crossing the South African borders through the informal route nearby appears to be erratic. Based on the Final Survey, the results report that 51.9% of Congolese migrants and refugees crossed the Zimbabwean borders when they finally arrived in South Africa, and 60.4 % of Congolese migrants used a bus to come to South Africa. While official border crossing seems to be firmly closed to everyone; it is sometimes open to people with valid documents. The study finds evidence that more often, the transnational communication and transportation networks that are the hallmarks of globalisation allow the Congolese an awareness of opportunities in South Africa, and across-border migration, whether documented or not, is seen as a viable means of reaching them.

3.5. Networks as means of subsistence and support:

3.5.1. Role of networks in providing assistance to Congolese migration

It is argued in the study that Congolese migrants often rely on relatives already established in South Africa to obtain information, resources, assistance, materials, accommodation, find a job or secure financial and other types of support during their initial periods of adaptation once in South Africa. The final survey reports that more than 26.4 % of Congolese migrants have relatives living in South Africa. Of the job held by Congolese migrants, 45.1 percent had been found with the help of relatives and friends and only 26.2 percent through the Congolese migrants' own efforts. Apart from this, the same source reports also that a lower but still significant proportion of 18.9% received help from Congolese migrant networks and was in contact with them before they left their country of origin, while only 6.6% did not.

This implies that relatives and friends often assist Congolese migrants during their initial period of adaptation once in South Africa. The final survey reports that 6.6% of Congolese migrants received the general information about South Africa from their relatives; 2.8% received money to pay for travel from their relatives already in South Africa and 10.4% recognised that their relatives had encouraged and helped them to come to South Africa.

The final survey results confirm the fact that Congolese migrants often received help from relatives and friends in providing specific job information and assisting the actual physical move and the initial period of settlement once in South Africa. Conversely, we also find evidence that the effect of Congolese migrant networks in South Africa may extend beyond the immediate kinship. Although due to data limitation we cannot prove this, it is consistent to assume that Congolese migrants are also assisted by other migrants outside their immediate kinship once in South Africa. The findings of this research is that while assistance from relatives to the prospective migrants to South Africa is an important social factor that facilitates migration, the shortcomings of this factor are the possibilities of extortion, indebtedness, wrong linkage to people in the country of transit which may lead to negative association and possibly negative character influence.

3.5.2. Role of networks in learning about Johannesburg

The UN Conference on Human Settlements (Van-couver, 1976) states that, "cities are more productive than rural areas". In developing countries for example, an average of 60 percent of output is generated in urban areas. The proportion of the 'poorest of the poor' is also lower in cities than rural areas (Saskia Sassen, 1991). As Hank Savitch summarises it: "the truth is that cities are extraordinarily efficient. They optimise the use of human and mechanical energy: they allow for fast, cheap transportation; and they provide flexible, high productive labor markets… Cities facilitate a diffusion of products, ideas and human resources between urban, suburban, exurban and rural spaces…Cities are the international growth machines of the new economy …Cities are the workhorses of the world."[33] A city that operates in a global economy may link the flow of goods, people, information and finance between distant sources and destinations, most of them outside the control of the national government concerned or even that of the city itself. Thus city as a junction in movement can combine with the city's continual adjustments to external demand (Centre for Development and Enterprise, 1996). Consequently, they link the flows of goods, people, information and finance between distant sources and destinations. An interesting new dimension is gradually taking shape in a city with the widespread use of information and communication technologies and of the Internet.

[33] Savitch , ' Cities in a global era', p55.

As the inner city of Johannesburg remains the area where most of the Congolese reside, the Final Survey Results on Human Displacement, Survival, and the Politics of Space (2003) reports that 40.6 % of Congolese migrants and refugees decided to first make contact with people from their country of origin in the few days after they arrived in South Africa. At the same time, 33.0% of those who had been helped in finding a place to stay for their first week after arriving in the city, stayed in Berea and 20.8% stayed in Yeoville where they were assisted by relatives and friends during their initial period of adaptation.

Similar results are found where 52.8% of Congolese migrants for their first week in Johannesburg stayed with friends from country of origin and 19.8% stayed with family, and kin already established in this part of South Africa. One explanation is that significant proportion of Congolese migrants and refugees coming into South Africa today receive help from the Congolese social networks already established in the inner city of Johannesburg. Among the information provided on questions such as access to documentation, housing and opportunities for income generation, 54.7 % were found to have learned about these through friends and 18.9% learned through other family and relatives already in Johannesburg. This implies that social support; subsistence and infrastructure play a major role in sustaining the Congolese migration networks in this part of Johannesburg. This social factor encourages Congolese migration to South Africa but could cause the Congolese migrants to be at the mercy of the assistance givers; sometimes, it could be too high a price to pay.

3.6. Some matters arising.

Given the significance of the Congolese migrant networks and the way in which networks operate in South Africa, it is important to determine which of these roles are most important in facilitating their movement into Johannesburg. However, this section of the paper suffers from a number of weaknesses:

First, it is based only on the 2003 final survey results of Human Displacement, Survival, and the politics of Space, and no reference has been made to the 2006 edition, which may be available. This deficiency evidently needs to be rectified. An obvious starting point would be to deal in much greater detail with the use of doctors, engineers and students as one way to interpret the quantitative data. An analysis of the

very detailed statistics on Congolese asylum applications in Johannesburg, compiled by bodies such as UNHCR would also be useful. From these statistics, it should be possible to identify the changing pattern of Congolese asylum migration in the region, and, in rather crude terms, the extent to which Congolese asylum seekers have submitted claims to refugee status in Johannesburg where their compatriots and co-ethnics are present in significant number. [34]

At the same time, case studies of specific national and ethnic groups of asylum migrants such as those undertaken by Koser and McDowell- would evidently add to our understanding of the Congolese issues raised in this paper.[35]

Second, this section has consciously set out to highlight the neglected role of transnational social networks in determining the scale of Congolese migrants and refugee's flows into South Africa. In the process, the role of Congolese social networks may well have been exaggerated; also, other important variables such as entry requirements, transport links, refugee recognition rates, corrupt immigration, asylum system and procedures and the physical permeability of South African borders. Other factors like prosperity of the post-apartheid South Africa and knowing whether the networks are sustained once the move has been made have not been given the attention they deserve. I suggest that the focus on the internet, for example, and other variables mentioned above may be interesting and should be pursued. This may make a great fundamental difference to the way in which networks operate among Congolese community living in Johannesburg.

Third, and for more substantial future investigation, this section may be read as an apology by some which claim that the great majority of migrants, refugees and asylum seekers in South Africa are fraudulent. It is not intended as such. Indeed, this section is simply based on the principle that is assessing the claims of prospective Congolese refugees and migrants into South Africa. The questions of means and motivation should be explored, since the categories of Congolese migrants cited above are different in terms of their composition. For instance, in simple terms, an asylum seeker's claim to refugee status in South Africa is in no way diminished

[34] A preliminary analysis of the destination countries of asylum seekers from different parts of the world can be found in a paper prepared by Bela Hovy, UNHCR statistician, 'Asylum in Europe: arrivals, stay and gender from a data perspective', Geneva, April 1999.

[35] See Khalid Koser, 'Social networks and the asylum cycle: the case of Iranians in the Netherlands', *International Migration Review, Vol.* 31, no. 3, 1997.

because that person has used the services of a professional trafficker, has crossed an international border by clandestine means, has used false documents, probably received financial support from a relative who is already living in South Africa, and has passed through several countries on the way to his or her intended destination.

Finally, and contrary to the title of the section, the analysis presented so far has not given any consideration to the impact which Congolese migrant networks have had on asylum regimes in South Africa. Some thoughts on this issue are required.
The hypothesis here is that by establishing and activating transnational social networks (aided to a considerable extent by new transport and communications technologies) a considerable number of migrants and refugees are able to negotiate their way through the many obstacles to entry erected by South Africa. The success of those migration strategies has been such that governments introduced ever increasingly stringent measures (some of them in contravention of states' international legal obligations) to prevent further arrivals.

3.7. Conclusion.

This analysis finds that the existing empirical studies on Human Displacement, Survival, and the Politics of Space (2003) have not given sufficient consideration to the question of Congolese social networks and the way in which they operate in South Africa. The findings of this survey do not demonstrate in detail how Congolese migrant networks provide information and access to documentation, housing and opportunities for income generation in Johannesburg. However, from the viewpoint of social networks, information about the details on matters such as transport arrangements, entry requirements, asylum procedures and social welfare benefits increases with more Congolese migrants entering South Africa, and increased information flow lowers the barriers to entry into South Africa.

Using recent data with information on Congolese social networks, the following section highlights issues that need more explanation on how Congolese social networks provide information, access to documentation, housing, employment conditions and opportunities for income generation to prospective migrants, and also evidence of knowing whether these networks are sustained once the move has been made into South Africa

IV. PR`ESENTATION OF FINDINGS.

4.1. Introduction

The data used in this research come from a selection of 30 skilled and unskilled Congolese migrants, refugees and asylum seekers conducted in four centres in Johannesburg, in April and May of 2006. These qualitative data are intended to provide deep explanation of some of the trends observed in the quantitative data. A limitation lies in the selection of these respondents, as the two sample groups are so different in terms of their composition. Thus it is not entirely representative of the Congolese community living in central Johannesburg. However, these sample groups are partly representative in relation to the role of social networks in structuring the movement of Congolese into Johannesburg, and their integration into its social fabric.

4.2. Framework for analysis of the study

Since I have information on increasing number of Congolese migrants in Johannesburg, the study can establish the approximate period of the wake of migration of Congolese to South Africa. As observed, there were few migrants in Johannesburg in the early eighties, and the rate of immigration gradually increased from the early nineties and persisted to some time after the apartheid period.

The number of Congolese migrants in Johannesburg in previous year of South African apartheid period can be used to determine the extent of Congolese social networks in Johannesburg today. This measurement can in turn be used to explain the present Congolese migration rate where that rate may be measured as a cumulative variable. However, care is needed when analyzing the results. The direct interpretation of this is that South Africa with high migration rate in year t-1 will continue to have large migration rate in year t-2. This means that migration social networks persist, and play an important role in helping people to move into South Africa. To prove the effects of the Congolese migrant social network in Johannesburg, one needs to examine whether those migrants who did not migrate during the apartheid period are more likely to migrate in the post apartheid period.

This research report provides possibility for such a test. Since Congolese social networks operate by lowering information costs; and providing employment, those

who are more likely to benefit from these social networks are those who have access to such, data and are better placed to negotiate entry into South Africa than those who do not. Therefore, this method of analyzing the effects of Congolese social networks in Johannesburg should use recent Congolese migrants in post-apartheid period as indicators of social network.

4.3. Presentation and analysis of findings

In terms of personal characteristics, it seems, from the few interviews, that the Congolese migrants are substantially better educated. Excluding early Congolese migrants, we find that recent Congolese migrants and refugees are younger; more balanced in sex, educated and have much fewer married people.

While, the two sample groups are so different in terms of their composition, our results find that difference in expectations is large except that Congolese migrants' doctors and engineers seem to have more job opportunities, higher per capita income earning, and more involved in social networks than other Congolese migrants and refugees in Johannesburg than the others. There are some noticeable differences according to their background characteristics and the way in which networks operate among them. Our results show that educated Congolese migrants seem to have more possibilities of getting job.

Our few interviews reveal also that it is not only interpersonal ties but also the institutions that structure most of Congolese in Johannesburg like professional associations, which help in sustaining and perpetuating the professional Congolese movements into South Africa. Even some employers (e.g., citizens in charge of surgeries) are included in these networks, as they get assured supply of Congolese doctors' labor through their existing employees, and also other professional associations. Thus, we have found evidence that Congolese migrant networks and Congolese migrant institutions promote further Congolese migration into South Africa. It widening reach is proved by the finding that even those without any means find it now possible to move through such networks.

An interesting finding is the evidence of increasing commercialization of personal networks, blurring the distinction between personal networks, and institutions like

professional associations and churches, as many of the existing Congolese migrants try to profit from the process and reduce the costs incurred in their own emigration. In this sense, there seems a shift away from migrant networks to migrant institutions (Professional associations, churches and "Tindiker"[36]).

Furthermore, (and with few interviews); the results found evidence of severe exploitation of Congolese migrants, especially in those cases where 'Tindiker' brought the migrants illegally, as is the case with most of Congolese migrants. I find that Congolese migrant networks/ institutions may not always be beneficial and may be a source of much exploitation. It is difficult to determine how the restrictive practice of the South Africa state, and the efforts of commercial Congolese traffickers such a "Tindiker" to circumvent those practices, will influence the pattern of Congolese asylum migration in the future. A tentative hypothesis (supported by a small amount of empirical evidence) is that potential asylum seekers will be able to exercise less control over their ultimate destination and will therefore find it more difficult to ensure that they gain admission to a country where they can join and established community of compatriots or co-ethnics.

To sum up, comparing professional Congolese migrants, refugees and others, I notice early in the study that professional Congolese migrants have access to more extensive social networks. Our results also find that Congolese migrants are more likely to participate in transnational social networks whether they are professional or not and significant proportion of them receive help from relatives and friends in getting in South Africa.

Finally, in examining the marginal effects of social networks, we also find that more male Congolese migrants participate in transnational social networks than female. The likelihood that a married person will participate in social networks is less than a single person.

[36] Tindikers is a common language used by the Congolese community living Johannesburg which in a simple term means 'Push'. Tindiker is a human trafficker who has as job to collect illegally people from different parts of the DRC, especially from Lubumbashi up to South Africa.

4.4. The Congolese migration process and dynamic.

Drawing from the large sample, our few interviews reveal that for a small highly educated Congolese group, networks play a different role.

4.4.1 Demographic profile of respondents

From the demographic profile of respondents, drawn from the large sample, our few interviews show that for a small highly educated group, the ages vary from 25 to 35 years, and are mostly not married and are likely not to have children. Even if they are married, the results show that they live apart from members of their families temporarily. They are likely not to have children. Living together with family or kin during their first stage of adaptation, the fewer educated respondents had refugee status granted only after two months after application, which is not always a case for other Congolese migrants, interviewed.

In contrast to other Congolese economic migrants, in transit and in venture, our few interviews find that their ages vary from 30 to 40 years, and they are legally married and living together with children here in South Africa. However, they have been found still holding asylum seeker's paper even if they have lived in Johannesburg for more than 10 years, and most cases their refugee's status has been rejected by the South African Department of Home affairs.

4.4.2. Pre-migration conditions and expectations

In terms of pre-migration conditions, the interviews I conducted show that the highly educated Congolese did not travel with other members of their household when they ultimately decide to leave country of origin. None of them considered going to live anywhere other than Johannesburg. However, since the difference in terms of composition seems visible, our results suggest that a small highly educated doctors and engineers selected in Johannesburg, decided to leave country of origin for economic reasons in order to get job and improve their standard of living. A small proportion of Congolese students decided to leave the country of origin for educational opportunities in South Africa, and already had relative students living in South Africa.

In contrast to these groups, and from the larger sample, my few interviews report that Congolese in transit, economic migrants, and Congolese immigrants in venture considered going to live somewhere else than Johannesburg, when they were thinking of leaving country of origin. UK, Canada, USA, Australia, and Europe are cited as their final destination countries. One reason according to their explanations is the aspiration for better living conditions. The respondent's personal feeling is that living in those countries is one of the best options that a Congolese migrant must realize in his life and one of the most important expectations that must be reached at any cost. My interviews find also that Congolese migrants in transit and Congolese immigrants in venture decided to leave their country of origin for the following reasons; firstly, because it is easy for them to get access to documentation and information on how to reach those developed countries above mentioned once in South Africa; secondly, because it is easy for them to get into South Africa from country of origin and finally, their country of origin is close to South Africa.

4.4.3. Documenting flight and arrival

Given the significance of Congolese networks in Johannesburg, it is interesting to analyse how they come to South Africa. The existing empirical study on Human Displacement, Survival, and the politics of Space has paid little attention to the issues of documenting flight and Congolese's arrival into South Africa; using a small group drawn from a large sample of information on Congolese migration history. This section provides data related questions of routes in the movements of Congolese into South Africa. My interviews confirm the previous findings provided by the pre-migration conditions and expectations in which the highly educated group of Congolese, not to mention all, decide to come to Johannesburg for economic reasons and education opportunities. However, the way in which these networks operate among them seems fundamentally different.

Comparing the groups in terms of arrivals, our interviews reveal that for a small group such as doctors, engineers and students, networks do not provide money to pay for the trip out of the Democratic Republic of Congo. These trips are financed through working in home country or from family and friends in home country. However, they all use airplane as the means of transport to reach South Africa through the Johannesburg Airport. The primary reason they ultimately decided to come to

Johannesburg remains the education opportunities or employment conditions. Students still expect to move to European countries after having completed their studies. One explanation recorded for this desire refers to the practice of discrimination and xenophobia toward the qualified foreigners in South Africa. My interviews reveal that black South African citizens blame educated foreigners for reducing their chances of employment because they (the foreigners) are more motivated and can communicate in different international languages.

The interview I conducted also reports that some Congolese migrants in transit and venture get into South Africa through their own efforts, others with the help of relatives and friends living either in South Africa or other countries. However, we find that this category uses bus or at worse crawled and walked through dangerous routes like rivers and forests of different South African borders in order to get into Johannesburg.

4.5 Understanding the Congolese social networks in South Africa

4.5.1. The role of networks in providing accommodation once in South Africa

Once they get to South Africa, The interviews report that they first try to contact friends, or family members already working or living in South Africa. Some have been found staying with friends, family and relatives from country of origin for their first week after arriving in the following areas: Bellevue, Yeoville, Berea, Boksburg, Alberton, and Rosettenville, and learn about their first place of residence through family/relatives. However, they never have any plans to move out of their present residence in the near future. Although, crime or insecurity, discrimination and xenophobia may dominate these areas, the results confirm that their preferences for staying in those areas are related to the existence of social network activities that seem strongly sustained by the Congolese community in these parts of Johannesburg, and also the opportunities of jobs that seem available for migrants in those areas.

For students, a proportion is found receiving help from Congolese migrant networks, and relatives living Johannesburg. After they first come to South Africa, they never had plans to move out of their present residence in the near future despite that crime and insecurity are prevalent in the inner city of Johannesburg. My finding is that this

preference of staying in inner city of Johannesburg is linked to the fact that Johannesburg offers easy access to the different universities they attend; residing close to their academic institutions of learning is cost saving. Most of them seem to be poor and depend on their families at home or overseas, and also the Congolese social networks in Johannesburg for financial assistance.

One explanation for their preference is related to the existence of social networks activities that are established among francophone communities living in these parts of Johannesburg, and also the possibilities that this area offers for either formal or informal business or activities; and to get information about how to reach the third country and which travel documents are useful.

4.5.2. Role of networks in providing legal advice on immigration

From the interviews I conducted, it is revealed that more and more newcomers to Johannesburg tend to seek specific help before undertaking the adventure of moving to South Africa. Such assistance is offered by the Congolese migrant networks in Johannesburg. To make the settlement of newly migrated Congolese easier, they are often taken by friends or relatives already living in Johannesburg to the Department of Home Affairs or any other South African government department responsible for immigration. Therefore, the Congolese migrants, particularly those in transit and venture are frequent at the offices of non-governmental organizations working with refugees or people from other countries in order to receive assistance.

4.5.3. Sustenance of the Congolese social networks once the move has been made

The findings of this study show that the respondents interviewed in the course of the research are members of religious organisation, associations or clubs, and political parties as they are somehow representatives of the Congolese community living in Johannesburg.

The data also finds that medicine and engineering were the best job the highly educated group had before coming to South Africa. A significant difference of amounts earned per month is found between country of origin and South Africa. In the country of origin the amounts earned by both categories were about R 1000 to R 1499 per month, which is approximately ten times less than what they earn in South Africa.

However, a significant proportion of doctors and engineers send money or goods to their families and or friends in country of origin. Approximately R 1100 to R 1499 per month is sent (apart from emergencies or cases of special needs) through community remittance organizations or agencies.

Congolese migrants living in Johannesburg are quite ethnically separated from those coming from Kinshasa and those from Lubumbashi. However, the few interviews conducted reveal that in order to support the Congolese communities of social network in Johannesburg, a significant proportion in both categories from Kinshasa and Lubumbashi provide money or other material assistance to Congolese religious organisations; Congolese cultural clubs, social clubs, sports and Congolese NGOs that work with migrants and refugees; Congolese organisations run by refugees or migrants in Johannesburg, Congolese rotating credit association, and also the Congolese political parties in South Africa,

While, most of Congolese students in Johannesburg are dependent and poor, a significant proportion of them on scholarship or that work part-time send money or goods to their family and close relatives in country of origin whenever the need arises. Approximately R 200 to R 800 per month is sent through community remittance organization or agencies to parents or close relatives.

What I find important is the establishment of some Congolese communities and associations based in Europe and America named “Bana Joburg”. The meaning of “Bana Joburg” is simply: “Congolese migrants coming from Johannesburg and actually living in Europe or America”. These associations provide information and assistance to other Congolese migrants in transit, relatives and friends living in Johannesburg about France, Belgium, Canada, USA, and U.K and so on, in order to reach those countries. They assist with money and travel documents such as duplicate passport or their personal travel documents to those friends and relatives living in South Africa. They also provide information about which official migration in South Africa they may contact to make a deal and what means of transport they may use.

The data in this research also shows considerable proportion of Congolese in venture and transit sending money or goods to their family in country of origin.

Approximately R 199 to R 3500 per month is sent through community remittance organization to families or friends in order to leave the Democratic Republic. Concomitantly, a majority is found to offer information or advice about: economic conditions/ jobs in South Africa; legal advice (immigration, refugees status); about education, cultural conditions, lifestyle, political conditions, and also how the South African borders are relatively porous for people who are willing to come to South Africa, or willing to travel from South Africa to other countries.

4.5.4. Role of networks in facilitating contacts

Most of them are found to have relatives living in South Africa and were in contact with them before they left country of origin by the means of Internet, telephone, SMS, and couriers. Such assistance encourages them to move either to South Africa or other developed countries of choice; most of the times it involves contributing money towards the trip of an intending migrant. From the large sample, a significant proportion has been found to have been encouraged or helped by their relatives or friends living in South Africa in providing the necessary materials and resources required to move into South Africa, and also general information about South Africa, in particular, about how to obtain a South African visa.

From a few interviews of 5 Congolese students living Johannesburg, this research reports that Congolese students in Johannesburg receive help from other Congolese students already schooling in South Africa for instance about courses offered by the faculties.

4.5.5. Role of networks in helping to achieve success

From a large sample, the research reports that most of the professional Congolese migrants (e.g. engineers and doctors) work now, as had expected, due to the viability of their employment in South Africa.

Likewise, Congolese migrants who intended schooling in South Africa gained admission as planned.

The data report also that a significant proportion of these categories owns or has accesses to sewing machine, cellular, DVD, car, music system, and bank account only

here in South Africa; the reason being the high rate of poverty in the county of origin, the Democratic Republic of Congo, where these things are beyond the reach of many people. Concomitantly, significant proportion is found to offer information or advice about economic conditions/jobs in South Africa.

4.6. Analysis of findings.

Using recent survey data from inner city Johannesburg, this paper has largely explored the possible roles played by social networks in facilitating the Congolese movements into Johannesburg. The data are analyzed in terms of the groups in relation with the different patterns of networks emerged across this sample, and the roles these networks play for the various groups of the sample. However, I have found evidence that the ways in which those networks operate among them are fundamentally different. The reasons been that in the country of origin the professional Congolese are far better off in terms of living condition and income generation; even though their income and remunerations was not as much as they would earn abroad. They are often gainfully employed in the country of origin; therefore, have the financial ability from their savings to afford their trips out of the Democratic Republic of Congo by flight not by road as it is with the other category of Congolese migrant. The professional Congolese migrants do not depend on the financial assistance from relatives and or friends. They have networks of professional friends in South Africa that can legally send letters of invitation to them. By their friends' invitation they easily obtain a visa to South Africa. For them, settlement in South Africa is not difficult because they get job quite easily in some cases jobs have already been pre-arranged before living the DRC; they are therefore more able to provide assistance to relatives and friends living in country of origin. Comparing this category (doctors, engineers, and students) to other migrants in transit and venture, I notice that doctors, engineers and students have access to more expensive social networks.

The link the Congolese migrants that are intending to further their education have with the professional, like the engineers and doctors is the possibility of pre-arranging their admission into tertiary institutions in South Africa prior to leaving their country of origin.

The other category of Congolese migrants namely, the transit and the venture in the country of origin are not as exposed as to how to travel out of the country like their professional counterparts. Like the students, they also depend on friends and relatives for financial assistance to travel to South Africa. Their trips often are by road; they employ the services of the "Tindikers" to take them through from the DRC to Zambia and Zimbabwe. Otherwise from the DRC to Angola, through Namibia or Botswana then to South Africa; this mode of traveling is illegal and more expensive than the one way trip by air due to the various stop over. Settling down in South Africa is not an easy experience for the Congolese migrants in transit and venture. Some of them seek refuge in Churches or some other charitable organizations for their first step of adaptation. At this stage many of them are exposed to danger; as they are forced to take up jobs as security officers and for women; they are at risk of being molested and raped.

Based on the finding explained above, it is obvious to me that the different categories of Congolese migrants are influenced differently according to their levels of exposure, background and qualification before embarking on their trips to South Africa; that in turn becomes a factor in their stay in South Africa. Consequently, it provides support for the theory of social capital, and also the theory of cumulative causation. This study confirms the views of previous studies in which empirical evidence around the world has shown that migrant networks have significant impact on sequential migration (Massey et al. 1993, Massey 1987, Banerjee 1983, 1984, Taylor 1986, 1987, etc.). Therefore, social networks are found to play a positive significant role; subsequently, Congolese migration to South Africa and their sustenance in terms of lodging and means of survival are maintained.

As elucidated above, money is an important factor in social networks, particularly to facilitate the process of moving to and settling down in Johannesburg.

However, while money is a vital factor, information is even more vital because money without the right usage means a waste of resources. Information with regards to how to go about a traveling plan and expenses will enhance a proper way of expending money on that trip. The most commonly used means of acquiring information is the internet. With the high rate of technological and computerized network system,

people just log in to the required website to get information; which may be very voluminous and will be more expensive if such information is to be furnished through the use of telephony system. The use of internet has brought about exposure, which leads to enlightenment and power to know beyond ones immediate environment; the relevance of this to my research is that by the use of internet network, the prospective Congolese migrants often have a fast and first-hand information concerning employment, schooling, business venture and general information about South Africa. Consequently, the spread of information through the Internet and the tools of globalization seem more valuable in promoting the Congolese migration of all categories into South Africa. Despite that the Congolese migrants in transit and venture are not financially stable and liquid due to the inability to probably be gainfully employed they still enjoy the internet facility because it is affordable.

Congolese migrant networks also play an important role in encouraging other Congolese migrants to get into South Africa. This role is particularly prominent in situations where migration involves large informational and psychic cost, such as when moving to a completely different culture or environment, or if the destination country is porous to immigrants. Products of social networks can be seen in communities formed by international immigrants in the United States, such as China towns, German towns, etc. The same phenomenon is observed in the internal migration in China, where migrants from same origins tend to form their own communities in large cities (See the discussion of “Zhejiang Village” by Xiang 1996).

The findings provided by the research reveal also that “Migrant Transnational Networks are sets of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants, and nonmigrants in origin and destination areas through ties of kinship, friends, and shared community origin” Massey et al. (1993, p448). Thus, I have found evidence that Congolese social networks play a role in reducing the cost of movements.

As it is well known in this study, transnational social networks provide not only material costs, but also resources required to move. Consequently, Social networks reduce information costs by providing specific job information to potential migrants, reduce psychological cost by providing support relationship to migrants in destinations, and reduce the probability of unemployment by providing direct job and

information on matters such as transport arrangements, entry requirements, asylum procedures and social welfare benefits, as well as the detention and deportation policies of different destination states.

An important channel through which social networks facilitate the movement of Congolese is the spread of information through Internet as mentioned above. I found evidence that the spread of information through Internet is the dominant factor of transnational social networks among Congolese migrants in Johannesburg.

Using a group of 30 Congolese in Johannesburg (2006), the data reported that the Congolese migrants to South Africa, received help from relatives already living in South Africa on issues such as information and access to documentation, housing, and opportunities for income-generation. This phenomenon is found paralleled with undocumented Mexican migration to the United States by Roberts (2000). An explanation for this in both cases is the different ways in which migrant networks provide those resources which offer migrants' access to cross borders and stay in those countries.

It is also partly attributable to the collective efforts, materials and assistance provided by Congolese social migrants in host countries that sustain networks for the benefits of prospective migrants into Johannesburg. Contrary to the inflow of Congolese migrants and refugees in South Africa, we find evidence that movement of more and more Congolese migrants to Johannesburg is linked to the spread of information through Internet.

4.7. Sustainability of the Congolese Social Networks in Johannesburg.

Our literature regarding the Johannesburg regional concentration supports the findings of other researchers on the subject that incidence of migration is largely region specific[37]. However, recent empirical work suggests that the importance of networks to the migration process may vary over time (Guzman, Haslag, and Orrenius. 2004). Findings regarding channel of Congolese migration in South Africa bring out the role

[37] See : Nair, P.R. Gopinathan, 1998, " Dynamics of Middle East Migration from Kerala" in R. Appleyard (Ed.), *Migration Dynamics in Developing Countries, Volume II:* South Asia, Ashgate for IOM/UNPPA, Aldershot, England, 257-291.

played by social networks in furthering the Congolese migration process just after the post-apartheid period. To that end, this research report concludes that social networks pay an important role in facilitating Congolese migration, whether across borders or across regions. However, these networks are fundamentally different in the ways in which they operate among the Congolese community. In case of Congolese, it is networks of friends or relatives which are perpetuating the Congolese migration and concentrating it by and in large in inner city of Johannesburg; Yeoville, Berea, Bellevue East, and Hillbrow. Thus, majority of Congolese migrants came largely through one particular type of networks; formal or informal. Our qualitative data supports the view that incidence of Congolese emigration is largely region specific and networks- formal and also informal networks play crucial roles in making Congolese migration a chain process and a self-perpetuating phenomenon as evidenced in other studies (Shah, 1998; Nair, 1998, World Migration Report. 2000).

Furthermore, findings based on human trafficking clearly bring out that recruitment through personal networks had no bearing upon securing better terms and conditions of arrival in Johannesburg. This is in contrast with the findings of some other researchers who found that those who came through friends or relatives got better conditions of adaptation and were happier than those coming through human traffickers (Khan, 1991, Nair, 1992, Shah, 2000.). When I tried to understand the reason for the contrast through qualitative data, I found that a few organized professional Congolese agents based in Johannesburg were responsible for bringing many Congolese doctors and engineers' migrants legally, whereas many individual traffickers or 'Tindikers' based in Johannesburg were instrumental in the migration of many Congolese in transit and in venture from Lubumbashi (DRC), quite often through illegal means. Despite the continuing important role of friends and relatives, a unique feature of Congolese migration to Johannesburg is the sustainability of the process. This also indicates some support for the theory of cumulative causation as more and more Congolese migrants move into Johannesburg and finance the move of increasing number of prospective Congolese migrants known to them and the process feeds on itself.

To conclude, I have proved through this research that social networks facilitate the movement of the Congolese migrants to South Africa. However there are several

areas where the status of the Congolese migrants can be improved through a future work of this nature. The position of Congolese migrants in transit and venture for instance needs much improvement; they often get stranded in the country and felt misinformed about the reality of life in South Africa. Such work for instance will focus on how illegal migration can be discouraged by urging intending travellers to go about their movement in a lawful manner. That will likely secure the possibility of a better stay by all the categories of Congolese migrant in South Africa. Congolese migrants use and build networks aimed at enhancing the migration process into South Africa; meanwhile, are the Congolese social networks fully or rightfully utilised?

V. GENERAL CONCLUSION.

This paper analyzed the factors facilitating the Congolese trans-national networks. It goes further in comparing the ways in which the available social networks operate among the Congolese migrants in South Africa; in the light of migrants background, education, profession, financial capability, among others, comparison is made in order to know which of the social networks are most accessed by each of the categories of the Congolese migrants and why it is so. According to the findings of this research computer network is the most vital among the social networks factors For instance despite that the professional migrants will most likely be able to afford both human connection and the financial support or requirement for their migration to South Africa, the role of internet network in enhancing their trip requirements cannot be over-emphasised.; as most of the Congolese professional migrants often make use of the internet to secure job and students' requirement for admission into tertiary institutions. Even when the first hand information about job and schooling may be from friends, etc, the use of internet often seals the whole arrangement. This fact buttresses that the Congolese professionals in South Africa also find the use of internet very valuable. Little wonder, most of them are personally subscribed to the e-mail services.

Unlike the professional Congolese migrants to South Africa, who despite their financial strength to get information about travelling through telephone services and other social networks still find e-mailing very vital. The Congolese migrants in transit and venture mostly depend on the use of the computer net-work system to get information about the requirements for travelling. For them, phoning is probably expensive because they are mostly weak financially. They find it cheaper to get information and be connected to their relatives either at home or abroad via the internet. This situation is also facilitated by the availability of internet cafes owned privately for public use at a fee in the inner city of Johannesburg.

Looking at the use of the computer net-work by the above-mentioned categories of Congolese migrants, I want to conclude there are many social networks that enhance the migration of the Congolese to South Africa. The fact still remains that naturally, man will want to save cost and get value for his money; a condition that is easily met

by the use of the internet. This satisfactory service being enjoyed by the e-mail users make the factor the most important of all other social networks. It is a connecting point between the professional and the transit migrants, either rich or poor as it is available to all. I have also found out that non-literate Congolese migrants seek the assistance of literate friends or family to also enjoy the internet service. They are therefore no exception to the computer use.

A few findings are confirmed below:

Firstly, networks are likely to act as an important source of information to prospective Congolese migrants, refugees and asylum seekers, providing them with details on matters such as transport arrangements, entry requirements, asylum procedures and social welfare benefits, and also the detention and deportation policies of different destination countries.

Secondly, these networks provide a means of mobilizing the financial resources required for a Congolese to leave a low or middle-income country and seek refuge in a more prosperous state such as South Africa.

Thirdly, these networks provide the organizational infrastructure required for them to move into Johannesburg, although the movements are sometimes arranged in an irregular or clandestine manner. I want to submit at this juncture that once the illegality of migration is dealt with, Congolese migrants will experience a peaceful, better and lawful stay in South Africa. Particularly in the case of those that left the DRC for the reasons of war and persecution.

The modalities and intensity of the process, driven by technological improvements in communications and transportation also play a significant role in making these networks possible and sustained once the move has been made.

Furthermore, the way in which those networks operate among them differs and has different effects accordingly. More particularly, professional Congolese migrants such as doctors, engineers and students are more likely to sustain social networks than other Congolese migrants. This implies that educated and professional Congolese migrants are most effective in providing assistance; resources and materials to

prospective migrants wishing to get into South Africa, nevertheless, migrants in venture and transit sometimes give additional contributions towards the movement of friends and families from their country of origin to South Africa.

In addition, I tested a few data that have been reported using the existing empirical study on Human Displacement, Survival, and the Politics of Space (2003). The findings provided from the test support the theory of social capital as well as the theory of cumulative causation. However, I have found the following points from a few interviews:

- Firstly, this empirical study has overlooked the Congolese social networks and the way in which those networks operate in South Africa.
- Secondly, this research has proved that Congolese migrant networks are positively linked to numerous new ways in which contemporary global migrants remain intensely connected to their places of origin, to co-nationals or co-ethnics across nation-state borders, and indeed across the world.
- Finally, a finding through this report is that with the guidance and assistance from early Congolese professional migrants, subsequent Congolese migrants have an easier life in South Africa.

Next to this, I also found evidence that one possible role those networks play in facilitating their movements into South Africa is economic information about South Africa. Therefore, professional Congolese migrants in Johannesburg render more direct help in providing specific job information and assistance in the movement of other migrants to South Africa. The implication of is that providing information about the potential economic opportunities in South Africa is insufficient in inducing large-scale migration. Consequently, the findings revealed that Congolese migrants seek specific help from their relatives already living in South Africa before undertaking the adventure of coming to South Africa. The results are also consistent with the hypothesis that although they leave their country of origin for the reasons of war, they come to Johannesburg because of the networks, and the effect of those social networks extends beyond the immediate kinship. Although due to data limitation I can not prove this effect, it is consistent with field research observations that Congolese

migrants are often assisted by the different institutions that structure most of them here in South Africa.

In conclusion, the research shows that there are Congolese migrants of different categories in South Africa. I have also proved that their movement was aided by the existence of social networks both in the Democratic Republic of Congo as well as in South Africa. The implications of the available social networks to all the categories involved were also discussed in the light of their differences. However, while the place of the South African constitution concerning migration is very important and has a high influence on all the categories of migrants, Congolese migration to South Africa seems to be self-sustaining and self-enforcing processes.

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