Networks in the New Democracy:
Internal Migration and Social Networks in South Africa

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South Africa has undergone dramatic social change over the last two decades with the ending of the *apartheid* system of brutal oppression and racial segregation. The impact of this social change has been particularly pronounced for black South Africans[1], as they were the most disadvantaged group during the *apartheid* era, and they remain the most disadvantaged today. Yet they also have a great potential benefit from the new freedom and democracy, especially the new freedom of movement. Historically, migration has played a key role in social and political change in South Africa, so it is a particularly appropriate social lens through which to view this changing society.

This paper will examine the change in rural-urban migration patterns and determinants for black Africans from the *apartheid* era to the post-*apartheid* era. In this project, *social networks* are the relationships or social ties between individuals and groups, particularly the connections between migrants and their families, friends, communities, and neighbors in both their places of origin and their destinations. The study will use multivariate event history analysis of nationally representative survey data to examine the patterns and demographic, economic, political, and social determinants— including social networks—of black African internal migration.

The remainder of this draft preliminary paper is organized as follows. First, it presents the motivations for the research, a brief historical background of how migration is related to social change in South Africa, and the conceptual model which frames the research. Then it briefly reviews the associated theoretical and substantive literatures. Next it describes the key research questions and hypotheses regarding the changing patterns and determinants of migration. A description of the data and methodological approach of the research follows. Although results are not yet available, full and comprehensive results (this paper is part of a larger dissertation) will be complete in time

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[1] Note: I use the terms blacks and black Africans here as they are still the most common terms used in South Africa for the racial and social grouping that is actually an incredibly diverse population.

for the April 2008 PAA meetings. Finally, it explains the contributions of the research to understanding migration and social networks in South Africa and more broadly.

<u>Research Motivations</u>

There are two main motivations behind the research. First, there is a need for better empirical evidence about historical patterns of black migration in South Africa. Extant quantitative data sources include: census data—which was quite biased against blacks, because of political and racial discrimination—and small-scale surveys, which cannot give information about the whole national population. Both types of sources are also generally lacking in a longer-term historical perspective or life-course perspective on migration patterns (Kok and Collinson 2006; Kok et al. 2003; Posel 2003a). The survey data for this project, which come from the 1999-2000 South African Migration and Health Survey (conducted by Brown University, the University of Pretoria, and the Human Sciences Research Council) are nationally representative for the black population. The survey contains detailed life histories of migration and social networks, and will give better evidence about historical patterns and also help to answer the question: Did migration patterns really change after apartheid ended? Although the conventional wisdom was that state-led labor control and segregation policies were the only drivers of migration during *apartheid*, individual agency still persisted in the face of this. Likewise, during the new democratic era, complete freedom of movement is expected, but the legacies of *apartheid* and barriers to movement remain. Teasing out the real patterns using better data is a key goal of this dissertation.

Second, there is a dearth of research on internal migration and social networks. Despite the increasing interest by researchers and policy makers alike in the potential of international migration and transnational networks as an engine for development (Guarnizo 2003; Gammeltoft 2002; Nyberg-Sorenson et al. 2002; Landolt 2001), knowledge of internal migration and social networks remains scarce (Korinek et al. 2005; Davis et al. 2002; Gugler 1991). South Africa offers a unique, yet exemplary case for studying the relationship between internal migration and development. In an influential article, Seidman (1999) argues that while the context of *apartheid* previously made South Africa seem like an outlier, after the democratic revolution it seems more like a potential

example. This is particularly true for understanding the linkage between migration and social networks because of the deep connections between the system of labor control and migration patterns and the stagnation of local black networks and development during the *apartheid* era. Understanding how these linkages might relate to current migration patterns and the role of migrant networks in South Africa might serve as an example for other countries that are emerging from societal upheaval and conflict and trying to chart a course of development. This paper will contribute to the research on internal migration and social networks while also illuminating the potential role of internal migrant networks in local development.

A Brief History of Migration in South Africa

As in many societies, migration—as a driver for the interaction of different social groups—has played a key role in social change in South Africa from the earliest times. Migration was an importance force in the formation of two of the most important modern social and political groups in South Africa—black Africans and Afrikaners. First, beginning in A.D. 300 with the migratory "drift" of Bantu-speaking peoples into the region, the interaction of these peoples with the Khoi and San peoples already living in the region led to more permanent settlements and farming and the creation of more complex political units (Thompson 2000). The Bantu speakers were the ancestors of most of today's black South African population.

Second, by the 15th century, European settlers had arrived and began to explore and colonize Southern Africa. The Dutch established Cape Colony—present-day Cape Town—in the 1600s, but they continually struggled over the territory with the British, who ultimately came to control the colony (Thompson 2000; Ross 1999). By the 1820s, the Zulu kingdom under Shaka's rule had consolidated power over much of present-day southeastern South Africa, but tensions with other groups erupted into war and ultimately the *Mfecane*. This was a war which led to the forced migration (and slaughter and famine) of much of the population of the area (Thompson 2000). The emptying of this territory would have important consequences.

By the 1830s, about 6,000 Dutch settlers, or Afrikaners, became unhappy with British rule and migrated north from Cape Colony to found their own state. Because of

the *Mfecane*, they assumed that much of the territory was uninhabited and established themselves there as pioneers (Thompson 2000; Ross 1999). These were the ancestors of the Afrikaner Nationalists who later came to power in the 20th century.

The antecedents of the *apartheid* system also relate to migration patterns. The discovery of diamonds and gold in South Africa in the late 19th century was the catalyst driving the development of a racialized migrant labor system in the mines—the forerunner of the "labor control" system of the 20th century. The system segregated workers by race and required black African workers to carry passes and live separately from their families (Thompson 2000; Packard 1989). Formal segregation laws and the creation of so-called "native" reserves quickly followed in the early 20th century (Ross 1999).

In 1948, the Afrikaner Nationalists came to power and implemented the system known as *apartheid*, which was ultimately a racialized labor control and migration system. Labor control kept black South Africans—the labor pool—confined to areas known as homelands, which were supposedly (but not actually) autonomous "nations" within South Africa. In this way, black South Africans became like foreign guest workers in their own country (Packard 1989). Black men were brought out of the homelands on labor recruitment contracts to work in the mines or factories of South Africa, while their families remained confined to the homelands.

In the 1960s, the state's use of migration as a policy became even more draconian in the form of forced migration. Many blacks who had remained in urban areas were forced from their homes into satellite suburbs of cities—known as townships—where they had to endure long bus rides to work (Platzky and Walker 1985; Desmond 1971). Under *apartheid*, all black Africans had to carry identity passes (Thompson 2000; Ross 1999). The system was called labor control because it was the way in which the white minority ruling class maintained control over the black majority working class. There is some anecdotal evidence, however, that beginning in the 1970s, some blacks fought the system and moved their families with them to the townships (Wolpe 1988).

Following decades of political struggle, the dismantling of *apartheid* in the late 1980s and early 1990s led to a new era of freedom and democracy. This was particularly marked by the 1994 free and democratic election, which was won by the African

National Congress (ANC), the party of Nelson Mandela and other Africans who had opposed the Afrikaner government (Thompson 2000). Now there is theoretically free movement, yet the legacies of *apartheid* remain in the spatial and economic distribution of the population and in the migration patterns as well.

Although historical trends are difficult to ascertain given the poor quality of data, it is possible to take a look at shorter-term trends using census and national survey data. Posel (2003) finds that between 1993 and 1999, internal labor migration has actually increased slightly, rather than declined as expected, and that rural households with a migrant worker outside the house were increasingly likely to receive remittances over this time period. Both of these trends suggest that despite black South Africans' new freedom to move permanently and as a family unit, temporary and circular migration is not abating as a household economic strategy. Other authors (Kok and Collinson 2006; Kok et al. 2003) have come to similar conclusions. To better understand the potential implications of changes or perpetuations of migration patterns in South Africa, it is crucial to understand how different migration processes, as understood by migration theorists, interact with one another.

Migration and Social Networks: A Conceptual Model

The conceptual model that guides this paper thus hinges on the key relationship between the ending of *apartheid*, the labor control system ending, and the new freedom of movement. The model is shown in Figure 1. It is important to note that this model, although it seems rather static, in fact represents a dynamic historical and social process. The model begins with the ending of *apartheid*; it is difficult to set an exact date as democratization was a long process, but for the purposes of the model, it is set at 1994, the year of the first free election.

Once *apartheid* ended and the black majority was elected to power in 1994, the labor control system also ended and black South Africans were finally free to move into cities, thus the link to increased freedom of movement and an increase in urbanization. Good statistics are scarce, however, so the amount of increase in rural to urban migration is contested (Cox et al. 2004). Freedom of movement also has other implications, including: a potential increase in family migration (because families were previously

separated by the labor control system), a potential increase in female migration (because of new labor opportunities for women and the end of the labor control system), and a potential diversification of both origins and destinations (because state control over the migratory flows declined). The analysis will attempt to assess these changes and illuminate the links between the end of *apartheid*, the end of labor control, and the increased freedom of movement and urbanization.

Increased freedom of movement and urbanization also connect to social networks and social institutions. Here social networks are the relationships or social ties between individuals and groups, particularly connections between migrants and their families, friends, communities, and neighbors in both places of origin and destination. Social institutions may include families, communities, neighborhoods, churches, burial societies, labor unions, *stokvels* (savings associations), community gardens, and a myriad of other community organizations. Clearly, as shown in the model, social networks and social institutions may overlap.

Social networks and institutions can facilitate and perpetuate migration by providing potential migrants and migrants with information about destinations, help in obtaining housing and jobs, and other financial and social support. Yet social networks and institutions can also serve as social support mechanisms for others in migrants' networks through maintaining connections to origin communities. Remittances, or money sent by migrants to their families and communities, can help with costs of living or even be used for local development projects, such as building schools, sports fields, or clinics. Local social institutions, such as churches or other community organizations, sometimes serve as organizers of remittance sending, and may provide other types of social and economic support to both migrants and the families they leave behind (Levitt 2003, 2001; Chafetz and Ebaugh 2002; Al-Ali et al. 2001a, 2001b). Since these relationships between social networks and social institutions (which can be closely linked) and migration are bi-directional, a two-way arrow is shown on the model linking social networks/institutions and freedom of movement.

Local social networks and social institutions were particularly strained for black South Africans under the *apartheid* regime, because one of its goals was to divide the black community. It tried to do this by keeping black families apart (through the labor

control system) and by banning political and community support organizations to prevent political organization and mobilization (Thompson 2000). Yet the black community showed signs of resiliency despite this oppression. In fact, the resiliency of banned political organizations like the African National Congress (ANC) (which won the first democratic election in 1994 and is still the party in power), ultimately led to the downfall of the Afrikaner government. Still, as the model indicates, one would expect that increased freedom of movement will have a positive impact on the strength of social networks and institutions, which in turn will support further migration.

Although much of the literature suggests that urbanization can have a negative impact on traditional social networks, there are other positive aspects of increasing urbanization, which is associated with rising education and development levels. Urbanization might increase the diversity of actors within individuals' social networks (Lindstrom and Muñoz-Franco 2005; Kiros and White 2004). Thus, it might have either positive or negative effects on the strength of social ties and local institutions. It is also important to recognize that urbanization is still a different experience for blacks in South Africa compared to the rest of the population. While the country is about 56% urban overall, only 47% of black Africans live in urban areas, but over 85% of other South Africans do (Kok and Collinson 2006).

Ultimately, all of these processes—particularly the relationship between migration and social networks and institutions—are related to local development, as cooperation through social ties and institutions can advance development. Unfortunately, there is little available quantitative data to assess the developmental impact of migrant remittances, information, and connections on families and communities. Yet ultimately, this paper will point to new research directions for understanding the linkages between internal migrant social networks and community development (e.g., funding education, housing improvements, or other infrastructural or human capital improvements for individual families).

Theoretical Framework

Migration as a historical process of social change in South Africa exists at the juncture where six different theoretical literatures, or three pairs of literatures, intersect:

1) internal and international migration, 2) forced and labor migration, and 3) social networks and development. These are bodies of research both for framing empirical knowledge regarding migration and development in South Africa itself, but also for understanding how different theoretical literatures can be brought together to further migration theory, using the South African case as a model.

In light of these historical circumstances and the theoretical linkages, South Africa offers a unique, yet exemplary case for studying the relationship between migration and development. In an influential sociological article, Seidman (1999) argues that while the context of *apartheid* previously made South Africa seem like an outlier, after the democratic revolution it seems more like a potential example. This is particularly true for understanding the linkage between migration and development because of the deep connections between the system of labor control and migration patterns and the stagnation of local black development during the *apartheid* era. Understanding how these linkages might relate to current migration patterns and the role of migrant networks in local development processes in South Africa might serve as an example for other countries that are emerging from societal upheaval and conflict and trying to chart a course of development.

Linking the literatures on internal migration and international migration, forced migration and labor migration, and migration and social networks and development in the historical context of South Africa has the potential to contribute to the broader theoretical and substantive literatures on migration and development. Although social science researchers and policy makers have been increasingly looking at the relationships between international migration, transnational networks and development, there are still few studies of the links between internal migration, social networks and development in transitioning societies. Examining the South African case will help to expand transnational theories to encompass similar processes fueled by internal migration and networks. By exploring changing historical migration patterns in South Africa as they relate to processes of internal versus international and labor versus forced migration, the case can also suggest theoretical directions for linking research on various types of migration. It will particularly help to clarify the way that different migration types relate to the roles of structural constraints versus individual agency in the process

of migration. Migration is a key driver of social change, so finally, this case will also contribute to the theoretical understanding of the potential transformational power of human mobility for social and economic development, particularly in the region of Africa.

Internal and International Migration

Although the migration processes themselves often share many similarities, researchers looking at internal migration and researchers examining international migration rarely connect with one another. Perhaps this is because of the very different types of data that these researchers use, or perhaps it is because of the primacy of policy concerns in international migration research, but the processes are linked in many parts of the world (Skeldon 2006, 1997). Yet researchers continue to pursue the study of these two linked phenomena in isolation from one another.

In the South African case, they should learn to integrate their knowledge, particularly in light of a historical migration experience during *apartheid*. What should have been internal migration was actually something more like international migration. During *apartheid*, black Africans were required to carry identity passes, borders of the homelands and townships (and mobility in general) were strictly enforced, labor migration was controlled through labor recruitment processes and dormitories for workers at the mines and factories, and black Africans were generally treated like guest workers in their own land. Since the democratic revolution, black Africans have been free to move within the country and labor control has ended. Although this history is unique, South Africa is not the only country where one type of migration has turned into another. Skeldon (2006) suggests that political changes often bring about changes in borders and migration regulations, resulting in a legal or definitional change for many migrants. Many migrants who were previously internal migrants in the Soviet Union, for example, are now international migrants moving between former Soviet republics.

By examining the historical patterns and determinants of migration in South Africa, this paper will not only improve our empirical knowledge of these patterns in this particular country, but can also help us to better understand the similarities and differences between internal and international migration more broadly. It is well known that internal and international migration often share similar demographic and socio-

economic patterns. For example, the typical age pattern of migration holds across many different (but not all) contexts; younger people are generally more mobile than older ones. Migrant selectivity holds for both internal and international migration in many contexts as well, particularly with reference to migrants' educational attainment.

But what about other patterns of migration? How do gender, household and family migration strategies, shifts in the job market (e.g., from formal to informal), and other factors relate to internal and international migration? The freedom of movement that now exists, which could be thought of as a shift from an international to an internal migration regime also has other implications. One might expect to see an increase in family migration, because families were previously separated by the labor control system, but now are free to move together (Posel 2003). Likewise, one might hypothesize that there would be an increase in female migration, because the labor market is more open (and less driven by the mining industry flows) (Posel 2003). The *apartheid* system promoted gender segregation in addition to racial segregation (by keeping many women in rural areas while men migrated for employment in the mines and factories). The end of labor control might also portent the diversification of both origins and destinations for migrants as flows are freed up and new developments drive migration flows (Cox et al. 2004).

The evidence regarding these changes is mixed and of poor quality. Thus far it seems that the end of *apartheid* has definitely led to some changes in migration patterns (such as the increase in female migration and the diversification of origins and destinations), but that other expected changes have not occurred (such as the increase in permanent family migration). Understanding what happened after the "borders" were opened—in other words, what happened after international migration flows became internal migration flows in South Africa—requires further analysis.

Forced and Labor Migration

The second pair of literatures that are brought together in the South African case are forced migration and labor (or voluntary) migration. Again, these are two bodies of research that rarely communicate with one another, but that might have much to learn if they did. Forced migration is assumed to be mainly the product of political processes like war, conflict, and persecution. Yet the line can quickly blur between who is a refugee

and who is an economic migrant, particularly in Africa where many political refugees also face dire economic circumstances.

By separating forced migrants from other migrants, researchers create both methodological and ethical problems. The methodological problem is caused by the fact that migration is rarely either completely forced or voluntary, so determining who is a forced migrant and who is a labor migrant is difficult to measure, so one must often resort to the fuzzy device of the continuum. Ethically, it causes researchers to categorize forced migrants as those without agency (as they are at the opposite end of the spectrum from so-called voluntary migrants). This is, of course, not only not true, but ethically indefensible (Turton 2003a, 2003b).

A fuller understanding of migration writ broad would encompass both "forced" and "voluntary" migration flows together. Although we know that what causes a refugee or internally displaced person to move is generally conflict or persecution, there are other determinants that are more closely related to patterns observed for labor migration. For example, forced migrants are often young, just like labor migrants. The elderly often stay behind during times of crisis. And if there is some freedom of choice in terms of where refugees or displaced persons can move to, they are much more likely to go somewhere where they can find work than to an economically depressed area. The processes of forced and labor migration are more linked than researchers admit. And particularly in the case of South Africa, where the complex system of labor control and forced removals of people from their homes fed a labor migration stream, the delineation between forced migration and labor migration is incredibly blurred.

Despite the harsh reality of labor control, many migrants and their households maintained autonomy and resisted the labor migrancy system, or molded it to their own purposes. Individual agency persisted in the face of state control, even as forced removals and the creation of so-called homelands created the equivalent to huge refugee camps within South Africa (Rogerson 1995). Linking the theoretical literature on forced migration and refugees with the theoretical literature on labor migration drawing upon the South African historical context, one might further explore how migrations of all types are linked and how political and social change lead to continuations of and transformations of different migration patterns. Did the end of *apartheid* mean a

transformation from a forced migration regime to a free labor migration regime, or is it more complicated than that? What are the spatial legacies of forced migration processes and how do they shape migration patterns in South Africa today? Perhaps South Africa as a post-conflict country can also give some insight into changing migration patterns in other African countries emerging from conflict.

Social Networks and Development

The final pair of literatures that are important to link are those on migration and social networks and development. This is also related to the intersection of the internal and international migration literatures, because of the recent interest in international migration and transnational networks as a force for economic and social development. Much of this research has focused on migrant communities in the United States, who send remittances to their home countries in Latin America (Nyberg-Sorenson et al. 2002; Levitt 2001; Massey et al. 1994). International agencies and national governments increasingly view remittances as a potential engine for local and national development (Gammeltoft 2002). Despite the increasing interest by researchers and policy makers alike in the potential of international migration and transnational networks as an engine for development (Guarnizo 2003; Gammeltoft 2002; Nyberg-Sorenson et al. 2002; Landolt 2001), knowledge of internal migration, social networks and their potential role in development remains under-studied. The relatively few studies that do exist on internal migration and social networks rarely try to understand the relationship of these networks to development processes (Korinek et al. 2005; Davis et al. 2002; Gugler 1991). This is particularly true in Africa.

Social networks are the relationships or social ties between individuals and groups, particularly connections between migrants and their families, friends, communities, and neighbors in both places of origin and destination. Social institutions may include families, communities, neighborhoods, churches, burial societies, labor unions, *stokvels* (savings associations) and a myriad of other community organizations. Social networks and institutions can facilitate and perpetuate migration by providing potential migrants and migrants with information about destinations, help in obtaining housing and jobs, and other financial and social support. Yet social networks and

institutions can also serve as social support mechanisms for others in migrants' networks through maintaining connections to origin communities.

Remittances, or money sent by migrants to their families and communities, can help with costs of living or even be used for local development projects, such as building schools, sports fields, or clinics. Local social institutions, such as churches or other community organizations, sometimes serve as organizers of remittance sending, and may provide other types of social and economic support to both migrants and the families they leave behind (Levitt 2003, 2001; Chafetz and Ebaugh 2002; Al-Ali et al. 2001a, 2001b).

Local social networks and social institutions were particularly strained for black South Africans under the *apartheid* regime, because one of its goals was to divide the black community. It tried to do this by keeping black families apart (through the labor control system) and by banning political and community support organizations to prevent political organization and mobilization (Thompson 2000). Yet the black community showed signs of resiliency despite this oppression. In fact, the resiliency of banned political organizations like the African National Congress (ANC) (which won the first democratic election in 1994 and is still the party in power), ultimately led to the downfall of the Afrikaner government.

Still, the labor control system and harsh conditions of *apartheid* probably placed a great strain on black social networks. Although social networks may have played some role in migration processes, and of course, many migrants maintained social ties with the rural homelands and sent remittances, migration was driven by labor control and recruitment and social ties were likely weaker in the face of state control. With increased freedom of movement and the shifting of the labor market from labor recruitment to a freer market, one might expect migrants' social networks and social institutions to strengthen. It is also possible that social networks may now play a greater role in the migration process and for the possibilities of migrant networks and remittances to be used for local development to be greater.

South Africa is also urbanizing rapidly in the wake of *apartheid* (Kok and Collinson 2006). Although much of the literature suggests that urbanization can have a negative impact on traditional social networks, there are other positive aspects of increasing urbanization, which is associated with rising education and development

levels. Urbanization might increase the diversity of actors within individuals' social networks (Lindstrom and Muñoz-Franco 2005; Kiros and White 2004). Thus, it might have either positive or negative effects on the strength of migrants' social ties and local institutions. It is also important to recognize that urbanization is still a different experience for blacks in South Africa compared to the rest of the population. While the country is about 56% urban overall, only 47% of black Africans live in urban areas, but over 85% of other South Africans do (Kok and Collinson 2006). Thus, while the white, Indian, and colored populations are almost entirely urbanized, the black population will be driving future urbanization trends in South Africa and migration to cities is likely to be a major force in this.

In the years immediately following the democratic revolution, some analysts suggested that rural areas in South Africa might become "forgotten places" on the migration research agenda as they became "abandoned places" in reality (Rogerson 1995). It is not at all clear, however, that this will happen. Evidence of continuing patterns of circular migration (Posel 2003) suggests that rural areas maintain importance in the lives of many South Africans. Linkages between urban and rural areas will be maintained through social network ties and social institutional connections. But what do these connections imply for local and national development processes in South Africa?

The stagnation of national development during *apartheid* and the suppression of local black development were transformed by the ANC government into ambitious plans for local and national development. Yet South Africa has high unemployment levels, vast structural inequalities and one of the highest HIV rates in the world (World Bank 2006). Can internal migrants and their remittances play a role in local development? By exploring the relationships between internal migration, social networks, and development, we can better understand the potential role of internal migrants in development processes—particularly in challenging development settings like South Africa. We can also learn whether or not transnational processes of remittances and development driven by migration are mirrored by similar processes related to internal migration.

<u>Research Questions and Hypotheses</u>

The research questions and associated hypotheses for this study fall into two categories: migration patterns and determinants, and links between migration, social networks and development.

Patterns and Determinants of Migration

The first set of research questions and hypotheses has to do with migration patterns and determinants. In light of the historical context and the previous findings in the key research literatures, the study asks:

- **How have patterns of internal migration changed *and* persevered since democratization?**

- **How have the determinants of internal migration changed *and* persevered since democratization?**

The second research question looks at both: individual demographic, social and economic determinants; and community and state-level socioeconomic and political determinants. Again, remember that this paper will focus on changes for black African internal migrants. Based on the literature, one would expect that:

- **Rural-urban migration has increased since democratization.**

One would expect that rural-urban migration would have increased with the end of labor control. In addition, South Africa is in an advancing stage of urbanization, which would also lead to an expected increase in rural to urban migration, in line with Zelinsky's mobility transition hypothesis (Zelinsky 1971). It is possible that this change might have begun earlier or later, but there is no good evidence to currently support this. Note, however, that there is some empirical evidence in the post-1994 literature to contradict this (Cox et al. 2004), but there is no good historical evidence, so this study will use event history analysis to elucidate the true pattern.

- **Female-only and family migration has increased since democratization.**

The end of labor control would also lead to the expectation that family migration would increase, as families are now free to move as a unit together. In addition, there are new labor opportunities for women in increasing service industries, so family and female-only migration would be expected to increase. There is some evidence in post-1994 data regarding this (Posel 2003b), but again, there is no data to compare historical

patterns, so this analysis will help to clarify the true patterns. There was also an expectation among some analysts that after *apartheid* ended, circular and temporary migration would decline because of the ability for families to move together. Several studies, however, have found evidence of continuing strong patterns of circular and temporary migration (Kok and Collinson 2006; Cox et al. 2004; Posel 2003a, 2003b).

- **The types of migrant origins and destinations have diversified since democratization.**

    One might expect that migrant origins and destinations will have diversified both because of new freedom of movements and new economic developments in different parts of the country following the end of apartheid and the advancing stage of urbanization (with increasing numbers of smaller urban centers). Yet the traditional urban poles of Johannesburg, Cape Town and Durban will also probably still be significant draws for migrants (Cox et al. 2004). However, levels of economic development in various communities (and of course any changes in these levels over time) may also affect levels of in- and out-migration.

- **The role of social networks in facilitating migration has increased since democratization.**

    Social networks were part of the determinants of migration in the *apartheid* era. Nevertheless, one would expect that the end of the labor control system and the importance of labor recruitment (as well as the declining importance of the mining industry as the South African economy transforms) will lead to the increased importance of social networks as a determinant of internal migration for black South Africans. On the other hand, one might also expect that social networks might have become saturated or overburdened several years after democratization, as more migrants flooded the networks.

Migration and Social Networks

    The second set of research questions and hypotheses has to do with the relationships between migration and social networks. Based on the historical context and the associated research literatures, they ask:

- **How do migrants create and maintain social network ties in their destinations and origins?**

- **How do community institutions facilitate or hinder migrant social networks?**
- **What is the role of social ties in facilitating economic and social development?**

    Based on the literature, one would expect that:

- **Migrants will first accept help from social networks, and then begin to remit.**

    One would expect that social networks will first serve to facilitate the migration process, by providing migrants with information about destinations, helping with locating housing and employment, and giving at least temporary financial assistance, for example. Yet migration and social networks have a bi-directional relationship. Thus one would also expect to find that, after a period of time, migrants will stop drawing on social networks and start contributing more. This is particularly the case in terms of remitting money back to their social networks in rural areas and also helping to support others in the social network within their destinations (Levitt 2001).

- **Remittance behavior and the strength of social ties will vary according to individual and community characteristics.**

    There are a number of characteristics that may affect the strength of migrants' social ties and associated remittance behavior. One might expect that migrants from larger families would have stronger social ties and might try to remit higher levels of money. There is also evidence from the literature that women may remit more than men (Curran and Rivero-Fuentes 2003; Silvey and Elmhirst 2003). Migrants with better-paying occupations may also remit more. Finally, if migrants have stronger social ties with other community members (such as members of the origin community living in the destination) they may feel pressures to remit more and maintain ties with their rural areas.

- **Social networks and institutions will both support and constrain migrants**.

    Along these same lines, following the literature on so-called "positive" and "negative" social capital (Portes 1995; Portes and Sensenbrenner 1993), migrants will receive support from their social networks and community institutions, but they may also feel constrained by them. Migrants may feel obligated to maintain social ties with rural areas and pressured to send remittances because of social pressures from their families in rural areas and from others from their rural communities who are living in their destination neighborhoods (Silvey and Elmhirst 2003). So-called negative social capital,

in which networks are exclusionary or burdensome is another theme to be investigated further.

- **Migrants belonging to origin-based associations will have stronger ties to their rural communities.**

Likewise, one might expect that migrants who belong to origin-based community organizations will maintain stronger ties to their rural origin communities. The institutionalization of social ties may lead to stronger and more organized connections with the rural community, but this is not necessarily only positive. Along with this better organization, there may also be increased pressure to remit and contribute to the organization if the migrant is involved with a rural-origin association (Levitt 2001; Al-Ali et al. 2001a, 2001b). It remains to be seen, however, how important these associations are, particularly as better communications through cell phones and electronic mail have become widely available in recent years.

Data and Methods

This paper will analyze data from the 1999-2000 South African Migration and Health Survey. This survey, conducted by Brown University, the University of Pretoria, and the Human Sciences Research Council of South Africa, is nationally representative for the adult black population (age 18 and older) of South Africa (Population Studies and Training Center et al. 2002). The survey contains very rich lifetime migration histories for all respondents, including information about social ties and social support in both origin and destination communities, and remittances. The data have never been fully analyzed, yet they promise to give new insights into historical changes in migration patterns and determinants and the relationships between migration, social networks, and remittances. Descriptive statistics and multivariate event history analyses will be conducted with the survey data using STATA 9.0/SE statistical software.

Variables and Measurement

The data to be used for the quantitative analysis come from the South African Migration and Health Survey, which was collected from November 1999-March 2000. A national sample of the black South African population 18 years or older was used, drawn from three primary strata independently: a) metropolitan areas, b) other urban areas, and

c) rural area. Approximately 800 respondents were sampled from each of the three locality strata, resulting in a total sample size of about 2,400 persons. Twenty primary sampling units (PSUs)—based on the 1996 Census assignments of either transitional local councils (TLCs) or transitional rural councils (TRCs)—were randomly selected, and four enumerator areas (EAs) were randomly selected in each PSU. From each selected EA, 11 households were randomly selected and one adult respondent per household was randomly selected to be interviewed. The questionnaires included a variety of basic demographic and other information, plus detailed lifetime migration histories and related information regarding social networks and remittances (Population Studies and Training Center et al. 2002). **Table 1** shows some descriptive characteristics of the sample for migrants (ever moved during their lifetimes) versus non-migrants.   Over 63 percent of the sample (1,413 persons) moved at least once during their lifetime. Those born in rural areas are more likely to have moved, with almost 77 percent of them having moved at least once. Only 46 percnet of the urban-born have moved at least once.

Further descriptive statistics will be tabulated and analyzed for many of the key variables to be used in the multivariate analysis. Population weights will be used to estimate statistics at the national level. Migration is, of course, the key variable. First, moves of all types (rural-urban, rural-rural, urban-rural, and urban-urban) will be tabulated by province in a migration matrix. All moves will be examined, as well as moves tabulated by different historical decades to explore time trends in migration patterns. Moves will also be tabulated by basic demographic characteristics, including age, gender, occupation, education, family size, race, and ethnicity. In addition, migration will be tabulated according to reason for moves by different types of moves and by historical period. It should be possible to estimate numbers of forced removals as well as other types of moves (e.g., labor recruitment moves, family moves, etc.). Average length of moves will also be calculated and I will also try to tabulate temporary and circular types of migration as possible.

Other descriptive statistics to be tabulated and analyzed from the survey data include:

- Tabulations of lifetime migrants vs. non-migrants by various demographic and geographic characteristics (e.g., age, gender, race, ethnicity, education, occupation, family size, province) and by time period;

- Tabulations of various social network variables for migrants, including:

- Whether or not they received information about the destination before arrival and from whom;

- Whether or not they received assistance with finding housing and employment in the destination and from whom;

- Whether or not they received financial assistance in the destination and from whom; and

- Whether or not they are members of origin-based community organizations in the destination; and

- Percentages of migrants who send remittances, as well as tabulations of types of people to whom migrants send remittances (e.g., parents, siblings, friends) and types of purposes for which those remittances are used (e.g., living expenses, improving housing, local development).

Following the descriptive analyses, multivariate event history models will be estimated (final model type will be chosen based on results of descriptive analyses). First, a multivariate event history model of the probability of rural-urban migration will be estimated based on various demographic, socioeconomic and social network characteristics, plus historical period and province. Historical time periods will be chosen based on patterns found in the descriptive statistics in conjunction with knowledge of political changes (to best approximate when the impact on democratization and the ending of *apartheid* began to affect migration patterns). This model will answer the key research questions regarding how patterns and determinants of migration have changed or persevered over time. It may be possible to examine this for different types of migration, but the key focus will be on rural-urban migration, as that is the main focus of this project.

Then, only for migrants, a multivariate logit model will be estimated predicting the probability of remitting (again, based on various demographic and socio-economic

characteristics, as well as historical period and province). And multivariate ordinal logit models will be estimated predicting the strength of social network ties in both the origin and destination communities. The dependent variables will be indices of the strength of social ties drawing on the numerous social network measures available in the data, including:

- Sources of information on destination for migrants;

- Living arrangements of migrants after moving;

- Co-movers (spouse, children, etc.);

- Friends/relatives living in destination and origin;

- Assistance received after moving;

- Community organization membership (especially origin-based organizations); and

- Return visits to origin and remittances to origin.

(Results Forthcoming)

Conclusions and Discussion

This paper contributes to knowledge in two key areas: empirical understanding of the South African case and more broadly to the theoretical literature on migration and social networks. First, the descriptive and multivariate analyses of migration patterns and determinants within a historical context are extremely important, as good data on these historical patterns are particularly lacking. The research also addresses whether or not patterns and determinants of internal migration have changed in South Africa since the ending of *apartheid*.

Secondly, this study contributes to the broader theoretical and substantive literatures on migration, social networks, and development. Although social science researchers and policy makers have been increasingly looking at the relationships between international migration, transnational networks and development, there are still few studies of the links between internal migration, social networks and development in transitioning societies. This research will help to expand the transnationalism theory to encompass similar processes fueled by internal migration and networks. By examining the changing migration patterns in South Africa over time as they relate to processes of

internal versus international and labor versus forced migration, the research will also help to understand the linkages between various types of migration. It will particularly help to clarify the way that different migration types relate to the roles of structural constraints versus individual agency in the process of migration. Migration is a key driver of social change, so finally, this paper also contributes to our theoretical understanding of the potential transformational power of human mobility for social and economic development, particularly in the region of Africa.

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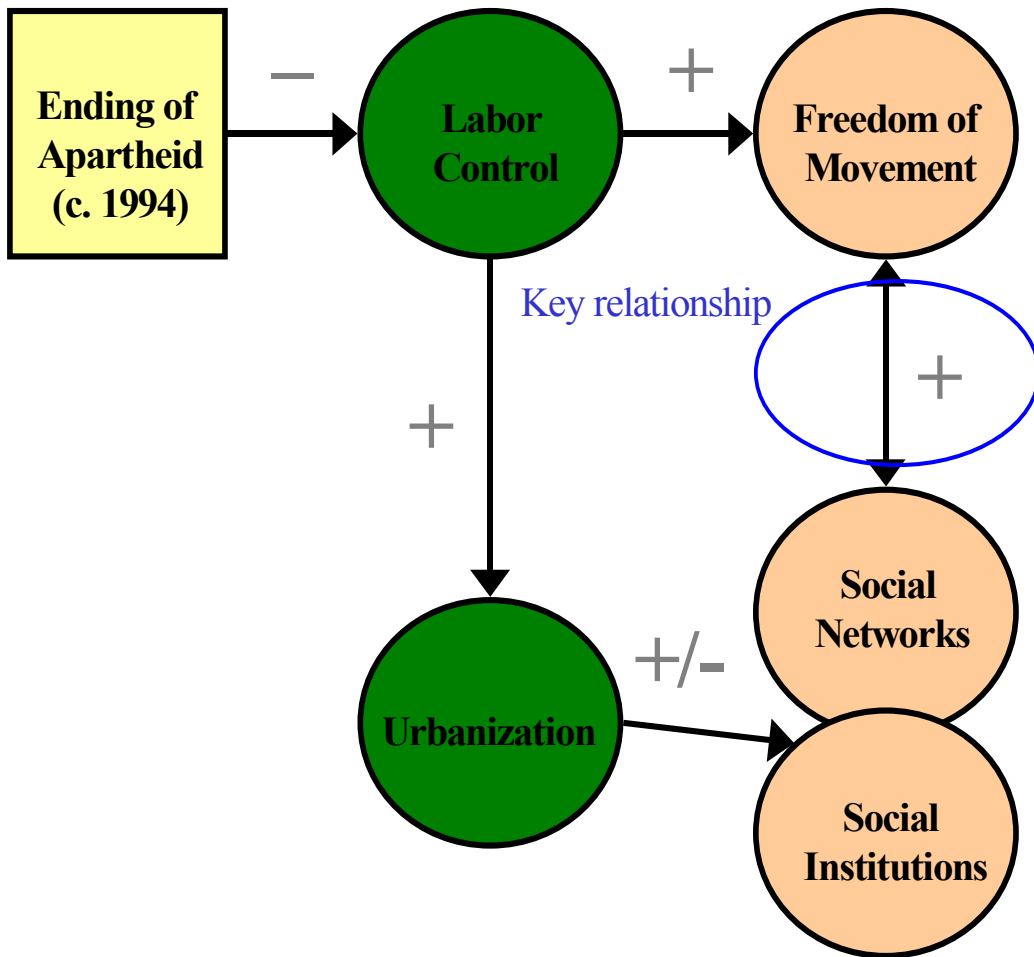
Figure 1 Conceptual Model

Table 1 Descriptive characteristics of the South Africa Migration and Health Survey, 1999-2000

Characteristic	Migrants (ever moved)		Non-migrants (never moved)	
	N	Percentage or Mean	N	Percentage or Mean
Total	1,413	63.3	820	36.7
Sex				
Male	656	65.8	342	34.2
Female	757	61.3	478	38.7
Age	1,413	37.4	820	33.5
Foreign-born	18	1.3	N/A	N/A
Urban/rural birthplace				
Urban	453	46.0	531	54.0
Rural	960	76.9	288	23.1
Province of current residence				
Western Cape	14	84.0	3	16.0
Eastern Cape	300	69.9	129	30.1
Kwazulu Natal	281	70.8	116	29.2
Mpumalanga	148	58.3	106	41.7
Northern	183	70.0	77	30.0
North West	62	59.0	43	41.0
Gauteng	119	81.4	27	18.6
Free State	306	49.0	318	51.0
Relationship to household head				
Head	828	71.6	329	28.4
Spouse/partner	261	69.5	115	30.5
Son/daughter	178	40.7	259	59.3
Brother/sister	51	62.8	30	37.2
Other relative or non-relative	95	52.5	86	47.5

Marital status				
Never married	585	55.5	469	44.5
Married or living with partner	629	71.3	253	28.7
Separated, divorced or widowed	200	67.2	98	32.8
Children ever born (only for women)				
None	99	46.2	115	53.8
One	128	50.0	130	50.0
Two	170	77.2	50	22.8
Three	126	67.5	61	32.5
Four	74	63.7	42	36.3
Five or more	109	67.8	52	32.2
Literate	1,248	64.1	700	35.9
Educational attainment				
No schooling	180	65.2	96	34.8
Primary school	413	60.8	266	39.2
Attended secondary school	725	63.1	424	36.9
Secondary school diploma	86	77.2	26	22.8
Higher degree	10	54.6	8	45.4
Labor force status				
Unemployed	511	69.3	227	30.7
Employed in informal sector	259	73.8	92	26.2
Employed in formal sector	325	70.0	140	30.0
Unpaid family worker, homemaker, retired, disabled	211	58.8	147	41.2
Student	107	33.4	214	66.6

Source: South Africa Migration and Health Survey, 1999-2000.
Note: Values are weighted.