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THE SOCIAL NETWORKS OF MIGRANTS AND THEIR NEGOTIATION OF THE CITY OF JOHANNESBURG

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INTRODUCTION

The migratory flow of individuals in the sub-Saharan region of Africa is far from being a new phenomenon. It has taken different shapes, involved various groups and has had a multitude of impacts on the migrants themselves as well as on the host and the sending communities.

Examples range through time from the historic Khoisan tribes of hunter-gatherers who continually roamed across the territory in order to ensure their survival (Barnard, 1992) to the Lesotho workers that currently cross daily into South Africa for economic reasons (McDonald et al. : 2000). The region has also seen numerous examples of forced migration, these flows occurring when certain individuals or groups feel obliged to leave their home in search of a safe haven where they might be able to ensure their survival and ultimately flourish. According to David Turton, forced migrants do not necessarily have common traits which readily explain their situation. They have all undergone a specific set of situations and lived through certain conditions explaining their decision to move. In fact, each can also be said to have a certain level of agency in deciding to move. Accordingly, Turton believes that the term “forced migration” is useful, not in describing a certain type of migrant, but rather in determining which groups, because of their situation, are felt to deserve the attention and special consideration of the non-migrant community (2003).

Armed conflicts, both internal and external, have been a major cause of these movements, from Eastern Congo and the Great Lakes region to Angola and Mozambique. “Given these conditions, it is not surprising that many people are looking for a future beyond the borders of their own country, both within their own region and, if they have the means to get there, to more distant parts of the world” (GCIM: 2005, p.6). Furthermore, the reasons explaining the forced migration

of so many individuals have certainly not lacked in the often harsh political, economic, social and geographic conditions of Southern Africa as witnessed with the inexorable degradation of conditions in Zimbabwe. But although these migration movements are wide-spread and historically rooted, they are also very diverse in their sources and their impacts. An economic migrant coming to South Africa to work in a mine cannot be assumed to have the same motivations or effects on those around him as a political refugee escaping a quasi-dictatorial regime, for example.

This research report is submitted in accordance with the requirements of the Masters Degree by coursework and research report in Forced Migrations Studies from the University of the Witwatersrand. It does not have the ambition of covering the whole field of forced migration issues affecting sub-Saharan Africa; an enterprise destined for failure considering the complexity of the situation. In fact, this project will only study one aspect of the migration dynamics which are observed in Southern Africa today.

Although its scope is limited, this research report aspires to address an increasingly important migration movement, that of urban migration. Within the African continent, migration to urban areas, both from rural and other urban areas, has been on the rise for a number of years (Cross et al.: 2006, Kihato: 2004, Tabutin & Schoumaker: 2004). This has had profound impacts on countries like South Africa where important urban centres (Johannesburg, Cape Town, Pretoria) act as poles for migrants from all across sub-Saharan Africa seeking employment and better social and political conditions. “The causes of the escalating migrant movement to South Africa from the region are various and complex, historical and contemporary. [...] Some of the conditions promoting mobility are specific to some countries (the aftermath of the civil war in

Mozambique for example) others are more generalized (growing trade imbalances [...], structural adjustment programmes, domestic [conditions], drought and ecological degradation” (Crush: 1998, p.3).

More specifically, the aim of this research report was to study the situation and conditions of urban migrants in the city of Johannesburg, South Africa. In many ways, Johannesburg serves as a magnet for migrants from across the region and beyond in search of work and a general improvement in their lives. This city is an original area of study not only because it embodies the new dynamics of urban migration but also because it is a multicultural hub, where migrants from the entire Southern African region move and cohabit within the confines of a municipal setting.

1. Objectives of this Research Report

Within this context, this research report attempts to determine what type of social network, if any, is most effective for an urban migrant in Johannesburg in order to obtain such things as official documents, employment, stable housing conditions and avoid arrest; four elements which have been grouped under the umbrella heading of ‘negotiating the city’. Two different types of social networks have been considered in this study; a dense social network, comprised of individuals that are very close to the migrant, either because they are of the same family, ethnic or linguistic group or from the same community, and a weak social network, comprised of a greater diversity of individuals who interact with the migrant but who are not necessarily very close to them and do not come from the same community of origin.

The goal of this study is to analyze the extent to which migrants in Johannesburg adapt to their new surroundings and the impact that the people that surround them, that is to say their social network, have on their degree of adaptation. My original hypothesis was that those migrants with weaker ties and social networks would have more success in negotiating the city of Johannesburg and integrating in this specific urban environment because they would have greater access to a wide variety of actors, social spheres and areas of opportunities and not be limited to their immediate close-knit community which might isolate them within the confines of a fairly homogenous group. Thus, having a weak social network could be seen as giving them the opportunity to gain a better understanding of the city and the ability to adequately adapt to it because of their increased exposure to its realities and their greater knowledge of its inhabitants.

This study has attempted to determine what links, if any, exist between these two variables and what these relationships reveal about migrant realities in Johannesburg. It has taken as a subject group the Congolese, Mozambican and Somali migrant communities living in various neighbourhoods of Johannesburg. Following this general analysis, I have added a gendered lens to the statistical findings in order to evaluate if female migrants' social networks were the same as those of their male counterparts and if female migrants tend to negotiate the city in the same ways. As will be explained in the following pages, differences do seem to exist between male and female migrants which will tend to confirm that migration is indeed a gendered experience. Similarly, an analysis was also conducted in order to compare the experiences of migrants based on their nationalities. Once again, the statistics have uncovered interesting divergences in migrant experiences according to their countries of origin.

The adaptation of migrants to an urban environment is a vital question both for their overall well-being and for the positive development of the host community in which these newcomers reside (IOM et al.: 2006). My hope is that the production of this report will allow the academic community and policy-makers alike to gain a better understanding of the types of relationships a migrant has in Johannesburg and the type of experience they live within this new context. This project also attempts to provide some indications as to the types of networks which have the most influence in helping migrants manage their integration into a new community.

2. Literature Review

This study touches upon two broad concepts which need to be considered within their respective theoretical contexts: that of ‘social networks’ and of ‘negotiating the city’. Academia started focusing on social network theory in the 1970s and one can see a renewed interest in the present day. This concept is also closely associated with that of social capital which was developed by the likes of Pierre Bourdieu (1972), James Coleman (1990) and Robert Putnam (1995 and 2000). The concept of negotiating the city however is harder to conceptualize since it incorporates notions of urban citizenship, rights to the city and of incorporation. It generally refers to how migrants adapt and integrate within their new urban environment.

2.1 Migrant Social Networks

The study of migrant social networks has evolved greatly since Barnes elaborated some of the first theoretical underpinnings of a social networks theory in 1954 using a Norwegian example. Although the study of social networks was first done by anthropologists and sociologists, it was soon adopted by migration specialists to provide a more accurate understanding of the various

stages of the migration process, from the decision-making process (Grasmuck and Pessar: 1991; Humphreys and Whitelaw: 1979) all the way to the settlement and the patterns of incorporation into the new community (Hagan 1994; Massey et al. 1987).

The main debates in the literature dealing with this topic do not question the relevance of looking at a migrant's social networks; all agree it does have an impact on the migration process (Thompson: 1973; Wellman: 1983). Theoretical arguments rather focus on the types of impacts different social networks can have on different sets of migrants. There is also a diversity of views on the types of relationships that need to be analyzed to get an accurate portrayal of a migrant's social networks.

Two main schools of thought come in direct opposition when it comes to determining which social networks are the most effective for the incorporation of a migrant who has just arrived in a new community.

On one side, some observers believe that a migrant who arrives in a new community will have an easier time in finding essential things like employment, shelter and food if he or she is surrounded by a tight-knit cluster of relations, often corresponding to the migrant's family. In this case, it is important for the researcher to look not at the breadth of someone's social network but rather at the density of people closely linked to the migrant. "Many migrants travel within a family unit and many join kinfolk in the community of settlement. Those they join assist the migrants in confronting the problems of settlement and adjustment: in providing material necessities, in establishing new social connections, and in maintaining morale" (Choldin:1973, p. 175). In this analysis, the social network is often imagined and conceptualized as being a cluster

of people with the same background, culture and who operate in the same type of environment in the host community.

On the other end of the spectrum, there are some who believe and have attempted to demonstrate that the social networks and ties that are important for migrants are not in fact those dense clusters of individuals they often know even before coming to the host community but rather what Mark Granovetter has coined ‘weak ties’ (1983). As he explains, these weak ties represent the links that a migrant has with someone outside of his or her close-knit network (the dense ties) and these relationships link this person with a new cluster of individuals that operate in a different type of environment and can provide this migrant with new opportunities. According to his analysis, “individuals with few weak ties will be deprived of information from distant parts of the social system and will be confined to the provincial news and views of their close friends. This deprivation will not only insulate them from the latest ideas and fashions but may put them in a disadvantaged position in the labor market, where advancement can depend [...] on knowing about appropriate job openings at just the right time” (1983, p. 202).

Although his analysis is primarily focused on a migrant’s access to formal employment, its logic can be extended to other areas of migrant integration into the host community such as access to services or participation in current public debates. Another positive aspect of the ‘weak ties’ perspective is that it looks beyond a migrant’s immediate and most plausible set of acquaintances to the possible links that this individual might have with other members of the host community and how this diversification of interests can bring about a new set of possibilities and opportunities. It allows for the opportunity to get a more accurate portrait of how migrants interact with the larger community: “A problem relating to the morphological characteristics of

social networks relates to clustering. In the sort of data likely to be generated in anthropological studies, cliques, in the sense of sets of people all of whom know one another, may be too restricted a category for a useful analysis of behavior” (Mitchell: 1974, p.289).

As mentioned previously, one can closely link the concept of social network theory to that of social capital theory. According to Pierre 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 institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition" (1986, p.249). In other words, proponents of this theory advocate that there is an essential value for individuals to have and maintain contacts with a series of other individuals. These links can serve in a multitude of manners to help the person in question succeed in his or her enterprises and, in the case that concerns this research report, can be seen as helping migrants negotiate the city. In opposition, links with the wrong individuals could negatively impact on someone's ability to succeed. Therefore, it appears that social networks, whether with the right or the wrong people, do matter and can have an influence. The real question is to know which type is more valuable for migrants in negotiating the city of Johannesburg.

In this study, a special focus has also been placed on gender and how the types of social networks affect female migrants differently than male migrants. Although most of the literature on this specific topic comes from the United States, there are still clear indications that social networks have different impacts on female and male migrants: “Differences in network dynamics may account over the long-run for the divergence more generally in the social, economic and legal incorporation of immigrant women and men” (Hagan: 1998, p.56). Looking specifically at the case of Johannesburg, it will be interesting to see if some of the same trends emerge for migrant

women in an African context. There is also abundant literature looking at the experiences and social networks of migrants based on their nationalities (Steinberg: 2005, McDonald et al.: 2000), on which I will base my comparative study of the experiences of the Mozambican, Somali and Congolese migrant groups.

2.2 Negotiating the City

Using migrants' social networks as an independent variable, this research project has attempted to determine the influence it has on their ability to negotiate the city. I have decided to use this expression to group together various factors associated with how migrants incorporate into the urban environment of Johannesburg and how they manage within it. These include: the type of legal identification the migrant has acquired, the work status of the migrant (full time, part time, unemployed), the stability in housing and finally the interaction the migrant has had with law enforcement officials. In essence, these various elements attempt to provide a portrait of how migrants adapt and negotiate in the urban space: "Operating within the many constraints which his physical and social environments impose, he seeks to overcome the problems confronting him by choosing among perceived available options. Through the aggregation of such choices man modifies and is modified by the world around him in a mutually evolving system" (Graves & Graves: 1974, p.117).

Various sources in the migration literature indicate that these four elements are useful to analyze when trying to determine how a migrant is adapting in a new urban context. With regards to the access to legal documentation and especially to a refugee permit which will be studied in this report, this can certainly pave the way for the formalization of a migrant's life in a host

community. It can also make his or her life much easier with public officials and can provide a specific set of rights and obligations, at least in theory. However, evidence indicates that this access is far from assured in South Africa: “In Johannesburg, even refugees or other migrants who have rights and formal status are susceptible to exploitation by landlords, employers and corrupt police and government officials. Without access to legal documentation, migrants often have little choice but to seek their livelihoods (including access to shelter) through illegal or corrupt activities” (Kihato: 2005, p. 25). That is why this indicator will not be used alone and will not be a primary focus of our secondary analyses on gender and nationality.

Furthermore, with regards to the work status of a migrant, the links with their established social networks is widely recognized: “A further source of systematic disadvantage is the social capital of the unemployed. If unemployed people get jobs primarily through connections and networks, then their connections constitute a specific kind of social capital. [...] there is considerable evidence from a range of sources suggesting that people find jobs and employers fill vacancies through informal networks” (Seekings: 2003, p. 13). This study will test the validity of this affirmation in the case of Johannesburg.

How long someone has lived in one place (housing) can also provide an insight into a migrant’s life as it can help ascertain the type of stability such an individual has to integrate and manage a new reality. “Immigrants and people from minority ethnic communities are more likely to live in deprived areas and in poor quality, over-crowded and unpopular housing and to pay a higher proportion of their household income to occupy that housing. Legal status, ethnic origin and discrimination are key factors affecting access to housing for immigrants” (Edgar: 2004, p. 24).

Finally, many reports have also highlighted the hostile reaction of law enforcement officials vis-à-vis migrants, especially in the South African context.

“Notwithstanding the accession by South Africa to the international instruments on the rights of refugees and asylum seekers set out above, the daily reality [...] is not always easy. Many people face daily instances of aggression rooted in deep xenophobia from South Africans on various fronts. In addition to demonstrations of suspicion and aggression by South African citizens in social interactions, SAPS [South African Police Service] have demonstrated an over-zealous eagerness to arrest and deport people suspected of being illegal aliens” [Black Sash: 2002].

This reaction could certainly be an important hindrance for migrants attempting to accustom to a new environment.

Thus, the concept of negotiating the city is one that combines different specific indicators which are present in the survey data that will be used for this project. The term ‘negotiating the city’ is a convenient umbrella for these different elements, giving an indication as to the types of lives these migrants lead in the city, how they deal with formal and informal structures and their relative level of success in entering mainstream urban citizenship. In fact, this concept is closely associated with others which have been widely documented such as urban citizenship and rights to the city (Judge and Stoker: 1995). These focus on the urban environment and the people living in these areas, how they live and what elements are needed to access this environment.

3. Methodology

The data source used for this research report comes from a 2006 survey that was conducted as part of the *Migration and the New African City* initiative by the University of the Witwatersrand. Building on the experience gained from performing a similar study in 2003 (Jacobsen and Landau, 2003), the organizers of the 2006 survey attempted to gain some detailed information from refugees, asylum seekers and other migrants in order to acquire insight into “migrant journeys, livelihoods, aspirations and interactions with host and origin communities” (Vigneswaran: 2007, p.2).

They faced numerous methodological challenges not least of which was to identify migrant communities which often remain out of official sight in an urban context. In order to circumvent these difficulties, a multi-stage cluster approach was used, targeting specific neighbourhoods where it was believed that migrant populations lived. The survey was then carried out in random sections of the targeted neighbourhoods, randomly selecting respondents from these areas. In total, roughly 800 individuals were interviewed with Somali, Congolese, Mozambican and South African nationalities. A more detailed account of this study and further discussion of the methodology used, the challenges faced in order to collect the data, as well as an indication as to the value of this database and some of its limitations can be found in Annex A.

The answers provided to the questionnaires were inputted into a numerical database format and have been analyzed using the SPSS statistical instrument which has produced numerous analyses. Some modifications to my original plan have been made along the way, based on the types of results that were preliminarily gathered. For example, the question “Once in South Africa, who

did you attempt to contact first” (q-355-6) was originally going to be used to help determine what type of social networks migrants had when arriving in Johannesburg. Unfortunately, it appears that a vast majority of respondents did not answer this question which made any results based on it statistically irrelevant. Therefore, a new plan had to be developed in order to reach the objective of understanding what types of social networks are most useful for migrants to negotiate the city of Johannesburg. After much manipulation and probing, I decided to see if the respondent’s answers to three separate questions relating to their social networks had any influence on how they responded to other questions relating to how they negotiated the city of Johannesburg. The questions relating to the social networks of migrants are the following: 1) What is your relationship with the people with whom you are living? (q-123); 2) When you considered leaving your *country of origin*, did you already have members of your family or close friends living in South Africa? (q-226) and 3) With whom did you reside during your first week in Johannesburg? (q-358). The questions that attempt to evaluate how well migrants negotiate the city of Johannesburg are the following: 1) How many times have you moved since arriving in South Africa (q-359); 2) How would you define your current work status? (q-404); 3) Please tell me if you have a Section 22 permit (q-500); and finally 4) After you arrived in South Africa, were you ever stopped by the South African police or military (q524)? I have also decided to use other questions relating to migrants’ experiences in the urban environment of Johannesburg depending on the pertinence of the results. For example, I have used the results of questions that asked migrants if they were willing to fight to defend South Africa or their home community or their ethnic group to get an idea of their sense of belonging towards their new community. I have also looked at the responses given to a question relating to the links the migrant has with the people for whom he or she works. These helped in providing some further context once I

believed to have discovered an interesting relationship. A copy of the questionnaire can be found in Annex C. A further rationale of the questions used is provided in Part 2.

I was also interested in looking at the way gender and nationality factored into the migrant experiences of the respondents. Therefore, these two factors, which in past studies on migration issues have tended to signal differences in behaviour (DeJong: 2000; Goldscheider: 1987; Kearny and Beserra: 2004; Lundborg and Segerstrom: 2000), will be analyzed following the preliminary analysis.

PART 1: A FIRST DESCRIPTIVE OVERVIEW OF THE MIGRANT SAMPLE

Before proceeding any further with the statistical inferences and operations necessary to determine whether the type of social networks a migrant has can have an impact on how he or she negotiates the city of Johannesburg, it is important to take a closer look at the respondents being studied. This overview will provide the context necessary to understand further statistical findings. A selection of the various statistical operations that were performed in order to produce this research report can be found in Annex B.

In this survey, a total of 849 individuals were interviewed: 253 from the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), 202 from Mozambique, 186 from Somalia, 191 South African and 15 from other countries. For the purposes of this study, these two last groups will not be considered in the statistical findings thus focussing our attention exclusively on the experiences of migrants from the three aforementioned nationalities. This study will therefore focus on three different migrant groups with different backgrounds and coming from very different areas of the continent. However, this report will demonstrate that beyond these seemingly important differences, there exists a certain commonality of experience between migrant communities in Johannesburg, regardless of where they come from. A more thorough analysis of national experiences will also be carried out in Part 4 of this report.

With regards to the gender of those interviewed, more than 60% were male, thus indicating that either there are more male migrants in Johannesburg (a theory which can be validated by the historically high levels of migration of male workers in South Africa (Crush and McDonald : 2000) or rather that men were more likely to respond to the interviewer's questions than women,

as it could be imagined in some cases, especially with the Somali population where women traditionally remain within the home and have limited contacts with the outside (Schraeder: 1986). This does bring up some methodological questions relating to access to the interviewees. It is possible and should be taken into account that those female migrants that do not habitually work outside of the private sphere of the home and family would be underrepresented.

Continuing this analysis, it appears that around 34% of migrants interviewed have been in South Africa between 1 and 4 years. A further 14% have been in the country for over a decade, indicating that a substantial portion of those interviewed are long-established migrants. Having spent that amount of time in the country, it should be safe to assume that many of them, to the extent possible, have been able to adapt to their new surroundings, ensure their livelihoods and build new lives for themselves in this urban context. Based on the responses to this question, the results of this study will need to be qualified because it would seem logical that a migrant's negotiation of the city is at least partially influenced by the length of time he or she has spent in these surroundings.

Another interesting initial descriptive statistic looks at who the migrants reside with. This can give a general, albeit unidimensional, sense of the type of social network he or she has, the assumption being that migrants interact socially with those they live with. Table 1 provides the description of responses given to this particular question in the survey.

Table 1 - Relation of People Staying With Migrant			
		Frequency	Valid Percent
Relation	Friends from South Africa	13	2,1 %
	People Not Known From South Africa	69	10,9 %
	Friends from Country of Origin	233	36,8 %
	People Not Known from Country of Origin	93	14,7 %
	Members of Pre-Migration Household	105	16,6 %
	Family/Kin Already in South Africa	107	16,9 %
	At Guest House	1	0,2 %
	At Hostel	4	0,6 %
	Staying Alone	6	0,9 %
	Other	2	0,3 %
	Total	633	100 %
Missing	DK/RA	8	
Total		641	

As is observable in the preceding table, 36,8% of respondents said they lived with friends from their country of origin, 16,9% said they lived with family and kin already in South Africa and 16,6% said they lived with members of the pre-migration household. Finally, another 14,7% said they lived with people they did not know but who came from their country of origin. Adding these responses together means that about 85% of the respondents have at least some connection with people that come from the same background as theirs, indicating, as Granovetter would put it, that they benefit from a dense network comprised of members from their original community. In contrast, only 10,9% of respondents said they lived with people they did not know from South Africa. Combined to this second category are the 2,1% who said they live with South African friends, the 1,7% who are either staying alone or in temporary housing such as a shelter, a guest home or a hostel. Thus, only about 15% of respondents would still be eligible to be considered as having weak social ties, that is, relations which are not based on individuals sharing the same family ties, origins and nationality but are rather networks based on *ad hoc* encounters with a diverse set of people from various backgrounds. Although these categories are not rigid and this

preliminary question only scraps at the surface of possible social networks migrants have, it does tend to indicate so far that most migrants interviewed are not alone in South Africa and are connected with fellow migrants from their home community.

The responses to the other questions which touch upon the social interactions of migrants also seem to confirm this trend. When asked if they had relatives or friends in Johannesburg before moving there, 56,2% of migrants said yes whereas only 43,8% said no (q-226). Furthermore, when looking at who these migrants stayed with during their first week in Johannesburg, more than 60% said they stayed with either friends from their country of origin or other family and kin already in South Africa (q358). Although most migrants interviewed who have come to Johannesburg seem to have ties with individuals from their home community it does not necessarily mean that they migrated with members of their family. Asked if they had moved from their country of origin with members of their household, only 32% of those interviewed said yes (q203). This means that while many migrants could integrate a close and dense social network when arriving in the city, they did not necessarily move with their family in tow. This result would tend to indicate that the migratory journey is distinct from the negotiation of the city in terms of migrants' social relationships.

Briefly looking at some other characteristics of the migrants interviewed relating to their livelihoods, it appears that many are suffering from unemployment and difficult economic situations. 27,3% of those surveyed describe themselves as being unemployed and another 28,9% are either part-time workers or are on casual or temporary jobs. In fact, only 31,6% of those who answered the survey were working full-time (q404). A related question asked migrants who they worked for on arrival in the city. Nearly 40% of respondents worked either for members of their

tribe and / or from their country of origin, thus indicating that upon arrival, many migrants appear to find work with people that are associated to their background (q406).

A last set of descriptive statistics which is pertinent to look at relates to the migrant's sense of belonging and the values and notions he or she would be willing to fight for. For example, when asked if they would fight to defend South Africa, 57,5% of those interviewed said no (q703). In contrast to this response, nearly 90% said they would be willing to fight to defend their country / community of origin (q704) and another 75,1% said they would fight to defend their tribe / ethnic group (q705). This wide difference tends to indicate that migrants in the urban context of Johannesburg still feel more emotionally attached to elements relating to their background rather than to their new surroundings. Although not touching upon something immediately tangible like other questions that were described previously, this idea that migrants overwhelmingly agree to fight to defend their home community or country gives a sense that they have not moved to Johannesburg by desire but rather by necessity, which can also impact how, and to what extent, they decide to negotiate the city. Regardless of the interpretation, it still appears that for most migrants, a strong connection to their original home still exists and is still to some degree important.

This brief descriptive narrative of those involved in the study demonstrates that, although not fully statistically significant, many of the characteristics often associated with urban migration in South Africa seem to have emerged in this study from the group of migrants interviewed. It also appears that many seem to share the same characteristics. Firstly, there appear to be more male than female migrants, thus hinting at a more widespread custom of male migration to South Africa, often to find work in order to send remittances back to their home family (Keely & Tran:

1989; Orozco: 2002, Taylor et al.:1996). From the statistics, it also appears that the majority of migrants, although not necessarily undertaking the migration journey with their household, either knew friends, family or other members of their home community in Johannesburg before arriving in the city. In general, most of the indicators that were reviewed, although only providing a snapshot of the network of people living with the migrants and with whom they interact, still indicates that most of these migrants have a strong and dense social network. Finally, the statistics reviewed also tend to corroborate the notion that migrants in an urban setting suffer from high rates of unemployment and also work irregularly, making them especially vulnerable in the context of a developing country: “One of the major consequences of the rapid urbanization experienced by African nations in the past two decades has been the increasing supply of urban job seekers. In all African countries, the supply of urban job seekers far exceeds demand.” (Hope: 1997, p.40).

The next section of this report proposes to go beyond a descriptive analysis of our study group to see whether or not certain elements associated with a migrant’s social network appear to have a statistically significant impact on factors associated to how they negotiate the city.

PART 2: THE IMPACT OF SOCIAL NETWORKS ON ASPECTS OF A MIGRANT'S NEGOTIATION OF THE CITY

The second section of this research report will go further in analyzing the experiences of urban migrants in Johannesburg. Going beyond the analysis of their attributes, preferences and experiences, I will attempt to determine if the social networks of migrants have a statistical impact on how they actually negotiate the city. In order to do this, I took the questions mentioned previously in the methodological section relating to social networks and saw what, if any, impact and influence the answers given seemed to have on how migrants answered the questions relating to their negotiation of the city. A chi square test was also used after each cross-tabulation to ensure that the results obtained were in fact relevant (or not) and that it was consequentially possible to assume that a link did in fact exist between the two variables studied. Before proceeding with the statistical tests, it is worthwhile to provide at least a brief rationale for using the questions in this particular way. Although always open to interpretation, these explanations will at least partially ensure that this report uses the right questions and the right indicators to analyze the actual elements making up the two central concepts of this study; migrant's social networks and the negotiation of the city.

For the former, I am firstly using a question relating to the people the migrant lives with (q-123) because, as mentioned previously, there is an assumption that someone has ties, or, at the very least, has created a rapport with the people with whom they live. This question can also usefully touch upon issues relating to access to accommodation and who one turns to when in a foreign environment in order to gain access to housing. I believe that it is an especially relevant question to ask in an urban and multi-ethnic setting such as the one of Johannesburg because the migrants who arrive in this setting have at least a minimal level of choice in deciding where and with

whom they wish to live. This question therefore highlights, to a certain extent, a preference of the migrant in relation to where they have established their home. The next question used in this study to evaluate the social network of migrants living in Johannesburg looks at whether or not, before leaving their home communities, these migrants knew either family or friends that were already living in this city (q-226). The answer to this question can firstly indicate if the migrant is somewhat of a trailblazer, one of the first or few to leave their home community to move to this destination, or whether, in fact, they are making a journey that is well-known by their family and friends. It also touches upon the level of possible danger a migrant might face in his or her living experience in Johannesburg. At the very least, having friends or family at their migration destination point can be seen as helping migrants better prepare for the journey ahead, can provide them with useful information on how to adapt and can even soften the landing of their arrival in the city by providing him or her with basic necessities and good advice on how to get their new life started on the right track. “Most migrants move to the city where they can expect to be received by relatives or friends. They will be offered shelter and food for a while, they will be introduced to the urban environment, and efforts will be made to find them an opportunity to earn a living” (Gugler: 2002, p.24). Finally, the last question relating to the social networks of migrants also relates to their first few days upon arrival and with whom they resided in Johannesburg during that time (q-358). This question, by focussing on the migrant’s experiences in the first week, can give a good sense of what type of access to a social network he or she has. For example, if the migrant stays with family in the first week, it is safe to assume that this migrant will tap into this network, at least at first in order to negotiate the city. In the opposite, a migrant residing in a shelter during his first week in Johannesburg, might not have any type of access to members of his family or his circle of friends.

Although the use of these three questions attempts to evaluate the type of social network a migrant has in an urban context, they are obviously not encompassing enough to accurately establish all aspects of a migrant's life and social interactions. It provides a snapshot image of what type of networks appear to be available, or indeed unavailable, to the migrants before and just upon arrival in Johannesburg. Building upon the conclusions of this report especially by evaluating precisely the type of day-to-day activities of migrants and their social interactions during this time would be an interesting avenue for further study.

With regards to the questions relating to the negotiation of the city, they were chosen to reflect how migrants react to daily activities and how they perceive and work within the South African system. This will give some insight into how they adapt to their environment and to what extent they learn to manage the ins and outs of their new lives. The first question that was used to evaluate how migrants negotiate the city concerns the number of times he or she has changed residence since arriving in South Africa (q-359). As we have seen previously, many of the migrants interviewed have been in the Republic for more than one year. It is safe to assume that they have moved at least a few times during that period. Nevertheless, this question remains pertinent because it can give an indication as to the volatility of the migrant's housing situation and the degree to which the migrant has time to integrate into his or her new surroundings. The assumption is that the more often migrants move, the less chance they have of becoming full-fledged members of the community and of participating in the activities of the city. Staying for a longer period of time in one place can also mean that there are greater chances the migrant will have a permanent address which would certainly facilitate countless administrative procedures and perhaps accelerate his or her integration. Another question that was used to determine how and to what extent a migrant negotiates the city of Johannesburg relates to their self-described

employment status (q-404). In this particular case, I have assumed that those migrants that work full-time or categorize themselves as self-employed have generally better negotiated the city than those who are either unemployed, work part-time or casual jobs. I have hypothesized that they better negotiate the city because they have been able to ensure their livelihoods in this new context, in some cases have been able to access capital to start their business and have undoubtedly benefited from a certain stability arising from a less worrisome financial situation and from a better understanding of the workplace. Those with unsteady jobs must often find other methods of survival and must constantly look for new work, factors which cannot be associated with a personally beneficial negotiation of the city. Another question used to indicate the type of negotiation of the city done by migrants in Johannesburg was to see if they had a Section 22 permit (q-500) which is an official South African document for those requesting refugee status: “This section 22 permit allows the holder to sojourn in the Republic while his or her claim is under consideration by the Refugee Status Determination Officers who are based at Refugee Reception Offices” (Republic of South Africa: [online]). Having one of these permits thus implies that the migrant was at least partially capable of adequately handling the administrative and official processes in order to obtain it. It can signify at least a basic understanding of the South African refugee regime. As officially recognized refugees have, in theory, rights and obligations while in South Africa, this will have an impact on what they can and cannot do, such as gain access to formal employment or schooling. It is assumed that those who have the permit will negotiate the city differently than those who don’t. Finally, the last question that has been included in the analysis of the negotiation of the city done by those migrants interviewed asked them whether they had been stopped by the South African police or military at one point since their arrival (q-524). Those who were stopped, and possibly arrested, imprisoned or deported, were probably more exposed and at risk to this type of official intervention because of how they

negotiated the city. Some were perhaps engaging in illegal activities such as informal work or simply did not know how to go about proceeding with their daily activities without getting caught. A migrant who was never arrested is one who is more likely to understand the legal and administrative system in which he or she lives and is also probably less vulnerable, either because they benefit from formal work, better housing, better connections and other implicit factors relating to how well they negotiate the city.

Having now provided a brief explanation to justify why these main questions were used in this study, I will now proceed in explaining the results obtained. I will attempt to demonstrate that although some factors have a statistically significant influence on one another, others do not seem as pertinent in proving the earlier hypothesis of this research report. These findings will also highlight that beyond the impact of social networks on how migrants negotiate the city, there emerges a clearer picture of what I have coined a common ‘migrant experience’, at least for the migrants which are the object of this research. Following this primary analysis, I will then study what possible impact gender and nationality can have on how these different groups of migrants negotiate the city of Johannesburg.

Table 2 presented below looks at the possible links between the people a migrant is currently staying with and the number of times the migrant in question has moved since arriving in South Africa. The proponents of the hypothesis that a dense social network would allow migrants to better negotiate the city, would probably tend to argue that those who were not living with family, friends or other members of their home community would be more likely to move often because they do not necessarily benefit from the easily accessible social network of close contacts that could provide resources, experience and connections. In contrast, those who believe

in the power of weak ties might probably argue that knowing a wide variety of individuals would help the migrant in finding appropriate housing from which they wouldn't have to move. The chi-square test on this relationship (sign. of 0.137) however demonstrates that the findings are not statistically significant enough to demonstrate that there is an actual link and correlation between these two factors.

Table 2 - Relation of People Staying With Migrant and Number of Times Moved									
			Times Moved						Total
			0	1	2	3	4	5 and +	
Relation of People Staying With Migrant	Friends from SA	Count	3	1	1	3	2	3	13
		%	3,70 %	1,20 %	0,90 %	2,40 %	2,70 %	2,40 %	2,20 %
	People Not Known From SA	Count	8	2	6	16	12	19	63
		%	9,80 %	2,40 %	5,70 %	13,00 %	16,40 %	15,20 %	10,60 %
	Friends from Count of Origin	Count	30	41	40	41	26	44	222
		%	36,60 %	49,40 %	37,70 %	33,30 %	35,60 %	35,20 %	37,50 %
	People Not Known from Count of Origin	Count	11	10	21	21	4	23	90
		%	13,40 %	12,00 %	19,80 %	17,10 %	5,50 %	18,40 %	15,20 %
	Members of Pre-Mig Hshold	Count	15	13	13	18	17	16	92
		%	18,30 %	15,70 %	12,30 %	14,60 %	23,30 %	12,80 %	15,50 %
	Family/Kin Already in SA	Count	15	15	19	22	11	17	99
		%	18,30 %	18,10 %	17,90 %	17,90 %	15,10 %	13,60 %	16,70 %
	At Guest House	Count	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
		%	0,00 %	0,00 %	0,90 %	0,00 %	0,00 %	0,00 %	0,20 %
	At Hostel	Count	0	0	1	1	1	1	4
		%	0,00 %	0,00 %	0,90 %	0,80 %	1,40 %	0,80 %	0,70 %
	Staying Alone	Count	0	0	4	0	0	2	6
		%	0,00 %	0,00 %	3,80 %	0,00 %	0,00 %	1,60 %	1,00 %
	Other	Count	0	1	0	1	0	0	2
		%	0,00 %	1,20 %	0,00 %	0,80 %	0,00 %	0,00 %	0,30 %
Total		Count	82	83	106	123	73	125	592
		%	100,00 %	100,00 %	100,00 %	100,00 %	100,00 %	100,00 %	100,00 %

In order to push this analysis further, I have decided to recode question 123 (relation with the people the migrant is staying with) into two broad categories to see if a relationship might emerge

when more encompassing categories are used. The first category comprises the relationships that can be considered as corresponding to a dense social network: friends from country/community of origin, people the migrant didn't know from country or community of origin, members of the pre-migration household, family and kin already in South Africa. The second category comprises those elements which are more likely to fall within the category of weak social ties: friends from South Africa, people the migrant did not know from South Africa, those who stayed in a shelter, hotel, guest house, hostel or are staying alone. Although we lose some nuance in understanding the migrant's precise relationships with those who live in the same home, when recoding their responses into two broad categories, it does allow us to come up with stronger findings.

Table 3 - Relation of People Staying With Migrant and Number of Times Moved									
			Number of Times Moved						Total
			0	1	2	3	4	5 and +	
Relation of People Staying With Migrant (recoded)	Weak ties	Count	11	4	13	21	15	25	89
		%	13,40 %	4,80 %	12,30 %	17,10 %	20,50 %	20,00 %	15,00 %
	Dense ties	Count	71	79	93	102	58	100	503
		%	86,60 %	95,20 %	87,70 %	82,90 %	79,50 %	80,00 %	85,00 %
Total		Count	82	83	106	123	73	125	592
		%	100,00 %	100,00 %	100,00 %	100,00 %	100,00 %	100,00 %	100,00 %

As can be observed from Table 3 above, the reclassification of the different types of relationships within two general categories has actually allowed for the demonstration of a statistically significant relationship between weak or dense ties and the number of times the migrant has moved since arriving in Johannesburg. The chi square testing on this relationship (sign. of 0.033) also confirms that it is possible to take this result into consideration. Beyond the fact that a majority of migrants appear to have a close relationship with the people with whom they live, it is

also possible to observe that the highest percentages of those with weak ties have responded that they have moved 4 and possibly 5 times or more (20,5% and 20%). Comparatively, those who move least often (0 to 1 times) are more likely to have dense social networks (86% and 95%). The recoding process of this cross-tabulation does not allow for very precise conclusions. For example, we can't tell from Table 3 if those migrants that live with their family are as likely or unlikely to move as those who live with members of their community of origin they do not know. Although both relationships have been integrated within the general category of dense social networks, it remains that the implications and relationships are certainly not the same. Nevertheless, there is a generally tendency that seems to emerge from Table 3 whereby those with denser social ties appear to move less often than their counterparts that have weak links. As I stated previously when justifying the use of all of these characteristics, I have hypothesized that those who move less often probably have a better chance of negotiating the city because they have more time to learn about their immediate environment, create links with the people around them in the community and live in safer conditions than those who are often obliged to move around the city. In this case therefore, and with these indicators, it would appear that those with dense social networks have a better capacity to negotiate the city of Johannesburg.

The next statistical operation that was performed attempted to demonstrate whether the people a migrant resides with has an impact on the current employment status of said migrant. Those who believe in the efficacy of dense social networks as levers for migrants to negotiate the city would assume that those living with family, friends and other members of their home community – even strangers - would have more steady and regular employment because they would be helped and already have a network to tap into in order to find a job. Inversely, those who believe in the influence of weak social ties would assume that knowing a variety of people from different

backgrounds and in different spheres would be more useful for migrants in finding work because of the various opportunities that could emerge in different sectors. It also needs to be taken into account that from our preliminary statistics, most migrants interviewed reported not having full-time employment. However, from the primary statistical cross-tabulation operation that was performed, it appears that no single theory was validated. The chi square test once again informs us that the results are not conclusive (sign. of 0.141) and that we cannot generalize the results to the entire migrant population of the city or prove that a link exists between both variables. Furthermore, when we recode question 123 in the same way as the previous operation by amalgamating relations in a dense vs. weak ties dichotomy, we still cannot discover a statistically significant relationship (sign. of 0.633). Pushing the analysis even further, I have also attempted to recode the question dealing with migrant's employment status into two broad categories of regular work vs. without work / irregular work¹.

Table 4 - Relation of People Staying With Migrant and Current Employment Status					
			Current Employment Status (recoded)		Total
			Unemployed / Irregular Work	Employed/ Regular Work	
Relation to People Staying With Migrant (recoded)	Weak ties	Count	52	43	95
		%	14,70 %	15,60 %	15,10 %
	Dense ties	Count	301	233	534
		%	85,30 %	84,40 %	84,90 %
Total		Count	353	276	629
		%	100,00 %	100,00 %	100,00 %

¹ 'Regular Work' category comprised: working full-time, self-employed, voluntary workers and housewife/homemaker. 'Without Work / Irregular Work' category comprised : unemployed, working part-time, casual employment/temporary work, doing casual jobs, other.

Although I have regrouped both factors studied into binary indicators, it has still not produced a statistically significant result (sign. of 0.768). Therefore, from these various statistical operations, it is relatively safe to assume that social networks do not immediately have a statistically significant impact on migrant's employment status and opportunities. In itself, this non-result is somewhat of an interesting find. It could perhaps mean that no matter what type of social network they have, no matter what type of social capital they carry with them, migrants in the city of Johannesburg are all faced with the same challenges and difficulties in ensuring their livelihoods. It would also seem to indicate that there are stronger structural difficulties – such as the already high unemployment rate in the country or the labour surplus- which affects all migrants equally and to which social networks cannot influence or provide an effective solution.

The following statistical operation that was performed was to look at whether migrants had greater or fewer chances of having a Section 22 permit according to their relationship with the people with whom they are staying. As can be seen from Table 5 below, there appears to be a link between these two factors which can be seen as applying to the overall migrant population of the city (sign. of 0).

Table 5 - Relation of People Staying With Migrant and Obtention of a Section 22 Permit					
			Has Section 22 Permit		Total
			Yes	No	
Relation of People Staying With Migrant	Friends from South Africa	Count	5	6	11
		%	2,00 %	1,60 %	1,80 %
	People Not Known From South Africa	Count	27	42	69
		%	10,70 %	11,30 %	11,00 %
	Friends from Country of Origin	Count	115	116	231
		%	45,60 %	31,10 %	37,00 %
	People Not Known from Country of Origin	Count	23	69	92
		%	9,10 %	18,50 %	14,70 %
	Members of Pre-Migration Household	Count	18	85	103
		%	7,10 %	22,80 %	16,50 %
	Family/Kin Already in South Africa	Count	58	48	106
		%	23,00 %	12,90 %	17,00 %
	At Guest House	Count	0	1	1
		%	0,00 %	0,30 %	0,20 %
	At Hostel	Count	0	4	4
		%	0,00 %	1,10 %	0,60 %
	Staying Alone	Count	5	1	6
		%	2,00 %	0,30 %	1,00 %
	Other	Count	1	1	2
		%	0,40 %	0,30 %	0,30 %
Total		Count	252	373	625
		%	100,00 %	100,00 %	100,00 %

Although in effect, most migrants interviewed do not have this permit (60% of those interviewed do not), an analysis reveals that when the migrant lives with family or kin already in South Africa, friends from their country of origin and friends from South Africa, his or her chance of having such a permit are higher. In opposition, when migrants live with people that they do not know from South Africa, people they do not know from the country of origin or members of the pre-migration household they are more likely not to have a Section 22 permit. This can mean that when a migrant lives with people he or she knows, whether from their dense network or outside (such as the category ‘friends from South Africa’ which can be considered as being part of a weak social network), it can help them in manoeuvring through the administrative hurdles in

order to obtain a Section 22 permit. When migrants stay with people they do not know, or when they stay with their household (perhaps as head of household with little contact to a larger dense network of contacts) it is more difficult to access this type of administrative document, giving a sense of the challenges faced with negotiating the state apparatus when a migrant does not have the appropriate network of necessary relationships. Whenever the migrant lives with friends or family, the levels of possession of a Section 22 permit augment. Assuming that these friends and family stem from the same background as the migrant, this would tend to confirm a dense network theory whereby knowing a few people very well, with whom the migrant shares many common characteristics, can be a significant factor in the success in how he or she negotiates the city. Another interesting finding in this graph relates to the experiences of the 6 migrants who have indicated that they live alone. 5 out of 6 have been able to gain access to a Section 22 permit, a far higher rate than other categories. This perhaps indicates that they are benefiting from a state or organization-sponsored program for refugee claimants. Further research on this particular case could be warranted to understand their particular situation.

Although the analysis of the relationship between these two factors is apparently statistically significant and seems to confirm a general theory whereby having a dense network of contacts is more useful and effective in negotiating the city, it is nevertheless important to view these results with some precaution. Firstly, it is safe to assume that not all migrants interviewed requested or required a Section 22 permit which would somewhat skew the results indicated above. Beyond a possible divergence between the results of this question and the actual reality on the ground, what is interesting from this analysis is that the traditional dense network vs. weak network opposition I have established so far does not seem to hold entirely. The results seem to indicate a dichotomy between migrants who know people in South Africa vs. those who don't and appear more

isolated, regardless of whether the people known are from the same background or not as the migrant. This possibly signifies that migrant's social networks and their effectiveness in negotiating the city should not only be viewed through the lens of whether or not they share a common heritage, come from the same family or background, but also whether and how well migrants know the people that are comprised within their network of contacts. It could be that the quality of relationships reigns over quantity, diversity or proximity. This finding will certainly be kept in mind while analyzing further data.

The last attempted statistical exercise using the migrant's relation to the people they are staying with as an indicator of social networks is to see if it had a significant impact on whether these migrants have been stopped by the South African police or military since their arrival. Once again, according to the chi-square tests (sign. of 0.846), this relationship is not immediately significant and cannot be generalized to the entire migrant community of Johannesburg. The vast majority of those interviewed indicated that they have been arrested at one point or another but the statistical results do not indicate that there are any more chances of being arrested depending on who the migrant lives with. When we recode the question similarly to the previous attempts, in a dense network vs. weak ties dichotomy, we also find that there is not a statistically significant relationship (sign. of 0,762). The percentages vary little between those with weak ties and dense ties and whether or not they have been arrested, thus indicating that a pattern does not necessarily exist in this case.

In summary, question 123, which focused on the relationships that migrants have with the people they live with was used as an indicator of social networks. Most of the results did not generally seem conclusive enough to indicate a strong influence of this aspect of migrant's social networks

on how they negotiate the city of Johannesburg. When this question was recoded to comprise only two broad categories, it did not always provide new insight into a possible relationship except when comes time to analyze the number of times that the migrants have moved since arriving in Johannesburg. With this result, it appears that those migrants with denser social networks are less likely to move often than those with weak social networks.

However, overall, an analysis of the responses to this question alone does not provide conclusive evidence that social networks, whether weak or dense, have a significant impact on how the migrants interviewed for this study go about negotiating the city of Johannesburg. Question 123 cannot be seen as being able to represent all of the social networks of migrants. In fact, by only looking at the answers provided to this set of questions and not simply at the possible relationships between variables, there is a sense that no matter what their social networks, migrants share a commonality of experiences in how they negotiate the city. For example, nearly 67% of the migrants interviewed were stopped at least once by the police or the military after arriving in the country, nearly 60% do not have a Section 22 permit, more than 50% have moved between 2 and 4 times since their arrival and the majority do not have full-time employment. Beyond some of the inherent differences between all of these individuals and their diversity of social networks, many of them seem to be living the same types of challenges in Johannesburg. In this perspective, the next series of cross-tabulations will help in demonstrating if indeed the type of social network has a role to play in explaining how migrants negotiate the city or whether there might not be a more significant and overarching ‘migrant experience’. That is, a combination of personal, social, economic and structural factors which might put all migrants on an equal footing with a relatively similar experience of life in Johannesburg, without consideration for personal attributes like their type of social network and their social capital.

The next series of statistical operations look at another aspect of migrants' social networks by using a question that attempted to determine whether the migrants interviewed had relatives or friends living in Johannesburg before they themselves migrated to the city. Responses to this question can give a sense as to how socially deep-rooted or not the migrant is in Johannesburg and how established the migrants close community is in the city.

As Gugler states with regards to rural-to-urban migration:

“Urban-rural networks have a major effect on the migration process. Villagers are well informed about urban opportunities, and indeed about the events that have restricted urban opportunities across Africa over the last generation: increased competition as education expanded, economic crises, and structural adjustment policies that put a heavy burden on the urban population. Migration based on unrealistic expectations is discouraged, and urban unemployment remains circumscribed” (2002: p.26).

This conclusion could be thought to apply as easily to all migrants who know someone close in Johannesburg before arriving, someone who can perhaps guide them and give them a more accurate account of reality in the city and useful tips in order to adapt. I have assumed that those who believe in the strength of dense networks would argue that migrants who know friends or family in Johannesburg before arriving would perhaps have a better ability to adapt to their new environment.

Table 6 below looks at whether having known people in the city before arriving has an incidence on the number of times that migrant has moved. The chi square test (sign. of 0) indicates that this

relationship is statistically significant. For example, of those who did know someone in the city, nearly 20% have never moved. In comparison, those who came to Johannesburg without knowing any close relatives were only 5,8% to always stay at the same residence. At the other end of the spectrum, nearly 28% of those who did not know a family member or a friend before arriving in Johannesburg have moved five times or more, compared with only 17% for those who knew someone.

Table 6 – Reatives/Friends in Joburg before Leaving and Number of Times Moved					
			Relatives/Friends in Joburg before Leaving		Total
			Yes	No	
Number of Times Moved	0	Count	67	15	82
		%	19,60 %	5,80 %	13,70 %
	1	Count	44	41	85
		%	12,90 %	15,90 %	14,20 %
	2	Count	59	49	108
		%	17,30 %	19,00 %	18,00 %
	3	Count	72	52	124
		%	21,10 %	20,20 %	20,70 %
	4	Count	43	31	74
		%	12,60 %	12,00 %	12,30 %
	5 and +	Count	57	70	127
		%	16,70 %	27,10 %	21,20 %
Total		Count	342	258	600
		%	100,00 %	100,00 %	100,00 %

Therefore, this cross-tabulation tends to demonstrate that having friends or family in the city before the migrant's arrival can contribute to their rooting and to their ability to maintain a permanent residence for a longer period of time. One could guess that having family or friends in the city before arriving would ensure migrants better living conditions in cleaner and safer accommodations that were previously found by those who have been there longer. In this sense,

it is safe to assume that knowing relatives or friends, part of a dense social network, before arriving in Johannesburg, positively impacts on their ability to negotiate the city.

However, and contrary to much of what is said with this aspect of migrant experiences and the influence of their social networks², it appears that knowing, or not, a friend or relative before arriving in Johannesburg has no statistically significant impact on the employment status of the migrant. This result is similar to the preceding one when I attempted to analyze whether a migrant's relationship with the people they lived with had an impact on their employment status. The statistical operation between the migrant's work status and whether or not they knew friends or family in the city before they moved indicates a fairly random distribution of cases, which is not influenced by the social networks of migrants.

² "Other factors also contribute to migration, not least the existence of a network of compatriots who can help with work, accommodation and companionship" (Partos [BBC News]: 2006, [online]).

Table 7 – Relatives/Friends in Joburg before Leaving and Current Employment Status					
			Relatives/Friends in Joburg before Leaving		Total
			Yes	No	
Current Employment Status	Unemployed	Count	97	77	174
		%	27,10 %	27,60 %	27,30 %
	Working part-time (formal/informal sector)	Count	32	28	60
		%	8,90 %	10,00 %	9,40 %
	Working full-time (formal/informal sector)	Count	118	83	201
		%	33,00 %	29,70 %	31,60 %
	Casual employment/temporary worker	Count	9	13	22
		%	2,50 %	4,70 %	3,50 %
	Doing casual jobs	Count	52	50	102
		%	14,50 %	17,90 %	16,00 %
	Self-employed (run small business/income generation project)	Count	3	5	8
		%	0,80 %	1,80 %	1,30 %
	Voluntary worker (receive no money)	Count	14	5	19
		%	3,90 %	1,80 %	3,00 %
	Housewife/homemaker	Count	31	13	44
		%	8,70 %	4,70 %	6,90 %
	Other	Count	2	5	7
		%	0,60 %	1,80 %	1,10 %
Total		Count	358	279	637
		%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%

When recoded into two more general categories of full-time or regular employment vs. part-time or irregular employment, it is possible to detect that those with regular employment are somewhat more likely to have known friends or relatives in Johannesburg before moving and, similarly, those without regular work appear to be more likely not to have known friends or relatives in the city before arriving. However, when proceeding with a chi-square test to ensure the validity of these results, it appears that the significance quotient (sign. of 0.071) is somewhat higher than the prescribed norm which limits their validity and hampers our ability to draw conclusions from this test.

This lack of conclusiveness would also tend to signal that all the migrants interviewed face the same series of issues and challenges in gaining employment and that a network of close contacts or weak links don't have an impact on their ability to find a job. This could be explained by the fact that although they might know relatives and friends who have been in the city for a longer period of time, the job market is fairly difficult to access for all migrants, notwithstanding their connections and the amount of time they have been in this area. Similarly, even if a migrant has a series of links with individuals from diverse backgrounds, they may all equally suffer from unemployment and be unable to help each other out. This could certainly indicate a lack of social mobility within the migrant class in the urban setting of Johannesburg and a general lack of opportunity for all migrants.

Another interesting finding, which does not support the general theory that social networks have an impact on how migrants act in a new environment and negotiate their new surroundings, is that knowing someone before arriving in Johannesburg does not have a statistically significant impact on whether or not migrants gain access to a Section 22 permit. Proponents of the utility of dense social networks would believe that those close to the migrant could help him or her gain access to some of the administrative documents necessary, based on their past experiences and their contacts with South African officials. However, the cross-tabulation indicate that there is a random dispersal of permits and that having contact with someone close does not necessarily have an impact on gaining access to this permit (sign. of 0.151). As stated earlier, this finding needs to be understood in the context that not all migrants have asked for such a permit.

Finally, the last statistical test that was attempted using the question relating to whether or not migrants knew a relative or friend already living in Johannesburg before they left their home community looks at if this factor appears to have had an influence on whether or not the migrant has been stopped by the police or the military since arriving in South Africa.

Table 8 - Relatives/Friends in Joburg before Leaving and Having Been Stopped by Military or Police After Entering South Africa					
			Relatives/Friends in Joburg before Leaving		Total
			Yes	No	
Stopped by Military or Police After Entering South Africa	Yes	Count	224	201	425
		%	62,60 %	72,00 %	66,70 %
	No	Count	134	78	212
		%	37,40 %	28,00 %	33,30 %
Total		Count	358	279	637
		%	100,00 %	100,00 %	100,00 %

Analyzing Table 8, we can observe that although a majority of migrants have been stopped by the police or the military, of those that were not stopped, about 63% knew someone before arriving in Johannesburg. This means that to a certain extent, if a migrant knows a friend or relative in Johannesburg before arriving, he or she is somewhat less likely to have a run-in with the law (sign. of 0,012). This finding reinforces the notion that knowing close ones which form a dense social network in the new environment helps migrants in negotiating the city effectively and more generally avoid dangerous situations where they are at risk of being caught or detained by law enforcement officials.

The final series of preliminary cross-tabulations I performed in order to gain a better general understanding of migrant experiences in an urban setting was to focus on the people the migrant

stayed with during their first week in Johannesburg and how this might have influenced their negotiation of the city. The first series of cross-tabulations looks at this question compared with the number of times the migrant has moved since their arrival.

Table 9 - People Stayed With During 1st Week in Joburg and Number of Times Moved								
			People Stayed With During the First Week					
			Friends from South Africa	Friends from country of origin	People I didn't know from country of origin	Members of Pre-Migration Household	Family kin already in South Africa	Other
Number of Times Moved	0	Count	7	22	3	4	48	6
		%	21,21 %	11,40 %	3,10 %	15,38 %	26,00 %	5,45 %
	1	Count	8	30	6	4	31	18
		%	24,24 %	15,54 %	6,20 %	15,38 %	17,00 %	16,47 %
	2	Count	3	31	17	7	35	24
		%	9 %	16,06 %	17,50 %	26,92 %	19,00 %	21,80 %
	3	Count	7	44	23	3	29	25
		%	21,21 %	22,80 %	23,71 %	11,54 %	15,85 %	22,70 %
	4	Count	3	26	19	4	15	9
		%	9 %	13,47 %	19,59 %	15,38 %	8,20 %	8,20 %
	5 and +	Count	5	40	29	4	25	28
		%	15,15 %	20,73 %	29,90 %	15,38 %	13,66 %	25,45 %
Total		Count	33	193	97	26	183	110
		%	100,00 %	100,00 %	100,00 %	100,00 %	100,00 %	100,00 %

If a dense social network was seen as the key to an adequate negotiation of the city, then it would seem logical to expect that those who lived with family and friends during their first week would be less likely to move often, benefiting from greater stability. On the other hand, those who believe in weak social networks would tend to assume that living alone or with strangers would allow the migrant to meet a wide variety of people who could help in providing lodging. The chi-square tests on this cross-tabulation demonstrates that whom the migrant stayed with during their first week in Johannesburg indeed has an impact on the number of times he or she has moved (sig. of 0). For those who have never moved since their arrival, 26% stayed with family and kin already in South Africa. Perhaps this indicates that there have been some family reunifications in

the migratory process, which would explain why they do not move from the first home they arrive to in the city. It certainly indicates at least a minimal level of housing stability for many of those who had close relatives already in the city. In contrast, when looking at those migrants who have moved most often (5 times or more), nearly 30% spent the first week with people they did not know from their country of origin and another 26% spent their first week either in shelters, hostels, hotels or other forms of accommodation (grouped under the ‘other’ category). This would tend to signal that a migrant is far more likely to move if he or she doesn’t know who they are living with in the first few days, irrespective of whether or not the people are from their country of origin or not. This result could be interpreted as highlighting the limits of a dense vs. weak social network dichotomy because even if someone is from the migrant’s home community, it doesn’t necessarily mean that links and cooperation exists. This would mean that the border between dense and weak social networks is vague depending on how close members of the same community are.

The uncertain results and the wide variety of answers provided to the question of whom the migrant stayed with during their first week when I cross-tabulated it with other indicators of the negotiation of the city, motivated me to reclassify it in two broad categories, much in the same way as previous multiple choice questions. The first combines all of the people that can be linked to dense social networks such as family, friends, and members of the country of origin. I decided to add this last group to dense social networks even though previous results might indicate that it is somewhat of an ambiguous category, because of the probable similarities, cultural, economic, linguistic, and political, of migrants coming from the same country or community. The second category is for those who can be categorized as forming weak social ties (friends from South Africa, residing in shelters, hostels, hotels, residences, etc.). Although it does signify a certain

loss in the depth of answers provided by the migrants interviewed, thus limiting the extent to which the conclusions can be generalized, the hope was that this reclassification would nonetheless allow for the emergence of more statistically significant findings.

Table 10 - People Stayed With During 1st Week in Joburg and Number of Times Moved					
			People Stayed With During First Week (recoded)		Total
			Weak ties	Dense ties	
Number of Times Moved	0	Count	5	75	80
		%	4,90 %	15,20 %	13,40 %
	1	Count	14	71	85
		%	13,60 %	14,40 %	14,30 %
	2	Count	20	88	108
		%	19,40 %	17,80 %	18,10 %
	3	Count	25	99	124
		%	24,30 %	20,10 %	20,80 %
	4	Count	10	63	73
		%	9,70 %	12,80 %	12,20 %
	5 and +	Count	29	97	126
		%	28,20 %	19,70 %	21,10 %
	Total	Count	103	493	596
		%	100,00 %	100,00 %	100,00 %

In an analysis of Table 10 with the recoded binary responses to the question touching upon who the migrant stayed with during their first week in Johannesburg, it is possible to confirm the statistically significant relationship (sign. of 0,047) between the number of times the migrant has moved and whether he or she had a dense or weak social network. However, even when recodified, this question does not have a statistically significant impact on migrant's employment status (sign. of 0,485). Similarly, this statistical reclassification did not have an impact on the relationship between whom the migrant stayed with during their first week in Johannesburg and whether they had a Section 22 permit (sign. of 0,138) or had been stopped by the military or the

police since their arrival in South Africa (sign. of 0,332). This question therefore seems to have little perceptible impact on how migrants negotiate the city.

To briefly summarize the general findings of this report so far, it seems that when our findings were statistically relevant, it was possible to make the inference that what can be considered as a dense social network is more favourable for migrants in order for them to negotiate the city of Johannesburg. Those respondents who claim that they have multiple ties with family, friends and other members of their home community are more likely to have avoided some of the caveats associated with this type of immigration in an African urban setting. For example, most migrants that seem to be endowed with a dense social network appear less likely to move often than those who have weak ties. Some findings also lead us to believe that they are somewhat more likely to have a Section 22 permit and are less likely to have been stopped by the police or the military since their arrival in South Africa. Beyond this analysis of the statistical operations that did work, it is also important to take into consideration the numerous cross-tabulations which did not reveal statistically significant results. This can mean that in many cases, social networks do not have an apparent influence on how migrants negotiate the city, or rather that the indicators chosen to evaluate social networks do not correspond to the exact reality of the migrant's daily relationships. In this case, it would be pertinent for any new questionnaire looking into urban migrant's lives in Johannesburg to focus specifically on identifying all of the social relationships they have created in this new environment.

Furthermore, from the description of the group of migrants studied in this research report, from many of the results that were obtained through various series of cross-tabulations and throughout previous descriptive analyses, what seems even more apparent and striking and which perhaps

overarches the importance of the types of social networks in understanding how migrants negotiate the city, is this possibility that there could be one common ‘migrant experience’ in the urban context of Johannesburg. Most of the statistics have demonstrated that migrants, regardless of their apparent social networks, suffer from unemployment, have been stopped by police or the military, do not have a Section 22 permit, etc. These results seem to conclude that despite obvious differences in background (language, nationality, education etc.) and probable differences in some aspects of their daily life, Congolese, Mozambican and Somali migrants in Johannesburg all face a rather similar set of experiences and challenges which modulates their activities within the city. One could suppose that this could have something to do with the reasons that pushed these migrants to travel to Johannesburg: “For poor Africans, compelled to leave their areas of origin when conditions fell below a critical threshold of tolerance, migration in any form is a response to essentially the same underlying factors- the pull of opportunity and the push of abject poverty” (Adepoju: 2006, p. 36). Hence, if these migrants left because of the same push and pull factors, one can assume that they also share some of the same characteristics – poverty for example – which will force them to negotiate the city of Johannesburg in somewhat the same fashion. Another element which could partially explain why it is possible that there might be a common migrant experience in this city is the equal stigma faced by most migrants: “In all South African cities, migrants face many difficulties ranging from discrimination and prejudice to outright violence and intimidation, but the epicentre of anti-immigrant xenophobia is the Greater Johannesburg metropolitan region.” (Murray:2003, p. 441). If all migrants face prejudice and stigmatization in their daily lives in South Africa, one can assume that this has important repercussions on how they negotiate the city and also determines some common challenges they will likely face as outsiders, like finding stable and full-time employment for example.

While an analysis of the general characteristics of the migrant population allows us to arrive at this conclusion, these are only general observations. Specific sections of migrant groups might possibly react differently from one another. In the following section, I have subdivided the 641 migrant respondents of this report according to two different factors, which, according to the literature and past observations, might have an impact on migrant experiences: gender and nationality. The study of gendered experiences of migration in this context will be particularly relevant because it will help confirm whether or not male and female migrants have differences in the way they negotiate the city and their access to a social network. Numerous studies on female migration have tended to demonstrate that this group has different experiences than their male counterparts and also deal with their own particular challenges (Boyd and Grieco: 2003). I have also decided to look at the influence of nationality as a possible factor explaining differences in the types of social networks formed and also in how the migrants negotiate the city. I assume that having three groups of practically the same size coming from three very different African realities can certainly play some role in influencing both the formation of social networks and the negotiation of the state. I have attempted to show some of the similarities and differences between these groups and tried to provide some rationale, based on their national backgrounds and realities, to explain these commonalities and divergences.

Part 3: The Impact of Gender on the Social Networks of Migrants and on their Negotiation of the City

Migration is certainly one of the most altering events in an individual's life. It can have both positive and negative outcomes and can lead to extremely varying levels of integration into the host community and to diverse opportunities. It can be an individual decision or that of an entire household or community. Despite these variations, migration in Southern Africa has nearly always been conceptualized as a male activity, primarily because much of it was done by mine workers. However, with the economic shift towards new industries and the emergence of a new socio-political reality, the dynamics of migration in this region have also changed. It now appears that gender has become an important factor in migration. In fact, according to the best estimates, women are making up an increasing percentage of the total migrant population to South Africa (Dobson: 1998), much as in the rest of the world.

Since the 1990s, there has been an increased focus on the role played by gender in migration because "there is increased awareness of the important role that gender plays in international migration. This reflects the increased proportion of migrant women in all categories alongside increased recognition by scholars and policymakers alike that their experience of migration differs from that of men" (Piper: 2005, p.45). Even though migration can provide these women with an opportunity to escape from their difficult socio-economic conditions and to become more independent, many authors indicate that migrant women are rather vulnerable to being "triply disadvantaged", sharing the same inequalities as male migrants with regards to ethnicity and to being a non-national on top of contending with being of the 'inferior' sex (See: Dobson: 1998, Hugo: 2000, Piper: 2005). Various studies have also demonstrated that female migrants do not access and create social networks in the same way as men (ILO: 2002, [online]; Smith-Lovin and

MacPherson: 1993). They also face specific challenges with regards to social networking. For example, since the role of the woman is often seen as being in the private sphere (at home, with the family) they might not get the same opportunities as men to develop an extended set of social relationships.

In order to ascertain whether or not these differences can also be witnessed within the migrant population of Johannesburg, I have deconstructed some of the analyses that were produced previously to see if there is a significant difference in the way female migrants respond and act as migrants compared to their male counterparts. My hope in this section was to see if social networks appear to work in different ways depending on the sex of the migrant. I also attempted to determine if female migrants had different ways of negotiating the city.

Table 11 - Respondent's Sex According to Country of Birth					
			Respondent's sex		Total
			Male	Female	
Country of Birth	DRC	Count	162	91	253
		%	64,00 %	36,00 %	100,00 %
	Mozambique	Count	102	100	202
		%	50,50 %	49,50 %	100,00 %
	Somalia	Count	142	44	186
		%	76,30 %	23,70 %	100,00 %
Total		Count	406	235	641
		%	63,30 %	36,70 %	100,00 %

Table 11 above provides an overview of the respondent's sex according to their country of birth. I have included this calculation to demonstrate that in some cases, there is a wide dichotomy between the number of male and female migrants interviewed. This is clearly the case in the Somali example where 76% of those interviewed were men and only 23% were women. This can probably be explained by the nature of gender relations within the Somali community; women

are thought to be generally more likely to stay within the confines of the home whereas the men act within the public sphere and take on the role of household leaders, which would make it more likely for them to be the ones to answer the questions of an interviewer. “In Somali society, a man's place is not in the kitchen, and not involved with domestic chores. He is the head of the family, he decides about every matter in the house and the wife listens and obeys. A Somali woman is taught to believe in her position in the house and not complain about the load of domestic work and childcare [...]” (Degni et al.: 20006, [online]).

Looking at whether male and female migrants knew relatives or friends before arriving in Johannesburg is another potentially useful indicator because it can help confirm or demystify a widely-held belief that when it comes to female migration women do not migrate on their own but rather follow their family or meet up with their family: “[...] women’s residential relocation is usually viewed as subservient to male labor market requirements [...]” (Boyle et al.: 2002, p.201)³. According to the answers provided by the migrants interviewed in Table 12, it does appear that female migrants proportionally knew more relatives or friends in Johannesburg before moving.

Table 12 - Relatives/Friends in Joburg before Leaving According Respondent's Sex					
			Respondent's sex		Total
			Male	Female	
Relatives/Friends in Joburg before Leaving	Yes	Count	208	151	359
		%	51,40 %	64,50 %	56,20 %
	No	Count	197	83	280
		%	48,60 %	35,50 %	43,80 %
Total		Count	405	234	639
		%	100,00 %	100,00 %	100,00 %

³ Also see : Gordon and Molho : 1995.

As the table demonstrates, this was the case for nearly 65% of women, compared with only 51% of men. This tends to indicate that although, on the whole, migrants coming to Johannesburg usually know someone close to them in the city before the start of their journey, men are more likely to travel independently, without the support of family or friends at the destination point than women. Male migrant workers are also more common in South Africa, which might help to explain the differences in these results. It could also indicate male migrant's greater ease in moving to a new environment such as Johannesburg where they don't necessarily have ties. From this result, female migration would appear to be more of a family affair than for men.

The types of social networks that female migrants have can also be estimated according to how they answered the question relating to whom they stayed with in their first week in the city. As the following table indicates, female migrants in Johannesburg appear to be endowed with an even denser social network than their male counterparts. For example, a much higher percentage of women (45% vs. 21%) have stayed with family and kin already in South Africa during their first week. In other words, this means that a majority of women are not likely to migrate on their own to a new city where they have no relatives or acquaintances. It also means that once in their new environment, many of these female migrants have as primary relationships people from the same family, background or community.

Table 13 - Stayed With During 1st Week in Joburg According to Respondent's Sex					
			Respondent's sex		Total
			Male	Female	
Stayed With During 1st Wk in Joburg	Friends from South Africa	Count	8	4	12
		%	2,00 %	1,70 %	1,90 %
	Friends from country of origin	Count	137	58	195
		%	34,10 %	25,10 %	30,80 %
	People I didn't know from country of origin	Count	81	33	114
		%	20,10 %	14,30 %	18,00 %
	Members of my pre-flight household	Count	16	7	23
		%	4,00 %	3,00 %	3,60 %
	Family/kin already in South Africa	Count	85	104	189
		%	21,10 %	45,00 %	29,90 %
	Friends from Another Country	Count	7	1	8
		%	1,70 %	0,40 %	1,30 %
	I stayed at a shelter	Count	9	5	14
		%	2,20 %	2,20 %	2,20 %
	I stayed at a hotel	Count	37	6	43
		%	9,20 %	2,60 %	6,80 %
	I stayed at a guest house/lodge	Count	5	3	8
		%	1,20 %	1,30 %	1,30 %
	I stayed at a hostel	Count	3	1	4
		%	0,70 %	0,40 %	0,60 %
	Accom Organised by Organisation of Refugees from Home Countr	Count	2	1	3
		%	0,50%	0,40 %	0,50 %
	Other	Count	12	8	20
		%	3,00%	3,50 %	3,20 %
Total		Count	402	231	633
		%	100,00%	100,00 %	100,00 %

In order to verify if this analysis of female migrant's negotiation of the city is correct, I have studied who these migrant women live with in Johannesburg and whether or not they are more

susceptible of staying with people considered to be part of their dense social network or to have weak ties with the people they live with.

Table 14 - Relation of People Staying with Migrant According to Respondent's Sex					
			Respondent's sex		Total
			Male	Female	
Relation to People Staying With	Friends from SA	Count	6	7	13
		%	1,50 %	3,00 %	2,10 %
	People Not Known From SA	Count	42	27	69
		%	10,50 %	11,60 %	10,90 %
	Friends from Count of Origin	Count	168	65	233
		%	41,90 %	28,00 %	36,80 %
	People Not Known from Count of Origin	Count	59	34	93
		%	14,70 %	14,70 %	14,70 %
	Members of Pre-Mig Hshold	Count	56	49	105
		%	14,00 %	21,10 %	16,60 %
	Family/Kin Already in SA	Count	61	46	107
		%	15,20 %	19,80 %	16,90 %
	At Guest House	Count	1	0	1
		%	0,20 %	0,00 %	0,20 %
	At Hostel	Count	3	1	4
		%	0,70 %	0,40 %	0,60 %
	Staying Alone	Count	5	1	6
		%	1,20 %	0,40 %	0,90 %
	Other	Count	0	2	2
		%	0,00 %	0,90 %	0,30 %
Total		Count	401	232	633
		%	100,00 %	100,00 %	100,00 %

One of the conclusions we can make from an analysis of Table 14 is that male and female migrants' relationships with the people they reside with is rather fairly proportional. Both sexes have responded in similar ways to this question. More specifically, on the female side, it is possible to see that the top three categories are friends from the country of origin (28%), members of the pre-migration household (21,1%) and family and kin already living in South

Africa (19,8%). All of these categories indicate a close relationship with those they live with, thus further reinforcing the notion that female migrants have quite dense social networks. These results appear to be in line with the responses given by male migrants indicating that a majority of both sexes live with people that are close to them.

In brief, according to most of these analyses, female migrants in Johannesburg appear to be more likely than their male counterparts to have a dense social network, even though there is a proportion that still demonstrates that they maintain weak ties. One could assume that the proportion of female migrants with weak ties will increase in upcoming years as female migration becomes ever-more prevalent in the region. Having come to this preliminary conclusion on their social networks, I have then attempted to determine whether this particular characteristic seemed to have any type of repercussion on the way women responded to questions evaluating how they negotiated the city and how this compared to the experiences of male migrants.

Table 15 - Number of Times Moved According to Respondent's Sex					
			Respondent's sex		Total
			Male	Female	
Number of Times Moved	0	Count	49	33	82
		%	13,00 %	14,70 %	13,70 %
	1	Count	47	38	85
		%	12,50 %	17,00 %	14,20 %
	2	Count	70	38	108
		%	18,60 %	17,00 %	18,00 %
	3	Count	75	49	124
		%	19,90 %	21,90 %	20,70 %
	4	Count	50	24	74
		%	13,30 %	10,70 %	12,30 %
	5 and +	Count	85	42	127
		%	22,60 %	18,80 %	21,20 %
Total		Count	376	224	600
		%	100,00 %	100,00 %	100,00 %

Table 15 looks at the number of times moved since the migrants interviewed have arrived in South Africa according to their sex. Of those who have never moved since their arrival, there is a relatively higher percentage of female migrants than male migrants (14,70% of all women interviewed vs. 13% of all men interviewed). Accordingly, of those who have moved 5 times or more, there is a slightly higher percentage of men in this category (22,6% for all men interviewed vs. 18,8% for women). These findings tend to confirm that although overall, most migrants move 1 to 3 times, female migrants are proportionally less likely to move often than men. They can thus be seen as benefiting from greater stability and more ease in negotiating the city. This relative higher stability in the housing conditions of female migrants could also have a positive impact on their safety and also on their vulnerability to being apprehended by law enforcement officials. This is certainly what Table 16 appears to indicate.

Table 16 - Respondents Stopped by Military or Police After Entering South Africa According to their Sex						
			Respondent's sex		Total	
			Male	Female		
Stopped by Military or Police After Entering S. Africa	Yes	Count	301	124	425	
		%	74,70 %	53,00 %	66,70 %	
	No	Count	102	110	212	
		%	25,30 %	47,00 %	33,30 %	
	Total		Count	403	234	637
			%	100,00 %	100,00 %	100,00 %

Even though a majority of migrants, regardless of sex, have been stopped at least once by the South African police or military since their arrival, the relative amount of women stopped is nearly 25% lower than that of men, indicating that migrant women are perhaps less at risk or are less targeted by the police and military. This could be construed as further proof that in certain regards, female migrants are perhaps more effective in their negotiation of the city than their

male counterparts. However, even though these female migrants are less likely of being stopped and have also more permanent housing conditions than male migrants, other factors studied indicate that they still face very important hurdles in their negotiation of the city, even compared to male migrants.

Table 17 - Respondent's Current Employment Status According to their Sex					
			Respondent's sex		Total
			Male	Female	
Current Employment Status	Unemployed	Count	85	89	174
		%	21,10 %	38,00 %	27,30 %
	Working part-time (formal/informal sector)	Count	42	18	60
		%	10,40 %	7,70 %	9,40 %
	Working full-time (formal/informal sector)	Count	148	53	201
		%	36,70 %	22,60 %	31,60 %
	Casual employment/temporary worker	Count	20	2	22
		%	5,00 %	0,90 %	3,50 %
	Doing casual jobs	Count	69	33	102
		%	17,10 %	14,10 %	16,00 %
	Self-employed (run small business/income generation project)	Count	4	4	8
		%	1,00 %	1,70 %	1,30 %
	Voluntary worker (receive no money)	Count	2	17	19
		%	0,50 %	7,30 %	3,00 %
	Housewife/homemaker	Count	28	16	44
		%	6,90 %	6,80 %	6,90 %
	Other	Count	5	2	7
		%	1,20 %	0,90 %	1,10 %
Total		Count	403	234	637
		%	100,00 %	100,00 %	100,00 %

When looking at the employment status of male and female migrants in Johannesburg, it becomes clear that important differences exist in this status depending on the respondent's gender. For example, 21% of male migrants interviewed categorized themselves as being unemployed but nearly twice as many women (38%) signalled to the interviewers that they were

without jobs. In the same way, 36,7% of men said they were working full-time but only 22,6% of women said they were in the same situation. These apparent disparities between men and women with regards to their employment status is certainly relevant because it indicates that although most female migrants seem to possess a denser social network than their male counterparts, it does not mean that this will make them more likely to ensure their livelihoods. It could signal that female migrants' dense social network could in fact leave them relatively isolated and without the possibility to interact with the outside community and negotiate the city in an open and beneficial manner. "Migrant women generally are restricted in cross-gendered exchanges between neighbors and friends because taking favors from unrelated males might threaten their reputations or even lead to sexual exploitation (Menjivar:2000). Migrant women also are limited in forging networks through recreational activities, such as soccer leagues, because these activities tend to be oriented towards men (Hagan: 1998)" (Parrado and Flippen: 2005, p.609). Another interesting finding when looking at male and female migrant's employment status is to see that so few women have categorized themselves as being self-employed, which, according to much of the literature on female migration is often the way they ensure their livelihoods, through trading, shopping and setting up small shops for example. "[...] female migration is to towns and cities offering opportunities for informal sector trade and the procurement of a range of goods and services" (Dobson: 1998, p. 2). It seems that this category was not represented in the group surveyed.

Another factor which can signal a possibly greater difficulty for female migrants to negotiate the city than their male counterparts and which probably indicates a lack of sense of belonging towards their new community is their desire and willingness to fight to defend South Africa. Although 46% of men said they would be willing to defend the Republic, only 36% of female

migrants said the same. Compared to this, 85% of women interviewed (and 92% of male migrants) said they would fight to defend their country or community of origin and nearly 78% (73.6% of male migrants) said they would fight to defend their tribe or ethnic group. These findings, although not measuring any precise action in the migrant's day-to-day activities which are more commonly associated with negotiating the city still provides us with an idea that female migrants do not feel as well integrated or as involved within their new environment. This could be due to the fact that they might be offered fewer opportunities to interact with individuals outside of their dense social network. Women are also traditionally portrayed as having a role mostly within the private sphere of the home and with the family which would leave them with little opportunity for outside interaction and which would have a distorting effect on the way they negotiate the city compared to male migrants.

To summarize this latest section, I have attempted to demonstrate that male and female migrants do not have the exact same types of social networks in Johannesburg. From an analysis of some of the questions pertaining to the migrant's social relationships, it appears that women are more likely than men to live within a network of relationships with people from the same family, background or nationality. Women travelling to Johannesburg on their own or who decide to come to the city without knowing anyone there beforehand are quite rare. That being said, it is also important to remind ourselves that the majority of male migrants also have dense networks, although not with the same level of intensity. Keeping these particularities in mind, it is also possible to observe that female migrants negotiate the city differently than male migrants. They are relatively more likely of staying in the same accommodation once in Johannesburg and they are also less likely of being stopped by the police or the military. However, as a counterweight, more female migrants are unemployed and are much less likely to fight to defend South Africa

than men. My main hypothesis to explain these results is that the separation between the public and the private sphere affects many female migrants in Johannesburg and modulates their negotiation of the city differently than men and has the potential to isolate them from their new community: “The domestic [private] sphere includes all activities organized immediately around the mother or mothers and their children. The public sphere covers all activities outside the bounds of these relationships. The women are identified with the domestic sphere, while the men are identified with the public sphere” (Azmon: 1981, p.550). Female migrants could therefore be seen as having fewer opportunities to widen their social networks than male migrants.

As we can see from this brief analysis on the influence of gender in the formation of migrants’ social networks and more specifically on how men and women seem to negotiate the city of Johannesburg differently, it is important to take into consideration transcending factors which might affect migrants in different ways according to particular characteristics. Although the broader statistical testing seemed to tell the story of one common migrant experience, this idea is somewhat diluted and nuanced when taking a closer look at the situation of migration through a gendered lens. Our preliminary finding that denser social networks are more useful to negotiate the city must also be qualified because it cannot be perfectly applicable to the case of female migrants. In the following pages, I have looked at another possibly transcending factor which might have an impact on how migrants negotiate the city: their nationality.

PART 4: THE IMPACT OF NATIONALITY ON THE SOCIAL NETWORKS OF MIGRANTS AND THEIR NEGOTIATION OF THE CITY

Public perceptions of migrants in Johannesburg often vary according to their nationalities. In general, these perceptions appear to be overwhelmingly negative with each nationality seen as representing a particular set of characteristics, attributes and, in many cases, problems. “By casually associating Zimbabweans with bank robberies and home break-ins, Mozambicans with gun running, and Nigerians with drug trafficking, South Africans stamp immigrant communities with an essence (Danso and McDonald: 2000). Claims, whether substantiated or not, that link immigrants with criminality contribute to a climate of hostility and distrust [...]” (Murray: 2003, pp.453-454). As explained previously, the following section of this research report will look at the differences in the responses given to the questionnaire by a sample of Somali, Congolese and Mozambican migrants in order to analyze whether they seem to have the same types of social networks and the same experiences in their negotiation of the city. Although not all of the characteristics that are usually associated with these nationalities have been taken into account (such as language, religion, and ethnicity), I have attempted to provide some preliminary explanations to try and determine why these three groups appear to have slightly different migrant experiences in such an urban setting. Structural elements such as the proximity of the country of origin to South Africa and historical particularities (war, famine, etc.) have also been kept in mind while analyzing these results.

Of the more than 600 migrants that were interviewed as part of the *Migration and the New African City* initiative, 253 were from the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), 202 were from Mozambique and 186 were from Somalia. These three countries belong to the sub-Saharan African region and have suffered from the negative impacts of war and poverty. However, much

also sets them apart, in geographic, social, cultural, economic and political terms. It is principally for this reason that one could rather safely suppose that migrants arriving in Johannesburg from these three areas of the world would have very different migrant experiences. One could also legitimately expect that all of these differences would mean that migrants from these three nationalities would have relatively diverse social relationships and networks.

Table 18 - Relation of People Staying with Migrant According to Country of Birth						
			Country of Birth			Total
			DRC	Mozambique	Somalia	
Relation of People Staying With Migrant	Friends from SA	Count	7	4	2	13
		%	2,80 %	2,00 %	1,10 %	2,10 %
	People Not Known From SA	Count	15	27	27	69
		%	6,10 %	13,40 %	14,60 %	10,90 %
	Friends from Count of Origin	Count	120	60	53	233
		%	48,60 %	29,90 %	28,60 %	36,80 %
	People Not Known from Count of Origin	Count	18	30	45	93
		%	7,30 %	14,90 %	24,30 %	14,70 %
	Members of Pre-Mig Hshold	Count	14	70	21	105
		%	5,70 %	34,80 %	11,40 %	16,60 %
	Family/Kin Already in SA	Count	68	4	35	107
		%	27,50 %	2,00 %	18,90 %	16,90 %
	At Guest House	Count	0	1	0	1
		%	0,00 %	0,50 %	0,00 %	0,20 %
	At Hostel	Count	0	4	0	4
		%	0,00 %	2,00 %	0,00 %	0,60 %
	Staying Alone	Count	5	0	1	6
		%	2,00 %	0,00 %	0,50 %	0,90 %
	Other	Count	0	1	1	2
		%	0,00 %	0,50 %	0,50 %	0,30 %
Total		Count	247	201	185	633
		%	100,00 %	100,00 %	100,00 %	100,00 %

Table 18 above has categorized the respondent's answers to the question touching upon their relationship with the people they are staying with, according to their nationality. What is

primarily visible is that the highest percentages for all three nationalities, are in those categories associated with dense social networks (friends from country of origin, members of pre-migration household, people not known from the country of origin). It thus seems that migrants from the DRC, Mozambique and Somalia all follow the trend of heavily relying upon a network of relationships composed of close contacts and individuals from the same background. Also when analyzing this chart, it appears that the migrants from the DRC are the ones that are most likely to stay with close relations as nearly 50% of this group responded that they were staying with friends from their country of origin. In order to obtain a clearer picture of the situation, I have recoded this table as in previous examples so as to regroup the social relationships into two broader categories: dense social ties and weak social ties.

Table 19- Relation of People Staying With Migrant According to Country of Birth						
			Country of Birth			Total
			DRC	Mozambique	Somalia	
Relation of People Staying with Migrant	Weak ties	Count	27	37	31	95
		%	10,90 %	18,40 %	16,80 %	15,00 %
	Dense ties	Count	220	164	154	538
		%	89,10 %	81,60 %	83,20 %	85,00 %
	Total	Count	247	201	185	633
		%	100,00 %	100,00 %	100,00 %	100,00 %

From this reclassification, we can observe that 89,1% of DRC migrants appear to have close ties with the people they are living with compared with nearly as high a percentage of Mozambican and Somali migrants who have answered the same (81,6% and 83,2% respectively).

Therefore, from this first analysis, I have come to the supposition that all migrant groups, irrespective of nationality, maintain a majority of dense social networks with Congolese migrants most susceptible to having these close ties in the city. I have attempted to determine if this

preliminary finding held true when analyzing other aspects of migrant's social networks according to their nationality.

Table 20 - Relatives/Friends in Joburg before Leaving According to Country of Birth						
			Country of Birth			Total
			DRC	Mozambique	Somalia	
Relatives/Friends in Joburg before Leaving	Yes	Count	139	148	72	359
		%	55,20 %	73,60 %	38,70 %	56,20 %
	No	Count	113	53	114	280
		%	44,80 %	26,40 %	61,30 %	43,80 %
Total		Count	252	201	186	639
		%	100,00 %	100,00 %	100,00 %	100,00 %

The portrait of these three national group's social networks changes somewhat when I analyzed whether or not they knew relatives of friends in Johannesburg before leaving their home country. A majority of Congolese migrants (55,2%), and an important majority of Mozambican migrants (73,6%), have reported that they knew such people before they started their journey to Johannesburg. However, a much smaller percentage of Somali migrants (38, 7%) had relatives or friends in the city before their arrival. This would tend to indicate that Somali migrants living in the city are, in many cases, the first of their family or of their original network to migrate to Johannesburg and that they have migrated without a network of close contacts at their ultimate destination point. From this finding it appears that networks of family and friends of Somali migrants do not seem as well established as with their Congolese and Mozambican counterparts. In order to provide more clarity to this apparent particularity of the Somali migrant social network, I have analyzed where the migrants, based on their nationalities, stayed during their first week in the city.

Table 21 - Stayed With During 1st Wk in Joburg According to Country of Birth						
			Country of Birth			Total
			DRC	Mozambique	Somalia	
Stayed With During 1st Wk in Joburg	Friends from South Africa	Count	7	3	2	12
		%	2,80 %	1,50 %	1,10 %	1,90 %
	Friends from country of origin	Count	104	63	28	195
		%	41,80 %	31,80 %	15,10 %	30,80 %
	People I didn't know from country of origin	Count	17	22	75	114
		%	6,80 %	11,10 %	40,30 %	18,00 %
	Members of my pre-flight household	Count	4	14	5	23
		%	1,60 %	7,10 %	2,70 %	3,60 %
	Family/kin already in South Africa	Count	85	81	23	189
		%	34,10 %	40,90 %	12,40 %	29,90 %
	Friends from Another Country	Count	7	1	0	8
		%	2,80 %	0,50 %	0,00 %	1,30 %
	I stayed at a shelter	Count	5	4	5	14
		%	2,00 %	2,00 %	2,70 %	2,20 %
	I stayed at a hotel	Count	2	1	40	43
		%	0,80 %	0,50 %	21,50 %	6,80 %
	I stayed at a guest house/lodge	Count	3	2	3	8
		%	1,20 %	1,00 %	1,60 %	1,30 %
	I stayed at a hostel	Count	0	3	1	4
		%	0,00 %	1,50 %	0,50 %	0,60 %
	Accom Organised by Organisation of Refugees from Home Countr	Count	3	0	0	3
		%	1,20 %	0,00 %	0,00 %	0,50 %
	Other	Count	12	4	4	20
		%	4,80 %	2,00 %	2,20 %	3,20 %
Total		Count	249	198	186	633
		%	100,00 %	100,00 %	100,00 %	100,00 %

As can be seen from Table 21, Congolese and Mozambican migrants have fairly corresponding results when comes times to analyze the percentage of whom stayed with friends from their country of origin (41,8% and 31,8% respectively) and those who stayed with family and kin already residing in South Africa (34,1% and 40,9% respectively) during their first week. Compared with these results, only 15,1% of Somali migrants stayed with friends from their country of origin and only 12,4% stayed with family and kin already in South Africa during their first week. It seems that although Somali migrants still have dense social networks like their counterparts, these dense networks are of another nature, being more heavily based on sharing a common nationality or coming from the same community rather than knowing one another personally. For example, 40,3% of Somali migrants said they spent their first week with people from their home country but these were not people they knew. Comparatively, only 6,8% of the Congolese and 11,1% of the Mozambicans interviewed responded the same. This result could signal that although many Somali migrants do not have personal and intimate contacts (family, friends) before arriving in Johannesburg and even once they have settled in the city, there is still a sense of national cohesion, cooperation and organization from which they can benefit. This is not clearly visible in the statistics for the other migrant communities. There might thus be a greater sense of common identity and community within the national Somali migrant community than with the other two groups studied. The same pattern seems to emerge when I analyzed who the migrants worked for on arrival in the city.

Table 22 - Type of Person Worked for on Arrival According to Country of Birth						
			Country of Birth			Total
			DRC	Mozambique	Somalia	
Type of Person Worked for on Arrival	Ref/Mig of Same Tribe	Count	15	30	50	95
		%	11,90 %	22,60 %	50,00 %	26,50 %
	Ref/Mig of Another Tribe from C of O	Count	15	23	6	44
		%	11,90 %	17,30 %	6,00 %	12,30 %
	Ref/Mig from other C of O	Count	25	13	0	38
		%	19,80 %	9,80 %	0,00 %	10,60 %
	South African of Same Tribe	Count	5	6	0	11
		%	4,00 %	4,50 %	0,00 %	3,10 %
	South African Different Tribe	Count	43	32	24	99
		%	34,10 %	24,10 %	24,00 %	27,60 %
	Other	Count	8	5	3	16
		%	6,30 %	3,80 %	3,00 %	4,50 %
	Didn't Work on Arrival	Count	7	22	5	34
		%	5,60 %	16,50 %	5,00 %	9,50 %

The outstanding figure from Table 22 is that 50% of all Somalis worked for refugees or migrants from the same tribe upon arrival, compared with 11,9% for the Congolese and 22,6% for the Mozambicans. This would seem to support the notion that there is a sense of solidarity and support among the larger Somali network. In comparison, most Congolese seem to work for others: 34,1% worked for South Africans from different tribes and 19,8% for refugees or migrants from another country of origin. The Mozambicans appear to be somewhere in the middle, 24,1% stating they worked for South Africans from different tribes, 22,6% worked for refugees or migrants from the same tribe and 17,3% for refugees or migrants from another tribe in the country of origin.

If all of these findings are accurate, it could have an impact on the way members of these three communities differently approach their negotiation of the city. If there is indeed a greater community spirit within the Somali migrant group, one could assume that these migrants have a wider array of potential contacts to rely upon in order to ensure their livelihoods, gain access to housing and find positive outcomes to other aspects of their daily life in this city. Congolese and Mozambican migrants, if they are indeed limited in the support they receive within their dense network to their immediate friends and family members, might have greater difficulties in negotiating the city. If this analysis is correct, it essentially means that there are different layers of dense social networks; the immediate core of the family, friends and people the migrants know from their community of origin. Then there would be an outer-circle of members from the same community, ethnic group or country, but that the migrant wouldn't know personally. From the different findings that were discovered between the experiences of the migrants from the three communities, it doesn't seem to be automatic that migrants from all nationalities can rely upon this outer-circle of dense network contacts, even if they do share some of the same characteristics.

It could also mean that the Somali migrant community, within their dense social networks, organizes itself along different lines than the other two groups. With the collapse of the state structure and apparatus in their home country (Besteman: 1996) and the rise of a clan-based political organization, it could be possible that Somali migrants in Johannesburg also network amongst themselves along clan lines: "The need to reformulate the Somali 'imagined identity', particularly acute in the context of social and political dissolution in Somalia, is compounded in the case of Somali refugees. In this sense clanship, as an element of 'traditional' social structure, can be regarded as a focal point for renegotiation of identity for those living in exile" (Griffiths:

1997, p. 5). Therefore, having identified that Congolese, Mozambican and Somali migrants all appear to have dense social networks but that it is used somewhat differently by the Somali group, I have then proceeded to analyze how these three national groups react to different indicators relating to their negotiation of the city.

Table 23 - Number of Times Moved According to Country of Birth						
			Country of Birth			Total
			DRC	Mozambique	Somalia	
Number of Times Moved	0	Count	40	31	11	82
		%	16,20 %	16,50 %	6,70 %	13,70 %
	1	Count	42	29	14	85
		%	17,00 %	15,40 %	8,50 %	14,20 %
	2	Count	49	39	20	108
		%	19,80 %	20,70 %	12,10 %	18,00 %
	3	Count	36	43	45	124
		%	14,60 %	22,90 %	27,30 %	20,70 %
	4	Count	26	24	24	74
		%	10,50 %	12,80 %	14,50 %	12,30 %
	5 and +	Count	54	22	51	127
		%	21,90 %	11,70 %	30,90 %	21,20 %
Total		Count	247	188	165	600
		%	100,00 %	100,00 %	100,00 %	100,00 %

With regards to the number of times they have moved since arriving in Johannesburg, both the Congolese and the Mozambican migrants appear to have a fairly similar pattern of relocation: around 16% have never moved and around 36% have moved once or twice in each case. The results start to differ when we look at those who have moved 5 times or more: the Congolese migrants are nearly twice as likely to move that often compared to the Mozambicans (21,9% vs. 11,7% respectively). It would thus appear the Congolese are more likely to move often from one accommodation to another than the Mozambicans. The results of the Somali migrants vary greatly from the other two. Very few (6,7%) of Somalis have never moved, perhaps because such a high percentage did not stay with family or friends in their first week in Johannesburg.

Migrants from Somalia are also the ones that are most likely (30,9%) to have moved 5 times or more since their arrival. It would therefore seem that although they depend on members of their community they do not necessarily know, it does not mean that Somali migrants have more stability when it comes to finding housing and an adequate place to stay. This result might indicate that the support received by Somali migrants from distant members of their community is rather temporary in nature and cannot be counted upon indefinitely.

An analysis of the employment situation of the migrant groups in question also reveals some interesting and insightful findings.

Table 24 - Current Employment Status According to Country of Birth						
			Country of Birth			Total
			DRC	Mozambique	Somalia	
Current Employment Status	Unemployed	Count	102	16	56	174
		%	40,60 %	8,00 %	30,10 %	27,30 %
	Working part-time (formal/informal sector)	Count	26	15	19	60
		%	10,40 %	7,50 %	10,20 %	9,40 %
	Working full-time (formal/informal sector)	Count	56	86	59	201
		%	22,30 %	43,00 %	31,70 %	31,60 %
	Casual employment/temporary worker	Count	14	4	4	22
		%	5,60 %	2,00 %	2,20 %	3,50 %
	Doing casual jobs	Count	28	41	33	102
		%	11,20 %	20,50 %	17,70 %	16,00 %
	Self-employed (run small business/income generation project)	Count	0	1	7	8
		%	0,00 %	0,50 %	3,80 %	1,30 %
	Voluntary worker (receive no money)	Count	6	10	3	19
		%	2,40 %	5,00 %	1,60 %	3,00 %
	Housewife/homemaker	Count	14	26	4	44
		%	5,60 %	13,00 %	2,20 %	6,90 %
	Other	Count	5	1	1	7
		%	2,00 %	0,50 %	0,50 %	1,10 %
Total		Count	251	200	186	637
		%	100,00 %	100,00 %	100,00 %	100,00 %

Of the three nationalities studied in this research report, it appears that the Congolese migrants are those with the least enviable employment situation. 40,6% categorize themselves as being unemployed, with a further 10,4% only working part-time, and about 15% more being casually employed or being temporary workers. Somewhat unexpectedly, Somali migrants also have a very high unemployment rate (30,1%), with 10,2% working part-time and nearly 20% being casually employed or being temporary workers. Of the three groups, the Mozambicans appear to be the best off with regards to employment: 43% describe themselves as working full-time and only 8% say they are unemployed. Although the fact that a majority of migrants from all three groups are not working full-time is not surprising in itself considering the prevailing economic conditions in Johannesburg, it is unexpected to see that so many Somali migrants do not benefit from steady jobs. As the findings from the previous pages seemed to indicate, there was a tendency for the Somali group to have links with people from their community that they did not necessarily know very well. Many migrants indicated that they stayed with these people even if they were not close. It also seemed that Somali migrants were more likely to work for people from their group of origin. It could therefore have been easily assumed that the help provided to Somali migrants by their extended dense social network would also be applicable to finding employment. The findings in Table 25 do not support this affirmation. Although there might be a greater sense of a 'Somali community' within that migrant group, it does not appear to have a positive impact on their chances to get employed. This finding would certainly seem to limit the influence that this extended social network can have on a migrant's ability to negotiate the city. In comparison, Mozambican migrants who seemed, in previous analyses, to mostly foster a network of dense social ties with people they knew, seem to be the ones with the most advantageous economic situation in this case. One possible explanation for this finding is the

amount of time that this community has been in South Africa and also the proximity of their home country to Johannesburg which must favour some types of employment such as trading: “The supply of goods to formal sector outlets by informal sector traders appears to be particularly important in Mozambique [...]. These traders are largely self-employed entrepreneurs, but there is a small cohort employed to purchase and carry goods for individuals and formal sector shops” (Peberdy and Rogerson: 2000, p.30).

Another indication that Mozambican migrants might generally be the ones that have most adequately negotiated the city of Johannesburg comes from an analysis of those who have been stopped by the military or the police at least once since their arrival.

Table 25 - Stopped by Military or Police After Entering South Africa According to Country of Birth						
			Country of Birth			Total
			DRC	Mozambique	Somalia	
Stopped by Military or Police After Entering S. Africa	Yes	Count	177	116	132	425
		%	70,50 %	58,00 %	71,00 %	66,70 %
	No	Count	74	84	54	212
		%	29,50 %	42,00 %	29,00 %	33,30 %
	Total	Count	251	200	186	637
		%	100,00 %	100,00 %	100,00 %	100,00 %

As the table above seems to demonstrate, of the three nationalities studied in this research report, it is the Mozambicans that are the least likely to be stopped by police. Although a substantial number of them (58%) have been controlled at least once by law enforcement officials, it is proportionally about 12% less than with the Congolese (70,5%) and Somali (71%) experiences. This could signify that Mozambican migrants are less at risk or less exposed to being arrested. It can also indicate that they have a better capacity of understanding and following the rules and

regulations within the city. The fact that many of them arrived in the mid-1980s compared with the relatively later arrival of Congolese migrants (Steinberg: 2005) could also be a factor explaining their experiences in negotiating the city. Having been in Johannesburg for some time, they could have learned and adapted to the realities of the city, so as to avoid controls and situations of vulnerability in general.

Although the Mozambican migrant community seems to have had the most success in negotiating the city of Johannesburg, this does not seem to have had an impact on their sense of belonging to their new community. According to the results to the question pertaining to whether the respondents would be willing to fight to defend South Africa, only 31,5% of Mozambicans said yes, on par with the Somali group (32,2%). Surprisingly, it is the Congolese migrants that would be most likely to fight to defend the Republic (60,2%). These results would tend to indicate that relative levels of success in negotiating the city do not signify a greater attachment to the host community.

To summarize, this analysis of the impact that a migrant's nationality can have on their social networks and on their negotiation of the city allows one to believe that nationality and what it entails does in fact play a role in shaping the migrant experience in Johannesburg. Although it remains that a majority of migrants, regardless of their nationality, appear to share many experiences in common, I have detected some variations in the responses obtained which might signal more important differences within these communities.

For example, the findings seem to indicate that out of the three nationalities, it is the Congolese migrants that have the densest social networks of family and friends and who are most likely to

stay with family and friends once in the city. The Somali migrant contingent, in comparison, was the group that was most likely not to know family or friends before arriving in the city. It also appears that these migrants can depend on members of their community of origin without necessarily knowing them personally. These findings did seem to imply that Somali migrants have somewhat of a different rapport with members of their dense social network, having fewer close contacts with family and friends but being able to count on some support from an extended group of individuals from the same country. However, both the Congolese and Somali communities suffer from high unemployment rates and are likely to have been stopped. Finally, from the responses to some of the indicators relating to the negotiation of the city, it appears that the Mozambicans are the most likely to have full-time employment and are least likely to have been stopped by the police or the military, two demonstrations that they appear to have successfully learned to adapt to Johannesburg.

The question thus arises as to why the Mozambicans appear to be the most likely national group to effectively negotiate the city of Johannesburg. This warrants another look at the pattern of responses the Mozambicans gave to questions relating to their social networks. Going back to Table 18, it is possible to notice that Mozambicans have the highest rate of respondents saying that they are staying with members of their pre-migration household. Also noteworthy is the fact that Mozambicans had the highest percentage of positive responses when asked whether they knew relatives or friends in Johannesburg before leaving (73,6%). Finally, as can be observed in Table 21, 40,9% of Mozambicans stayed with family or kin already in South Africa during their first week. These three different results can lead one to suspect that Mozambicans coming to Johannesburg have very close, often familial, ties and networks with relatives who are already in the city. It could also indicate that many Mozambican migrants coming to Johannesburg are

doing so for the purpose of being reunited with their families already living in the city.

Extrapolating further, one could assume that the migratory networks of Mozambicans living in Johannesburg and the channels between Mozambique and South Africa are quite well-established. “Migrant networks are sets of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants, and nonmigrants in origin and destination areas through ties of kinship, friendship and shared community origin. They increase the likelihood of international movement because they lower the costs and risks of movement and increase the expected net returns to migration” (Massey et al. : 1993, p. 35). This could be the case in the example that interests us here. Further inspection of the Mozambican migrant experience in Johannesburg would certainly provide interesting findings for a future project.

CONCLUSION: GRANOVETTER'S ARGUMENT REVISITED, POSSIBLE CONCLUSIONS AND NEXT STEPS

As stated at the beginning of this research report, basing myself on Granovetter's argument that weak social ties were perhaps the best asset someone can have in terms of social capital, I hypothesized that applied to the reality of migration in sub-Saharan Africa, migrants that demonstrated having these weak ties in Johannesburg would have more success in negotiating the city and adapting to their new environment. The theoretical justification for such a position was that having relationships with a wide assortment of individuals from diverse backgrounds would provide the migrant with numerous opportunities and a wide range of knowledge useful in negotiating and overcoming some of the difficulties associated with migrating to a new urban environment. "[...] social systems [such as the one in which urban migrants live in Johannesburg] lacking in weak ties will be fragmented and incoherent. New ideas will spread slowly, scientific endeavors will be handicapped, and subgroups separated by race, ethnicity, geography, or other characteristics will have difficulty reaching a *modus vivendi*" (Granovetter: 1983, p.202). Hence, weak ties could also be considered as more useful than a dense social network comprised of the family, friends and other members of the community of origin, because it connects migrants with the outside world and ensures that he or she does not remain isolated within the confines of the community of origin with the impossibility of evolving based on new ideas. In a sense, having a multitude of weak ties opens doors towards new opportunities and new currents.

This initial hypothesis was clearly put into doubt when the first statistical operations performed outlined what can be considered as a strong majority of migrants who appear to live in

Johannesburg within a dense social network. Therefore, even if Granovetter's arguments were accurate in the world of migration studies, its application would nevertheless remain quite limited to the few migrant cases that appear to function outside of a more traditional dense network of social relationships.

However, beyond the simple fact that the majority of migrants interviewed in this study do not seem to have weak social networks, the statistically significant conclusions that we obtained do not seem to support this theory. The cross-tabulations that were performed between indicators of social relationships and indicators of the negotiation of the city have demonstrated, for those cases where a relationship was shown to exist, that those migrants who appeared to be the most successful in their negotiation of the city were also the ones that seemed to have the support of their family, friends and members of their community or country of origin. For example, those migrants with dense social networks appear less likely to have moved often since their arrival in Johannesburg. I have speculated that having this propensity to stay in one accommodation for a longer period of time gives the migrants in question a better chance to get an adequate understanding of their surroundings and how their new social structure functions. I have further hypothesized that staying for a longer period of time in one place also indicates that the migrant is in a safer, less vulnerable and more hospitable living environment than one who has been regularly on the move since their arrival. In some cases, migrants with denser social networks also appear to have more success in obtaining Section 22 permits which allows them to get at least a formal official recognition of their status and which provides them, in theory, with some rights and obligations which can be put to some use in negotiating the city of Johannesburg.

However, in my view, what has emerged as being more conclusive and potentially telling from the first section of this research report is that the migrants social networks did not appear to have any statistically significant impact on important elements of their daily lives which I would have intuitively believed to be influenced by the migrant's network and which is often portrayed as being so as a matter of fact. The best example in this case is that of the migrant's employment status. It was impossible to tell if migrants were more or less at risk of being unemployed depending on their social networks. It seems that all face the same difficulties and challenges in finding employment, probably a signal of the harsh economic reality of urban Johannesburg for non-nationals and its overriding influence on their ability to find full-time work. In a similar way, a migrant's social network doesn't appear to have an immediate influence on the likelihood of them being stopped by the police or the military at least once since their arrival in South Africa. This could also mean that beyond the influence of social networks exists a reality faced by all migrants which puts them at risk of being stopped by law-enforcement officials and of being unemployed.

These findings have prompted me to conclude that beyond the impact and possible influence of social networks, one also needs to look at other, perhaps broader, factors in order to explain how migrants negotiate the city in certain ways and what challenges they face. For example, the harshness of the economic situation of migrants and of their employment status, and the apparent lack of influence of social networks, must be considered within the broader economic reality of South Africa whereby unemployment rates are estimated to be around 30% (see: City of Johannesburg, [online]). Being stopped by the police and the military regardless of the migrant's social networks is perhaps more of a sign of the general repressive nature of the South African law-enforcement regime towards migrants than an indication of the influence of networks.

These ‘non-findings’ seem to indicate that more overarching factors are at play in modulating migrant experiences. Combined with the fact that migrants often tended to respond similarly to the questions studied in this research report, these elements have lead me to believe that, generally speaking, migrants in Johannesburg have similar experiences in creating their social networks, in negotiating the city and in adapting to their new environment. For example, from the indicators that were considered in the preceding pages, it can be assumed that a vast majority of those migrants interviewed have dense social networks, a majority being in contact with family members, friends or members of their community while in Johannesburg. A majority were stopped by the police or the military, have moved more than once, do not have regular employment, do not have a section 22 permit, and would not fight to defend South Africa. The fact that it was possible to come up with some clear majorities in the responses given to questions relating to migrant’s social networks and to their negotiation of the city reinforces the idea that migrants in Johannesburg, in general terms, live in similar conditions, face common challenges and find ways to negotiate the city according to the specific and unique types of social, economic, political forces they are all living under.

In order to push this analysis somewhat further, I then proceeded to analyze the experiences of female migrants compared to their male counterparts and then to look at migrant experiences according to their nationalities.

From the results obtained, it now appears that a closer investigation of the survey results according to the sex and the nationality of the respondents was in order because it allowed to highlight what appears to be specific variations and nuances in both the creation of social networks and in the negotiation of the city.

Firstly, with regards to the gender analysis that was performed, the findings tend to indicate that women have denser social networks than men, being more likely to know someone close in Johannesburg before moving themselves and also being more likely to reside with family, close friends and other members of their dense social networks. Taken in juxtaposition with these results, it appears that female migrants are less likely to have moved often since their arrival in Johannesburg and are also less likely to have been stopped by the police or the military since their arrival. These should be two indicators of a positive negotiation of the city by female migrants. However, other factors taken into consideration seem to counter-balance this view, as female migrants seem to be more affected by unemployment than their male counterparts and also seem less likely to fight to defend South Africa. I have attempted to link this dichotomy of responses with the notion of a gendered division of the public and the private sphere whereby the woman's role is often considered to be in the private sphere of the home and family and the man is in the public sphere of economic activity, politics and interactions with the outside community. This could perhaps explain why women are somewhat less likely to move, considering that many seem to migrate when members of their family have already settled and found appropriate housing. Being limited to the sphere of the family and the home would also make female migrants less susceptible to being stopped. However, as appears to have transpired in the statistics, this division could also potentially make it difficult for them to interact with the outside community, especially beyond their dense networks, to find employment opportunities and also to develop a certain sense of belonging for Johannesburg. I certainly believe that future research on female migrants experiences in Johannesburg through the lens of a private-public divide could provide some interesting revelations as to their techniques for negotiating the city and the particular challenges they face.

With regards to the results of the comparative analysis of the responses given by the three migrant national groups, it appears that a majority from all of these groups have dense social networks. However, despite this overall similarity, it seems that migrants within these three national groups have different types of dense social networks. For example, the Mozambicans were the ones that were most likely to know relatives or friends before arriving in Johannesburg. In contrast, members of the Somali community seemed more inclined to have relationships with people from their community of origin that they did not know previously, thus perhaps indicating another type of organization and cooperation within the broader Somali community, based on other factors such as belonging to the same tribe or clan. With regards to their negotiation of the city, it was also possible to detect apparent differences between the three nationalities.

Mozambicans seemed to be the group most capable of negotiating the city, suffering the least from unemployment and also being the least likely of being stopped by the police or the military since their arrival. This could perhaps be linked with the long-standing historical migration of this group to South Africa and also the fact that a majority of these migrants knew close relatives before arriving themselves, a possible signal of well-established migration routes and networks. An interesting finding indicated that out of the three groups, the Somalis were the most likely to work for members of their tribe or ethnic group which could perhaps indicate a continuing relationship between these migrants and what I would coin their outer dense network, to identify those that share common bonds with the migrant but who are not necessarily a family member or a close friend. The tests performed on indicators of their negotiation of the city also demonstrates that Congolese migrants have higher unemployment rates than the two other groups but that this does not affect negatively their desire to fight to defend South Africa as twice as many Congolese respondents said they would be willing to defend the Republic compared to their Somali and

Mozambican counterparts. This would tend to indicate a certain sense of allegiance or of belonging with their new environment, despite the difficult conditions in which they operate.

A review of these results and of the apparent links and limits of migrants' social networks and their negotiation of the city undoubtedly brings up the question of their significance, their generalizability and their impact on our understanding of migration issues.

I believe that the results of this research report are quite significant in that they can firstly dispel the belief that weak social ties are particularly useful in order to adapt to a new environment and to negotiate the city. At the very basic level of negotiating the city and ensuring their survival, these types of links do not appear to be primordial. It is possible to ascertain that this is at least the case for the migrant groups interviewed in Johannesburg. This research report therefore reemphasizes the relative importance for migrants of having family members, friends and relatives with them in their new environment in order to bring support and cooperation. It is also significant to see that there are actually very few migrants that had a corresponding weak ties network. Therefore, even if it were possible to apply Granovetter's theory to migration issues, it would be quite limited because of the few actual cases in reality where this type of network can be observed with migrants. These results are also significant in that they made it possible to discern slight differences in the social networks of male and female migrants and tie these in with their differences in negotiating the city. In the same way, it was possible to discern some of the particularities of migrants from each of the nationalities studied. I also believe that this study has produced significant results because it has highlighted that in general, migrants in Johannesburg have many of the same characteristics in common, whether it be the types of social networks they are in and also the ways they negotiate the city and the challenges they face. Related to this

finding and only briefly raised in the previous pages is the idea, and distinct possibility, that there are actually quite larger structural factors (political, social, economic) which all migrants in Johannesburg must deal with which influences how they negotiate the city. Looking at the impact of xenophobia or of the economic downturn on how migrants negotiate the city could undoubtedly provide further layers of analyses on which to build from this research report.

Secondly, with regards to the generalizability of these results, I believe it is important to reiterate that just like for any study based on findings originating from a secondary data analysis and which does not have a perfectly random selection of respondents, there are inherent limits to our ability to apply the results to the entire migrant population. Although there was a strong desire to make the *Migration and the New African City* initiative questionnaire as random and representative as possible (Annex A), one cannot underestimate the inherent difficulties in getting an accurate picture of the situation of migrants in an urban context like the one in Johannesburg. Therefore, the results obtained in this research report are significant and timely in that they give an interpretation of what a certain diversity of the migrant population is living in an urban context. It is a useful snapshot on which one can build to produce more data and findings on the realities of urban migrants in this part of the world. However, these findings cannot be taken to represent the exact reality of migrants elsewhere in the world. Beyond the statistical impossibility of doing so, one must also take into account the very unique environment of Johannesburg as a rich, multicultural and profoundly unequal African city that has recently emerged from a long period of racial segregation. It is also neighboured by countries each undergoing a unique set of transformations which is affecting the amount and type of people migrating to the city. Hence, although this research report can help provide understanding into the new dynamics of urban migration, it must be taken as only one part of a broader picture.

In closing, I believe that this research report has been able to give a sense of the influence of social networks on how migrants negotiate the city but also outline some of the limitations of looking only at a migrant's relationships to explain how he or she acts within this new urban environment. In order to gain a clearer understanding of a migrant's life, their interactions with others and their adaptation within an urban context, a complete study of all aspects of their lives would be necessary. Hopefully, the preceding pages will help in building part of this overall picture and help the research community better understand how migrants negotiate the city.

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ANNEXE A: FURTHER DETAILS OF THE STUDY

Migration and the New African City: Citizenship, Transnationalism, and Territorial Sovereignty

Objectives of the Initiative

Set within the context of the increased move towards urbanization that is being witnessed on the African continent, the objective of the Migration and the New African City Initiative is to “gather and analyze a range of data addressing significant gaps in our understanding of Africa’s migration and changing urban realities” (Jacobsen and Landau, [online]). After a first survey conducted on 750 people in 2003, the Initiative broadened its scope three years later (2006) in order to take a snapshot of migrant realities in the varying urban contexts of four African cities (Johannesburg, Maputo, Nairobi and Lubumbashi).

Methodology

With regards to the Johannesburg segment of the survey, 800 individuals were interviewed, 200 from each migrant population studied (Congolese, Mozambican and Somali) and 200 South Africans which would serve as a control group – one from which migrant experiences could be compared.

One of the preliminary difficulties was to find where these groups of migrants resided and how to gain access to them. As a solution, Vigneswaran explains that “building on previous survey conducted in 2003 and consultations with key informants, we developed a schematic picture of where migrants tended to live in highest concentration” (2007).

Having established a specific set of migrant neighbourhoods which they would focus on, the surveyors then used data from Statistics South Africa to sub-divide these neighbourhoods into ‘Enumerator Areas’ which were estimated to contain about 10 000 residents each. They then randomly selected the Enumerator Areas where they would survey the population. Within these selected areas, another random selection was made in order to select the individuals that would be interviewed. Thus, although the sampling framework was unknown, the surveyors tried to proceed as randomly as possible through these two random selection processes.

Challenges

The mobility of the migrant communities and the inherent difficulties in tracing groups of individuals in an urban context were certainly two of the biggest challenges for surveyors. Access was also an issue, both for people living in high-rise buildings and in gated communities. Some migrants were also afraid that the surveyors in fact represented the government. Finally, it also appeared that some of the areas that were selected did not correspond to those parts of the city where migrant communities lived.

Value of the Survey

Despite the numerous methodological challenges faced throughout the survey, the inability to fully generalize the results and the possible flaws in the conclusions, it still remains a very relevant data source in order to understand migrant realities. The data provides an interesting snapshot of migrant realities in an urban context. This data is also replicable and comparable, among migrants studied but also among cities. Furthermore, as Jacobsen and Landau argue “Our comparison with a South African ‘control’ group allows us to make causal inferences – linking citizenship with various experiences- that would have remained only speculative had we focused exclusively on migrants. Our inclusion of South Africans also allows us to explore both sides of interactive phenomena: economic and social exchange, processes of integration and assimilation, and xenophobia” (2003, p.18).

ANNEXE B: A SELECTION OF STATISTICAL OPERATIONS PERFORMED

ANNEXE C: QUESTIONNAIRE