The Expected Well-being of Urban Refugees and Asylum Seekers in Johannesburg

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Abstract

The influx of asylum seekers and refugees from across Africa to democratic South Africa has increased significantly. The aim of this paper is to determine the factors that influence the 'expected well-being' of this unique group. 'Expected well-being' is an important determinant of both the decision to migrate and the choice of destination country. Therefore knowledge of this determinant informs refugee policies. The results show that only a few factors found in the literature to explain the 'expected well-being' of voluntary migrants also explain the 'expected well-being' of forced migrants. However, quite a number of factors found in the literature to explain the subjective well-being and well-being of refugees and asylum seekers also applied to explaining the 'expected well-being' of this group. These factors include: government assistance, culture, the time spent in South Africa, economic factors, crime, refugee status, the reasons for leaving their home countries and the number of people in the house. The findings of this study emphasise the differences between forced and voluntary migrants and highlights the factors that influences the 'expected well-being' of forced migrants. These factors in turn shed light on migration decisions and choice of destination countries.

JEL: D6, F23, J11, O15, D6

Key words: Expected well-being, Johannesburg, Forced migrants, Refugees, Asylum seekers, South Africa, Well-being,

1 INTRODUCTION

Since the transition to democracy in South Africa, the influx of asylum seekers from across Africa has increased by almost tenfold. The country has also become the largest recipient of individual applications for asylum in the world, with more

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than 207 000 applications out of a total of 839 000 globally (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 2011). The majority of the refugees and asylum seekers who move to South Africa find refuge within the bigger cities such as Johannesburg. The influx of refugees and asylum seekers into the cities leads to new socio-economic challenges and a need for the development of policy measures to address these challenges.

One of the major determinants of refugee and asylum seekers' migration decision and choice of destination country, insofar as they have a choice, is 'expected well-being' (Massey, et al., 1993; Czaika, 2014; Spinks, 2013). Hence an understanding of the factors that influence 'expected well-being' will not only contribute to a better understanding of the well-being of refugees and asylum seekers, but also lead to an increased understanding of their decision to migrate and their choice of destination country and region.

Research on the well-being of refugees and asylum seekers is limited and to the author's knowledge no previous research has been done internationally on the determinants of the 'expected well-being' of this group of people. However, there have been studies on the factors that influence voluntary migrants' 'expected well-being' (Valentina, Berg & Vaaler, 2010; Czaika & Vothknecht, 2012). Furthermore there have been studies on the determinants of well-being and subjective well-being of refugees and asylum seekers without considering the 'expected' dimension of well-being. Therefore, in this research we address this gap in the literature by estimating the factors that influence the 'expected well-being' of refugees and asylum seekers residing in the inner city of Johannesburg. For the purposes of this study a data set collected by the Forced Migration Studies Programme (FMSP) (2006) is used.

This research contributes to the refugee and asylum seeker literature as it adds knowledge on the factors that influence 'expected well-being', which in turn sheds light on the migration decision and choice of destination country. A better understanding of these factors can contribute to informed policy responses.

The results of this study on the factors found to influence the 'expected well-being' of refugees and asylum seekers show that only a few factors correspond to those found in the literature (see section 2) to explain the 'expected well-being' of voluntary migrants. However, there are a number of factors, according to the reviewed literature, that explain the well-being and subjective well-being of refugees and asylum seekers, that coincide with those factors found in the study to explain the 'expected well-being' of forced migrants. These factors relate mostly to the refugee status of the forced migrants, which gives them more certainty about their future, their living conditions and support received from government. These findings emphasise the differences between forced migrants and voluntary migrants and also the differences in the factors that explain their 'expected well-being', which in turn influence their migration decision and choice of destination country.

In this paper the definitions of refugees and asylum seekers are adopted from the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and its 1967 Protocol. The Convention defines a refugee as: 'any person who owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of

a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his/her nationality and is unable, or owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself/herself of the protection of that country. An asylum seeker is a person who is seeking protection as a refugee and is still waiting to have his/her claim assessed'. Refugees and asylum seekers are also referred to as 'forced migrants', as often they had no choice but to leave their home country to ensure their safety.

The remainder of this paper is structured as follows: In section 2 a brief review is given of the literature on the determinants of 'expected well-being' of voluntary migrants and the well-being in general of refugees and asylum seekers. In section 3 the data used in the analyses is discussed. In section 4 the methodology used, including the statistical techniques, the specification of the model and the selection of the variables is described. In section 5 the results of the empirical analysis are reported and in section 6 conclusions are drawn.

2 LITERATURE ON THE DETERMINANTS OF WELL-BEING

As stated in the introduction, no previous research has been done internationally on the determinants of the 'expected well-being' of refugees and asylum seekers. Therefore I review related studies in this section. Firstly, I briefly discuss the limited research on the factors found to influence the 'expected well-being' of voluntary migrants and secondly, I explore the findings of the literature that investigates the general well-being of refugees and asylum seekers.

In a study by Czaika and Vothknecht (2012), using a longitudinal data set from the Indonesian Family Life Survey on the 'expected well-being' of migrants, they found the following: age (over the age of 40 years), senior high school or a higher level of education, relative income and marriage were statistically significant in explaining the 'expected well-being' of the migrants. Other variables they tested that were not statistically significant were: gender, employment, income, community participation and ethnic fractionalisation (Czaika & Vothknecht, 2012).

In a study by Silveira and Ebrahim (1998) on first generation immigrants that migrated from Somali and Bengali to the east of London (UK) and British citizens, they found that inequalities in housing, social support, income, and physical health status accounted for the differences between the observed attitudes of migrants and the British. These differences partly explained the dissimilarities in life satisfaction experienced by migrants and the British, with the British having slightly higher levels of life satisfaction than migrants.

Valentina et al. (2010) compared the distress levels and the 'negative expectations' of migrants and 'refugees and asylum seekers'. They found the latter group experienced greater distress and higher levels of 'negative expectations' after resettlement than voluntary migrants (Valentina, et al., 2010). However, their results also showed that asylum seekers and refugees believed that their lives would change for the better in future (Valentina, et al., 2010). Thus, al-

though the 'expected well-being' of refugees and asylum seekers might initially be at a lower level than that of voluntary migrants, the results showed that they were positive about their future in general.

In a study by Kanaiaupuni (2009), using data on Mexico in which he analysed the differences in the migration decision of men and women, he found marked variances, for example: high education levels influenced the rate of migration of men negatively, but that of women positively. Hence analyses of migration data should consider the different behaviour of men and women regarding migration decisions.

Research has shown that the region in which people live is one of the major factors that influence their well-being (Dasgupta, 2004; Lora & Powell, 2011; Faggian, Olfert and Partridge, 2012; OECD, 2014). Furthermore, expectations of future regional well-being are a main factor considered by migrants in their choice of a destination country (Faggian et al., 2012). Therefore regional well-being is an important dimension of the 'expected well-being' of all migrants (Jurjevich & Schrock, 2012; Faggian et al., 2012).

Turning to the studies on the general well-being of refugees and asylum seekers, the following was found: two international studies undertaken in the USA, one by Meredith (1984) and the other by Tran and Wright (1985), showed that refugees were happier if they kept contact and attempted to reunite with their families and if they had the ability to speak the local language. Colic-Peisker (2009) found similar results in her study of refugees from Bosnia and Herzegovina who had resettled in Australia.

In the literature it has been shown that a positive attitude towards refugees and asylum seekers amongst the people in the receiving country contributed to the well-being of these refugees and asylum seekers (Colic-Peisker, 2009; Meredith, 1984; Tran & Wright, 1985). In studies in South Africa Neocosmos (2008) and Crush and Dodson (2007) found that South Africans had a negative attitude towards foreigners and that such an attitude negatively affected the well-being of forced migrants. According to the research, the animosity spread from the belief that migrants took advantage of job opportunities and contributed to increased crime rates in the country (Neocosmos, 2008; Crush & Dodson, 2007).

Acculturation and adaptation to the new environment were shown to be important contributors to a refugee's well-being (Colic-Peisker, 2009), while Correa-Velez, Gifford, and Barnett (2010) showed that discrimination and social exclusion were some of the factors that negatively impacted well-being. Furthermore Colic-Peilsker (2009) established that social support, job satisfaction and financial satisfaction were significant contributors to a refugee's well-being.

Werkuyten and Nekuee (1999), in research on Iranian refugees in the Netherlands, found a positive relationship between the time spent in a host country and subjective well-being, implying the longer refugees and asylum seekers resided in a country the higher their level of subjective well-being.

Krippner and McIntyre (2003) found that whenever refugees and asylum seekers left their home countries as a result of persecution or civil war, these reasons would have a severe negative effect on their psychological well-being and could lead to depression, anxiety and post-traumatic stress.

Jacobson (2006), in a study on South Africa related to the general well-being of refugees and asylum seekers, found that many of the livelihood strategies of forced migrants were based on their economic, cultural and religious affiliations. Connor and Koenig (2013), considering data from the USA, Canada and Europe, found similar results showing that religious affiliation can play a positive role in improving the quality of life of migrants. Furthermore they found that, in areas such as the USA, the attendance of religious meetings is positively related to occupational attainment, especially for second generation migrants (Connor & Koenig, 2013). Jacobson's (2006) results also showed that for refugees and asylum seekers to enjoy a good quality of life they needed access to protection, economic opportunities and social rights.

To summarise, the literature showed that the factors found to influence the 'expected well-being' of migrants were age, education, relative income and marriage. In addition, the factors found internationally to influence the well-being and subjective well-being of refugees and asylum seekers were: maintaining contact with their families; speaking the receiving country's language; being received positively by the people in the receiving country; adaptation and acculturating to the new environment and the time spent in the host country. Factors that have been found in South Africa to influence the well-being of refugees and asylum seekers were economic, cultural and religious affiliations, crime and the ability to access protection, and economic and social rights. In this paper both the factors found to influence the 'expected well-being' of voluntary migrants and the factors found to influence the well-being and subjective well-being of refugees and asylum seekers, according to the literature, are included in the model to test to which degree these factors explain the 'expected well-being' of refugees and asylum seekers in the inner city of Johannesburg.

3 DATA

In the analysis I use a data set collected by the FMSP in 2006 namely the 'Migration and the New African City' data set (FMSP, 2006). The survey was initially undertaken within the framework of the African Cities Project of which the purpose was to collect data on the migration patterns and the integration of migrants into their reception towns within southern, central and east Africa. The survey used was conducted in Johannesburg (South Africa) and contains information on the demographic profile of the migrant, the conditions prevailing in the sending country before migration and the living conditions of the migrant once he/she has arrived in South Africa. The data set is not a representative sample of all migrants in South Africa or of the migrants in Johannesburg, though the data provide an insight into the socio-economic circumstances of often difficult-to-reach populations.

An area cluster sampling technique was used to collect the data. In preliminary consultative work, the suburbs in which the migrants resided were identified and the FMSP decided to limit the survey to these suburbs. The following suburbs in Johannesburg were included: Rosettenville, Mayfair, Fords-

burg, Yeoville, Berea and Bertrams. The survey aimed to collect data from fixed quotas of migrant groups, divided among 600 non-nationals (Somali, Congolese and Mozambicans) and a control group of 200 South Africans. The main characteristics of the respondents in the sample are presented in Table 1.

Among the total number of 847 respondents in the original sample, 406 were forced migrants, 242 were voluntary migrants and 199 were South Africans. The migrants in the sample were mainly men (63%), and among forced migrants the percentage men was even higher at 70% of the total forced migrant sample. It has been shown in the literature that men are more likely to migrate than women. This is also applicable to migrants in South Africa. One of the likely reasons for more men than women migrating to South Africa is the job opportunities offered to men, especially in the mining sector.

The majority of the migrants, including voluntary and forced migrants, are of working age, between 26 and 40 years. This enforces the notion that many migrants migrate to South Africa to find employment. The South African respondents included in the sample were slightly younger on average than the migrants, with the majority being between 18 and 25 years of age.

More than half of the forced migrants (54%) were married, although their spouses did not necessarily reside in South Africa. The proportion of married voluntary migrants to South Africans was slightly lower at just more than 40%. This might be explained by the younger age of the previously mentioned groups.

A smaller proportion of migrants (between 45% and 50%) compared to South Africans (61%) indicated that they had completed secondary school. However, more than double the percentage of forced migrants had tertiary training (28%) compared to both voluntary migrants (10%) and South Africans (14%). A large proportion of the forced migrants were able to speak English (73%) and 97% could speak another South African language.

Approximately the same percentage of forced migrants (37%) and South Africans (32%) reported that they were employed in either the formal or the informal sector, compared to a much higher proportion of voluntary migrants (47%) working in either of these sectors. Furthermore in a study by Mbatha and Roodt (2014) on voluntary migrants in South Africa they showed that many of the migrants are entrepreneurs which employ South African citizens. This can possibly be explained by voluntary migrants most likely securing employment before they migrate to a receiving country. The average income per annum per capita measured in Rands (for the year 2006) for the South Africans was much higher (R37 711) than the average income per annum per capita reported by either the forced migrants (R24 319) or the voluntary migrants (R25 717). The difference in income levels might be explained by the different types of employment (higher skilled compared to lower skilled) of the different groups. Furthermore, the higher income of South Africans could possibly also be ascribed to them receiving different types of social grants, which are added to their total income. The majority of international migrants do not receive these grants (Jacobson, 2006).

Most of the forced migrants (45%) in the sample resided in apartments which they shared with more than one family, compared to voluntary migrants and

South Africans who mostly stayed in apartments occupied by single families.

Approximately 20% of the forced migrants in the sample were in South Africa for less than one year, 40% between one and four years (entering South Africa since 2002), and 5% in South Africa for a time period of longer than 10 years. The significant higher proportion of migrants in the sample who entered South Africa since 2002 can, inter alia, be explained by the instable conditions which prevailed in the DRC and Somalia.

As the focus of this paper is on forced migrants, we selected only the respondents who were either asylum seekers or refugees to include in the empirical analyses. After adjusting for missing data, the sample size was 279 adult respondents.

4   METHODOLOGY

In this section both the model specification and the estimation techniques are described. Furthermore, the method of construction of the dependent variable namely 'expected well-being' and the selection of the explanatory variables used in the analysis are discussed.

4.1   Model specification and estimation techniques

I base the specification of the 'expected well-being' model on previous studies conducted in both the 'expected well-being' (Czaika & Vothknecht, 2012) and the well-being literature (see, for example Posel & Casale, 2011 and Knight & Gunatilaka, 2010). The specification of the 'expected well-being' function is as follows:

$$EW_i = a_i + b_n X_{ni} + u_{i............}$$

where EW_i represents 'expected well-being', a_i is the constant, b_n provides the coefficients that indicate the relative importance of different contributors to 'expected well-being', X_{ni} is a vector of n explanatory socio-economic variables of i ($i=1....m$) respondents, and u_i is an error term including all the factors that were not captured in the well-being equation.

In the majority of the well-being literature, especially the subjective well-being studies, Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) and ordered probit are used as estimation techniques (see Posel & Casale, 2011; MacKerron, 2012; Bartram, 2013; Blaauw & Pretorius, 2013). Ordered probit is an estimation technique appropriate for estimations using categorical data in which the distribution of the variables are, most likely, not normal. However in research by Ferrer-i-Carbonell and Frijters (2004) and Stevenson and Wolfers (2009) it was shown that negligible differences existed between the results obtained from the aforementioned methods and that the signs and significance of the estimated coefficients in these studies were similar. Furthermore, although the results of the different regression methodologies in larger samples were found to be comparable, in their analyses of cross-sectional data and smaller samples (McFadden, 1994)

with the absence of panel data, researchers found that OLS regressions were more reliable than ordered probit estimates. An advantage of OLS estimations compared to ordered probit estimations is the directness of the interpretation of the estimated coefficients (see MacKerron, 2012; Bartram, 2013; Blaauw & Pretorius, 2013).

Therefore, in this research, following the customary methods used by earlier researchers in the well-being literature (Czaika & Vothknecht, 2012; MacKerron, 2012; Bartram, 2013; Blaauw & Pretorius, 2013), both OLS and ordered probit are used as estimation techniques in the larger samples, but preference is given to OLS estimation in the 'within group' smaller samples. In addition OLS estimation coefficients are interpreted.

4.2   The derived 'expected well-being' variable

In the Migration in the New African City Survey (FMSP, 2006) two questions were identified, which were then used to derive an 'expected well-being' variable. The two questions were: 'Generally speaking, do you think your life will be better or worse than your parents' lives?' and 'Where do you expect to be living two years from now?' The first question captures expected individual well-being, whereas the second question refers to the preference for a specific region, thus regional well-being, which is an important dimension of total 'expected well-being' (Dasgupta, 2004; Lora & Powell, 2011; Faggian et al., 2012). The derived variable gives an all-encompassing measure of 'expected well-being', which informs both the migration decision and the choice of destination country.

To derive the 'expected well-being' variable, I allocated scores to the responses to the two identified questions. The first question had three response categories. These were: 'my life will be better than my parents' lives, it will be the same as my parents' lives, or it will be worse than my parents' lives'. Scores between three (my life will be better) and one (my life will be worse) were allocated to each response.

The second question was recoded so that it had two response categories. The allocation of the scores was informed by the findings of Cernea and McDowell (2000) and Faggian et al. (2012). The findings of these studies showed that if the refugees and asylum seekers prefer to stay in the host country, it reflects expected 'regional well-being' (Faggian, et al., 2012), but if they wish to move to a third country it reflects negative expectations about the region, thus affecting regional well-being negatively. Therefore, responses to the second question that indicated that the refugees and asylum seekers would expect to live in the city where they were, or another place in South Africa, scored a three (the maximum score). The score of three was allocated to the question so that the two questions included in the derived 'expected well-being' variable had equal weighting. If the respondent indicated that he or she expected to move to a third country, it was assumed that the resettlement was not successful and negatively affected the person's 'expected well-being' and half of the maximum score (a score of 1.5) was allocated to this response.

The 'expected well-being' variable was derived by summing the scores of the

responses of the two questions of each respondent similar to the methods used in social sciences to sum the items of a scale (Pallant, 2007). For example if a refugee or asylum seeker felt that his/her life would be worse than his/her parents' lives (a score of one) and he/she preferred to leave South Africa (a score of 1.5), the summed score would be 2.5 (see table 2). A score of six was achieved if a refugee or asylum seeker was of the opinion that his/her life will be better than their parent's lives and they preferred to stay in South Africa. The scores reflects a certain order of 'expected well-being' with 2.5 the lowest and 6 the highest. These scores were recoded from one to six, to reflect the order of 'expected well-being' (see table 2), the ordered variable was used in further analyses. Table 2 shows the frequencies and percentages of the 'expected well-being' variable.

The majority of the refugees and asylum-seekers 'expected well-being' was at either a level of four (31.8%) or a level of six (54.8%). A level four indicates that the respondent felt that his/her live will be better than their parent's lives, though they preferred not to stay in South Africa. A level six indicated that the migrant expected that his/her life will be better than their parent's lives, but he/she preferred to stay in South Africa. Judging from these results the most of the refugees and asylum seekers in this sample were positive about their 'expected well-being' and the majority (63.8%) would most likely, if circumstances allowed, settle in South Africa (FMSP, 2006). This finding is in agreement with the findings of Valentina et al. (2010) showing that refugees and asylum seekers in general have positive expectations about their future well-being. Furthermore Myroniuk and Vearey (2014) in their research, specific to Johannesburg, found that foreign-born migrants' livelihood outcomes compared well to that of South African citizens.

4.3   The proposed explanatory variables

The selection of the explanatory variables to describe the 'expected well-being' function of refugees and asylum seekers was based on the availability of data and the reviewed literature on the 'expected well-being' of migrants, as well as the well-being and subjective well-being of refugees and asylum seekers. Factors such as 'refugee status', that were hypothesised as possibly influencing the 'expected well- being' of refugees and asylum seekers, were also included.

I recoded all the nominal variables to dummy variables so that the variables took a value of either 1 or 0. The selected variables, with explanations about the coding and descriptive statistics, are shown in Table 3. The selected variables are: 'age', 'victim of crime', 'education', 'gender', 'type of housing', 'marriage', 'religion', 'relative income', 'employment', 'income', 'government assistance', 'culture', 'religion', 'time in South Africa', 'number of people in the house', 'reason for leaving country', 'refugee status' and an interaction variable 'education x employment'. The interaction variable was included as a dependent variable, since these two variables have been shown in the literature (Teichler & Kehm, 1995) to be closely related. Furthermore, results of a study by Witte and Kallenberg (1994) showed that a person is often employed in a position that

does not fit his/her education level.

In the next section the results of the estimated model are discussed.

5 RESULTS

We estimated the model as set out in section 4.1, using both OLS and ordered probit techniques. The results are shown in Table 4.

The estimated model showed that the F-statistic (OLS estimation) and the Wald chi-squared statistic (ordered probit estimation) were statistically significant, indicating that the explanatory variables were jointly significant in explaining the variation in the 'expected well-being' variable. The OLS model's R squared value (0.132) and the Ordered Probit's model Pseudo R squared value (0.190) were consistent with the results obtained in similar cross-sectional well-being studies (Powdthavee, 2003; Ebrahim, Botha; Snowball, 2013).

The results on the signs and the significance of the estimated coefficients of the two estimation techniques (OLS and ordered probit) were similar, in line with the findings of Ferrer-i-Carbonell and Frijters (2004) and Stevenson and Wolfers (2009). The only noted differences were in the level of the statistical significance in the variables 'employment x education' and 'culture', which varied between 5% and 10% in the models.

As explained in the methodological section, I interpreted the OLS estimated coefficients due to the advantage of direct interpretability of OLS estimations over probit estimations (Blaauw & Pretorius, 2013).

The results of the model showed the majority of the included explanatory variables to be statistically significant, though not all of these revealed the expected signs. Firstly, I discussed those variables included in the model estimation based on the variables that were found in the literature to explain the 'expected well-being' of voluntary migrants namely 'age', 'relative income', 'education' and 'marriage':

The 'age' variable was found to be statistically significant and positively related to the 'expected well-being' of refugees and asylum seekers. The positive relationship shows that as the age of refugees and asylum seekers increases, their 'expected well-being' also increases. It is likely that, as refugees and asylum seekers grow older and keeping in mind that the respondents are between 22 and 58 years, their job opportunities and housing circumstances also improve, and this positively influences their 'expected well-being'. The study by Czaika & Vothknecht (2012) studying the relationship between age and the 'expected well-being' of voluntary migrants revealed similar results.

The relative income variable was statistically significant and positively related to the 'expected well-being' variable. However, the 'income' variable was not statistically significant. This finding supports the arguments of Alpizar, Carlsson and Johansson-Stenman (2002) and Frey and Stutzer (2000) in the subjective well-being literature, namely that people's relative income position in society is a better measure of well-being than absolute income levels. Therefore it can be argued that if refugees and asylum seekers believe that their rel-

ative income is the same or better than their neighbours' income, it positively influences their 'expected well-being'.

'Education' was found not to be statistically significant in explaining the 'expected well-being' of refugees and asylum seekers, although the sign was positive. A likely reason for this result is that higher levels of education of refugees and asylum seekers do not necessarily lead to improved well-being, since access to the job market for refugees and asylum seekers is limited. This result partly agrees with the findings of Czaika and Vothknecht (2013). Their results showed that lower levels of education do not explain 'expected well-being' of voluntary migrants, though higher levels of education is statistically significant in explaining their 'expected well-being'.

'Marriage' was found not to be statistically significant. This finding does not match that of Czaika and Vothknecht (2012) on the 'expected well-being' of voluntary migrants, or the studies of Diener and Seligman (2004), Blanchflower and Oswald (2003) and Mahadea (2013) on subjective well-being. According to the afore-mentioned studies, marriage suggests companionship and the sharing of burdens and for this reason it increases both 'expected well-being' and well-being. A possible explanation for the marriage variable not being statistically significant is that marriage might increase the spouse's burden, as he or she needs to take responsibility not only for him/herself but also for his/her spouse. Furthermore, if one of the spouses remains in the original country the spouse in the host country might be concerned about the spouse's well-being in the original country, which negatively affects his or her psychological well-being. Such factors seem to outweigh any positive effects of marriage on the 'expected well-being' of refugees and asylum seekers.

Secondly, I considered the variables which were included in the model based on those variables found to explain the well-being or subjective well-being of refugees and asylum seekers. The majority of these variables were found to be statistically significant including: 'victim of crime', 'gender', 'type of housing' , 'employment', 'government assistance', 'time in South Africa', 'reason for leaving the country', 'culture' and 'number of people in the house'. The variables found not to be statistically significant, which were included in the model based on the factors that explained the well-being of forced migrants, were 'gender', 'type of housing' and 'religion'.

The 'victim of crime' variable was found to be negatively related to 'expected well-being' and was statistically significant, indicating that higher levels of crime negatively influence the 'expected well-being' of the sample group. The study of Partridge (Masters Dissertation, University of Cape Town, 2013) on internal migrants in South Africa supports this finding. The study found that post-migration the migrants reported being exposed more frequently to a variety of crime-related factors influencing their levels of well-being negatively.

Being male was positively related to 'expected well-being', although the 'gender' variable was not statistically significant. This finding corresponds with the finding of Czaika and Vothknecht (2012) on migrants and the study of Hinks and Gruen (2007) on the well-being of South Africans, showing that gender does not affect 'expected well-being'.

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The 'type of housing' which was shown to influence the positive attitude of migrants in the research of Silveira and Ebrahim (1998) was found not to be statistically significant in explaining the 'expected well-being' of refugees and asylum seekers, indicating that residing in houses, apartments, hostels or informal dwellings does not influence their 'expected well-being'. It is likely that the type of housing is not statistically significant since the housing of refugees and asylum seekers in South Africa is often only of a temporary nature and the possibility of moving to better housing types in future plays a bigger role in determining 'expected well-being' than their current type of housing.

The literature on refugees and asylum seekers showed that religious affiliation contributes to their livelihood strategies (Jacobson, 2006). However in this study 'religion' was found not to be statistically significant, although it was positively related to the 'expected well-being' variable as anticipated. When the variable was excluded, the explanatory power of the model decreased; therefore, I decided to retain the variable. In future, the effect of religion on the 'expected well-being' of refugees and asylum seekers needs further investigation.

'Employment' was found to be statistically significant. Being employed is a means of economic survival for refugees and asylum seekers who have very little additional resources to rely on or government assistance to carry them through difficult times. Therefore, being employed is an important determinant of the 'expected well-being' of this group of people. Refugees and asylum seekers seem to find employment against all odds, even though research by Porter et al. (2010) showed that migrants are exposed to economic and political exclusion. This is an indication of the determination and persistence of forced migrants.

The interaction variable 'employment x education' was statistically significant and negatively related to the 'expected well-being' variable. If a person was unemployed, the interaction variable had a value of zero and if a person was employed the interaction variable had a value equal to the years of education of the respondent. Hence we found that the employment of people with more years of education was negatively related to the 'expected well-being' variable. This finding is counter-intuitive, though it agrees with findings of Witte and Kallenberg (1994) that show that people are often employed outside their field of training. In this study the negative relationship could possibly be explained by refugees and asylum seekers often being severely under-employed; for example, a medical doctor is employed as a security guard. This situation might contribute to refugees and asylum seekers being frustrated with their position, which might contribute to lower levels of well-being.

As expected, the variable 'number of people in the house' was statistically significant in terms of a negative relationship to 'expected well-being'. Since 'the number of people in the house' might be an indication of the living conditions of forced migrants as well as possibly reflecting the dependency ratio, it is likely that a higher number of people staying in a specific house would negatively influence 'expected well-being'.

In previous studies it was found that integration, referring to the maintaining of both one's own ethnic culture and adopting characteristics of the host country's culture, had the best psychological outcomes for refugees (Werkuyten

& Nekuee, 1999). In this research, the survey question whether respondents were of the opinion that it is better for a society of migrants to maintain their customs and cultures than to adopt the customs and cultures of the host country was statistically significant and positively related to the 'expected well-being' variable. This finding agrees partly with Werkuyten and Nekuee's (1999) finding that it contributes to the well-being of forced migrants if they maintain their own customs and cultures, though the survey question did not require the opinion of respondents on adopting the host countries customs and cultures.

The research by Werkuyten and Nekuee (1999) on Iranian refuges in the Netherlands established a positive relationship between the time spent in a host country and well-being. We found the variable to be statistically significant, although negatively related to the 'expected well-being' variable. This implied that the longer the time period spent in South Africa by refugees and asylum seekers, the lower their level of 'expected well-being' would be. A possible explanation is that when refugees and asylum seekers arrive in South Africa initially they have relatively high expectations, but they are then disappointed when their expectations are not realised as they struggle to find employment in a country with very high unemployment rates, very limited government support and hostility towards foreigners.

The variable 'government assistance', indicating the support received from government, contributed positively to 'expected well-being'. Any support to refugees and asylum seekers to fulfil their basic needs contributed positively to their 'expected well-being', though a lack of support from government, especially upon their arrival, contributed to their suffering (Jacobson, 2006).

The variable 'reason for leaving country' was found to be statistically significant and negatively related to 'expected well-being'. In a study by Krippner and McIntyre (2003) they found that refuges and asylum seekers leaving their home countries as a result of persecution or civil war, could have severe negative effects on their psychological well-being and could lead to depression, anxiety and post-traumatic stress. The psychological effects of forced migration can also have future implications for psychological well-being and influence 'expected well-being' negatively.

Lastly the variable 'refugee status', indicating having been accepted as a refugee, was statistically significant and positively related to 'expected well-being'. This positive relationship can be explained by forced migrants with refugee status having more certainty about their future in the host country. 'Refugee status' also provides some protection and certain additional rights to the group.

To conclude, very few of the variables found in the literature to explain the 'expected well-being' of voluntary migrants also explained the 'expected well-being' of refugees and asylum seekers. The variables that coincided were 'age' and 'relative income'. However, quite a few factors found in the literature to explain the subjective well-being or well-being of forced migrants also explained their expectations ('expected well-being') regarding their future well-being in South Africa. Included in these factors are: factors related to government assistance, culture, the time spent in South Africa, economic factors, crime, refugee

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status, the reasons for leaving their home countries and the number of people in the house. The results of this study shows that there are differences between the factors that influence the 'expected well-being' of voluntary migrants, as revealed in the reviewed literature (see section 2) and the factors that influence the 'expected well-being' of forced migrants. Thus, when analysing the migration decisions of forced migrants based on their 'expected well-being', different factors should be considered to those used in the analyses of voluntary migrants.

6 CONCLUSION

The number of refugees and asylum seekers migrating to Johannesburg, the economic centre of Africa, is increasing substantially from year to year. Therefore, knowledge of the migration decision and choice of destination country of forced migrants is essential. Knowledge on these topics can be gained by investigating an important determinant of these decisions, namely 'expected well-being'. At an empirical level it is valuable to investigate the determinants of 'expected well-being' of refugees and asylum seekers, as this informs policy and guides future developments.

This paper examined the factors which explain the 'expected well-being' of refugees and asylum seekers. As no previous research has been done on this topic, the explanatory variables included in the model were based on results found in research on the 'expected well-being' of voluntary migrants and on the factors found to influence the subjective well-being and well-being of refugees and asylum seekers.

For the purpose of the study a data set on the Migration in the New African Cities (FMSP, 2006) was used. I derived the dependent variable 'expected well-being' by equally weighting and summing two variables representing 'expected well-being' and 'expected regional well-being', representing an all-encompassing variable.

I found that very few of the variables that explained the 'expected well-being' of voluntary migrants, as shown in the literature, also explained the 'expected well-being' of forced migrants, as revealed in this study. The explanatory variables that voluntary migrants and forced migrants had in common were: 'age' and 'relative income'. However, many of the variables that explained the subjective well-being and well-being of forced migrants, as shown in the literature, were also found in this study to explain the 'expected well-being' of this group. The variables found to explain the 'expected well-being' of forced migrants include: 'government assistance', 'refugee status', 'time in South Africa', 'the interaction variable 'employment x education', 'reason for leaving their country', 'culture' (the opinion that it is better for the society for migrants to retain their own culture), and the 'number of people in the house'.

The findings of this study emphasise the uniqueness of forced migrants as a group of people. Furthermore, when analysing the migration decisions of forced migrants based on their 'expected well-being' the factors found in this study should be considered. Knowledge of these factors also contributes to under-

standing the migration decisions and choice of destination countries of forced migrants. Future research based on longitudinal data is needed to enhance the knowledge of the migration decisions of forced migrants.

Notes:

Subjective well-being refers to the subjective measurement of well-being, using a question such as 'are you satisfied with your life'. In this research the term 'well-being' also includes the concept 'subjective well-being'

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Table 1: Socio-economic and demographic characteristics (% of selected group, except if specified otherwise)

	Forced Migrants	Voluntary Migrants	South Africans
Characteristics			
Number of respondents	406	242	199
Sex			
Male	70	53	48
Female	30	47	52
Total	100	100	100
Age			
18-25 years old	20	22	35
26-30 years old	28	30	18
31-35 years old	27	18	12
36-40 years old	16	15	11
40+ years old	9	15	24
Total	100	100	100
Marital status			
Married/lived together	54	44	41
Single	46	56	59
Total	100	100	100
Level of Education			
Completed secondary school	45	50	61
Completed tertiary training	28	10	14
Masters degree or more	3	2	1
Employment			
Unemployed	36	13	43
Employed full-time	26	40	25
Employed part-time	11	7	7
Self-employed	2	.4	1
Income			
Mean annual Income (Rand 2006)	24 319	25 717	37 711

Source: Author's calculations of the Migration in the New African City Survey (Forced Migration Study Programme, 2006).

Table 2: The frequencies of the 'expected well-being' variable

Score	Code	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
2.5	1	11	3.3	3.4
3.5	2	3	0.9	4.2
4.0	3	16	4.8	9.1
4.5	4	105	31.8	40.9
5.0	5	14	4.2	45.2
6.0	6	181	54.8	100.0

Source: Author's calculations of the Migration in the New African City Survey (Forced Migration Study Programme, 2006).

Table 3: Explanatory variables included in the model

Variable	Categories/ description	Type of variable	Coding	Min	Max	Mean
Gender	Male Female	Dummy	1 0	0	1	.695
Type of housing	House/Apartment Hostel Dormitory/Informal	Dummy	1 0	0	1	.037
Marital status	Married Single	Dummy	1 0	0	1	.537
Religion	With a religion No religion	Dummy	1 0	0	1	.985
Victim of crime	Yes No	Dummy	1 0	0	1	.590
Relative income	Poorer than others in area where you live About the same Better off than others in the area where you live		1 2 3	1	3	1.59
Employment	Employed Unemployed	Dummy	1 0	0	1	.563
Government assistance	Helps Never Helps	Dummy	1 0	0	1	
Refugee status	Yes No	Dummy	1 0	0	1	.478
Reason for leaving country	Escape war and persecution Economic, education and other	Dummy	1 0	0	1	.573
Culture	Better for society if immigrants maintain their customs Better for society if immigrants adopt the customs of the host country	Dummy	1 0	0	1	.836
Interaction variable – employment x education	Employed and years of education Unemployed and educated Neither employed nor educated	Ordinal	-	0	5	1.698
Education	Years of education	Ordinal	-	0	5	3.032
Time in RSA	Number of months residing in South Africa	Continuous	-	1	15	8.042
Number of people in the house	Number of people living in a single structure	Continuous	-	0	30	6.462
Income	Average income per week	Continuous	-	0	2500	523.65

Source: Author's calculations of the Migration in the New African City Survey (Forced Migration Study Programme, 2006).

Table 4: Results on the determinants of 'expected well-being'

	OLS	Ordered Probit
Explanatory Variables		
Age	0.032 (0.065)*	0.043 (0.096)*
Crime	-0.093 (0.166)*	-0.185 (0.247)*
Education	0.368 (0.161)	0.508 (0239)
Gender	0.243 (0.203)	0.391 (0.299)
Type of housing	0.177 (0.243)	0.612(0.377)
Marriage	0.509 (0.173)	0.760 (0.258)
Religion	0.681 (0.589)	1.085 (0.898)
Relative income	0.245 (0.132)*	0.354 (0.195)*
Employment	1.677 (0.681)**	2.134 (1.015)**
Income	0.055 (0.053)	0.044 (0.082)
Government assistance	0.177 (0.128)*	0.335 (0.194)*
Employment x Education	-0.489 (0.204)**	-0.666 (0.305)***
Refugee status	0.006 (0.194)**	0.082 (0.287)**
Culture	0.134 (0.214)***	0.246 (0.314)**
Number of people in the house	-0.030 (0.018)*	-0.042 (0.026)*
Time in South Africa	-0.034 (0.029)**	-0.070 (0.043)**
Reason for leaving country	-0.575 (0.169)*	-0.877 (0.257)**
N	271	271
Adjusted R2 / Pseudo R2	0.132	0.190
F-Statistic / Wald Chi-square	3.406***	1641.80***

Source: Author's calculations of the Migration in the New African City Survey (Forced Migration Study Programme 2006).
Notes: (1) Dependant variable = 'expected well-being'. (2)Standard errors are in parentheses.
*** Significant at the 1 percent level ** Significant at the 5 percent level * Significant at the 10 percent level.