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**RETURN MIGRATION TO SOUTH AFRICA: REASONS AND SOCIECONOMIC PROFILE**

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**Return migration to South Africa: reasons and socioeconomic profile**
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**ABSTRACT**

Return migration to South Africa is still an unexplored and relatively new phenomenon. By using data collected through an online survey with around 400 South African participants, this paper investigates the relationship between stated reasons given by participants and the implicit reasons tied to their socio-economic profile. First of all, exploratory factor analysis is carried out in order to reduce items, obtaining a sensible classification of push and pull factors. Then, these factors are used as dependent and independent variables in some binary and multinomial logistic regression models that produce significant evidence about the differences between returnees, planners and stayers' migration decision mechanisms.

**Keywords:** Return migration: Push-pull factors; South Africa, Exploratory factor analysis; Analysis regression.

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**Introduction**

The question of why certain individuals choose to migrate while others do not has occupied researchers across numerous disciplines for decades. While potential answers to this question abound, answers to why some emigrants return to their home countries have proven to be more elusive. Migration and return are phenomena with potentially strong impacts on the economic and social dynamics of both the receiving and sending countries. As a result, economists and other scholars have been attempting to ascertain an answer to this question as well as discover a "golden rule" with which to be able to explain and foresee the behaviour of people in terms of a perdurable rationale.

Increasingly, the literature about return migration is demonstrating that there are a wide range of personal, economic and cultural factors driving the decision of return, making it difficult to obtain unique and valid criteria to depict this process. Previous studies on return migration utilize reveal a wide spectrum of theoretical approaches, with most adopting the neoclassical or new economic theories. But apart from theoretical singularities, there are significant differences in terms of data collected. For instance, most of these works deal with return migration by analysing the intention to return of immigrants in the host country. Others focus on the home country and collect data from people who have effectively returned. A smaller fraction conduct longitudinal cohort studies to track the migration process of a group of immigrants over time. Doing so allows the researcher to make more accurate comparisons between returnees and non-migrants.

The assumption of rationality is often the centrepiece of analytical frameworks concerning migration. In particular, the decision to return is viewed as the result of a weighted and pondered analysis of many different factors where the potential benefits of leaving outweighed those of staying. However, these assumptions are difficult to test providing we cannot contrast the behaviour of returnees with the behaviour of those who choose to remain in their host country.

By contrast, our paper attempts to address this gap by analysing survey data containing information from three distinct categories of individuals: those who have emigrated and returned to South Africa, those who are currently abroad but intend to return, and those who are abroad and do not intend to return. Thus, one of our main contributions to the literature of return migration is the possibility of comparing at the same time the circumstances and reasons that are driving South African emigrants to belong to one of these three groups: returnees, planners or stayers. Furthermore, another important advantage of our data is the possibility of comparing the personal opinions of emigrants about how some factors are influencing return project with implicit factors tied to socio-demographic variables. On the other hand, this paper is also attempting to fill a gap in the literature on return migration in the case of South Africa since why we know so far, South African migration process has been considered as a process in which emigration was the last stage. Nonetheless, we have found evidence that for many South Africans, emigration and return are part of a cycle. Lastly, this paper aspires to provide useful insights into the peculiarities of South Africa, a country in which return migration might be linked to development policies and where cultural complexity often makes it hard understand the status of returnees and expats.

The paper proceeds as follows: first, we review the main literature on return migration. Secondly, the paper describes the situation of South Africa in terms of migration flows. Thirdly, we present the main goal of this paper, the combination of explicit/stated reasons with implicit factors driving return migration. Then, methodology and data collected are presented, ending up with the analysis of data and the discussion of findings. The final section summarizes and concludes while looking forward to future works.

## The study of return migration

Studies on return migration have had to cope with several challenges. The first challenge pertains to the dearth of reliable data on the magnitude of return migration (Constant & Massey, 2002; C. Dustmann & Weiss, 2007; Guzzetta, 2004). The second relates to the difficulty of generating a definitive returnee 'profile' given the wide range of cases that literature presents (Cassarino, 2004; Gmelch, 1980) . The third point is the selection of a theoretical framework among the array of perspectives that scholars have produced in the last few decades - Neoclassical Economics (NE), the New Economics of Labour Migration, structuralism, transnationalism, cross-border social network theory are among the most well-known (Cassarino, 2004; Hein De Haas, Fokkema, & Fassi, 2009).

In general, the principal aim of most research on return migration is to identify determinants of the phenomenon, which results in the generation of a returnee profile and a discussion of the consequences of return migration for the home country. Typically, the latter topic is presented within a broader context, such as the migration-development nexus. Literature investigating other aspects tied to return migration (such as identity, religion, family, gender,...) abound, but are beyond our scope. While the literature may be categorized in a number of ways, we are especially interested in presenting some methodological aspects of earlier studies as long as in a broad fashion, some methods have been tied to investigate implicit factors (by using socio-economic variables and quantitative approaches), whilst others have emphasized the explicit factors given by the own actors (by using qualitative methodologies). The reason for choosing this criterion is that only by combining the advantages of each methodological approach return migration can be fully understood within a delimited context. In addition, it does not seem very sensible to tackle return migration in South Africa from a narrow-framework when so little is known about this particular case. In order to meet this goal, the literature is presented by distinguishing between works that tend to use quantitative methods, those that are tied to qualitative methods, and those that have a pure theoretical intention.

*Quantitative approaches: searching the implicit reasons*

Quantitative approaches are those that make use of mathematical models to predict return migration, theoretically and/or empirically. Theoretical works develop complex econometric models to estimate the probability of return and emphasize their great explanatory potential (DaVanzo, 1976).

A second step consists of empirically testing such models in order to observe how well

they fit with the real world. Some generally agreed upon factors do exist, but often the selection of variables to be included is highly context-specific (i.e. gender of children(Christian Dustmann, 2003a), wages differentials (Christian Dustmann, 2003b), the optimal migration duration (Christian Dustmann, 2003b), migrants' savings (Christian Dustmann, 1997; Galor & Stark, 1990; Merkle & Zimmermann, 1992), migrants performance (Galor & Stark, 1990), remittances (Merkle & Zimmermann, 1992).

In some of these works authors have faced serious problems concerning the representativeness of their samples. Nonetheless, their research has provided some useful insights that have enriched the literature on return migration. Attempting to overcome sampling bias and errors, some papers have opted to using more accurate datasets, usually gathered by governments. For instance, using data from the German Socio-Economic Panel, Constant and Massey tested two hypotheses tied to Neoclassical and New Economic Theories respectively (Constant & Massey, 2002). The same source has allowed researchers to test a dynamic model which considers how immigrants ponder and revise their decision to return based on different circumstances (Adda, Dustmann, & Mestres, 2006). The role of uncertainty in return migration decision between Sweden and Finland is explored with data obtained in two phases, before in the home country prior to emigration, and post-migration in the host country (Saarela & Rooth, 2012). The association between educational level and return migration, and brain drain-brain gain in the Pacific region has been also handled by collecting data in a genuine way (Gibson & McKenzie, 2011). The use of cohorts of immigrants in the UK has proved to be a suitable source to investigate return migration (C. Dustmann & Weiss, 2007).

Nonetheless, the demanding of new and more accurate data on return migration may find a satisfactory solution by exploring how new technologies are able to challenge traditional sources (Jonathan Crush et al., 2012). In doing so, the underlying methodological nationalism of national government data (Schiller, Basch, & Blancszanton, 1992) might be overcome.

*Qualitative approaches: understanding actors and their explicit reasons*

The use of quantitative methods in the study of return migration often leads to more questions rather than answers (Haug, 2008). Models and data reveal evidence that there exists an association between one or more explanatory variables and return migration/intention. However, these models are unable to explain why a given variable is an individual driving factor, even though the models often control for many other factors (Adda, et al., 2006, p. 4). For instance, when Da Vanzo shows evidence about how the probability of return or non-return varies between US immigrants (DaVanzo, 1976), he does not attempt to elucidate the causal pathway of such an association. When it comes to understanding the individual's decision to return to their home country, causal knowledge can only be gained from a complementarity between these theoretical and empirical models (predominantly quantitative) and other more flexible and contextualized approaches (usually qualitative) capable of exploring the settings and interactions in which individuals elaborate their decisions.

Cieslik illustrates "the importance of the workplace as context for migration decision-

making" when traditional factors "do not fully explain the movements of migrants" ([Cieslik, 2011, p. 1380](#)) by conducting 60 semi-depth structured interviews and carrying out triangulation with quantitative data collected through an online survey. Bastia tackles the return decision during times of crises by using comparative observations of the same groups of migrants and emphasizing the importance of the context in the behavioural mechanism of return ([Bastia, 2011](#)). Vlase's study on the role of gender in the motivation to return in the case of Romanian immigrants demonstrates the explanatory potential for ethnographic approaches ([Vlase, 2013](#)). The case of second-generation Italian immigrants in Switzerland has also been explored by using ethnography, and as a result, some concepts such as "roots" can be better understood within the context of return patterns ([Wessendorf, 2007](#)). Due to the use of a smaller number of participants and the methodology itself, these qualitative approaches manage the dimensions of time and space in a flexible way, following up with returnees through several countries and tracking their experiences over time.

*Theoretical approaches: summarizing and criticizing accumulated knowledge.*

Apart from these two extensive groups of studies in which the methodology is the main criterion of our classification, there exists a group of papers whose main emphasis is not on the analysis of data but discussing and formulating theories about return migration.

Cassarino([2004](#)) carries out a comprehensive literature review in which he compares the following theoretical perspectives: Neoclassical Economies (NE), the New Economics of Labour Migration (NELM), the structural approach, transnationalism and social network theory. To a certain extent, each of these theories lends itself more to one research methodology than the other. Thus, both NE and NELM have yielded a larger number of quantitative rather than qualitative studies. The structural theory tends to investigate contexts and interactions through ethnography or interviews with immigrants ([Bastia, 2011](#); [Vlase, 2013](#)). The transnational and social network theory seem to be more suited to a mixed-methods approach combining both quantitative and qualitative methods ([Constant & Massey, 2002](#); [Haug, 2008](#)). How these theories conceptualize return migration relies on the role that returnees occupy as development actors, how they engage with the home country and also their profile.

Since the seventies, there has been some overlap in explanations of why immigrants return. Gmelch and Guzzetta([Gmelch, 1980](#); [Guzzetta, 2004, p. 113](#)) cite the works of Bovenkerk([1974](#)) and King ([1986](#)) in order to illustrate a "scheme of intentions" for migration: *"(1) migration intended to be permanent and, in fact, permanent; (2) migration intended to be permanent but with return migration; (3) migration intended to be temporary and with return migration; and (4) migration intended to be temporary, but becoming permanent"*.
This first point raises the question of whether return is the result of having failed to achieve the main goals of emigration. This duality between failure and success as the explanation of return migration is a well-known controversial point that has been discussed in many works ([Bastia, 2011](#); [Hein De Haas, et al., 2009](#); [Guzzetta, 2004](#)) and also explicitly challenged ([Wang & Fan, 2006](#)). A study on return migration for the case of Italy produced one of the most popular typologies of returnees based on the reasons why people return ([Cerase, 1974](#)). In this paper, Cerase distinguishes four types of return: *return of failure, return of conservatism, return of innovation and return of*

*retirement.* The *return of failure* takes place when, in spite of having achieved some goals in terms of adaptation to the new country and overcoming obstacles such as cultural shock, immigrants encounter difficulties that seem insurmountable such as to the inability to find a suitable job. In such a situation, return appears as the best option. The *return of conservatism* pertains to a later stage in the migratory process, after immigrants have acclimated to their jobs and have had the opportunity to save some money. At this junction, according to Cerase, an immigrant may start wondering "whether to spend his earnings on acquisitions [...] or to work and save enough to obtain the instruments necessary to a better life once he has returned home" ([p. 251](#)). The latter encourages the immigrant to maintain a conservative attitude, refusing to adopt the host country's cultural and consumption patterns which do not suit with his traditional values. Incidentally, once conservative migrants have returned they do not attempt to trigger any social change in their home country. A third typology of returnees is illustrated by explaining how some immigrants who have achieved certain stability in the host country after having weighed pros and cons of staying or returning, consider that return will grant them more opportunities to meet and attain their goals and ambitions. This is a *return of innovation* and it occurs when they are still young enough to undertake a new project in their homeland. Lastly, the *return of retirement* is the case of immigrants who have stayed in the host country for a long period and decide to return once they reach retirement age. For them, their home country turns into the ideal place to spend the last years of life, since they can often afford a higher standard of living, a comfortable house and a quiet retirement.

The typology increases with a more comprehensive work by King (2000  as cited in ([Guzzetta, 2004](#); [Haour-Knipe & Davies, 2008](#)). Here, according to King's work, these authors consider return migration as the result of a "complex mixture of economic, social, family and political factors". Furthermore, according to King  ([2000, as cited by Haour-Knipe & Davies, 2008](#)) return migration can be differentiated taking into account the situation of the involved countries in terms of development; the migration duration (occasional returns, seasonal return, temporary return, permanent return); the intention and the eventual migration result and lastly, considering the Cerase's typology mentioned above.

A final point we need to consider when measuring the intention of return is the difference between willingness, readiness and realisation ([Vlase, 2013](#)). Although these nuances are included in some of the theories presented, it is worth highlighting that returning or staying is not always possible or feasible. Let us imagine the case of South African immigrants that have lost their South African citizenship when acquiring a new citizenship, sometimes without being fully aware of this risk. Now, even though they would like to return to South Africa, they have to face serious administrative and legal troubles to the extent of not being able to live in South Africa permanently.

Collectively, the existing body of literature on return migration provides a guiding framework for our exploratory analysis of return migration in South African. Nonetheless, the contemporary history of South African immigrants differs significantly from the circumstances outlined by most studies on return migration, necessitating a more contextual approach. The particulars of the South African case are discussed in depth in the following section.

**Migration in South Africa**

South Africa (SA) is a complex country due to the several roles it plays in terms of migration flows. On the one hand, South Africa experienced a profound change in its migratory model when *Apartheid* ended in 1994. This put an end to the international isolation that SA had suffered during that period, which in turn led to great expectations and made SA become one of the most important destinations for immigrants from the Southern African region (Adepoju, 2006). In 1995 some sources estimated that there were around 5 million undocumented immigrants in SA (Posel, 2001). Other sources calculated that nearly 2 million immigrants were living in SA in 2010 (Ratha, Mohapatra, & Silwal, 2011): Zimbabweans (858 thousand), Mozambicans (454 thousand), Basothos (350 thousand). Because of these different figures, the exact number of immigrants in SA is unknown (Gallo Mosala, 2008).

On the other hand, SA is a country of emigration since many South Africans have left their land during the past decades because of the nation's uncertain future, both political and economic. Most of them have migrated to the United Kingdom, Mozambique, Australia, the United States, Canada and New Zealand (Adepoju, 2006; Meyer, Brown, & Kaplan, 2000). According to the World Bank (Ratha, et al., 2011), there are about 878 thousand South African emigrants (2010), which is 1.7 per cent of the total population of SA. This translates to 7.5 per cent of the tertiary-educated population of the country (2000). Nonetheless the system through which emigration data is collected famously lacks accuracy making a true assessment of the situation near impossible  (Bayley 2003, as cited by Brown, Kaplan, & Meyer, 2001). On the other hand, figures seem to be utilized for the benefit of some arguments. For instance, due to political changes in SA after 1994, the mass emigration of whites and the implementation of favourable policies towards the black population were cited by critics in their attacks on the new government. Brown stated that the situation was exaggerated by the media to make people believe that most white skilled workers were leaving the country (Brown, 2003). Nonetheless, emigration from South Africa has been mostly addressed through the "brain drain" lens.

This context inspired new research designed aimed at obtaining a better understanding of this phenomenon. Some authors carried out comparative analyses with sources from destination countries (Meyer, et al., 2000). These authors chose the period from 1989 to 1997, which allowed them to compare two stages: apartheid and post-apartheid migration trends. The main purpose of their work was to discover the difference between the Statistics South Africa (Stats SA) data, and that of destination countries regarding the number of skilled South African migrants. They calculated a new estimate of the number of emigrants who had left the country between 1987 and 1997 ("*233,609 as opposed to the 82,811 declared and registered by the South African Statistics*") and concluded that there was a "*brain drain 3 times higher than what the official data indicates*" (41,496 professionals vs. 12,949 declared)  (Meyer, et al., 2000, p. 13).

In 1998, another study was supported by the Southern Africa Migration Project (SAMP), and in this case the main goal was to estimate the number of skilled workers in SA and their emigration potential, that is, if they were thinking  leaving the country (JS Crush et al., 2000). They calculated that 9 per cent (1.6 mill) of the economically active

population (17 mill) were skilled workers. Amongst skilled workers, whites were predominant (72 per cent), whereas blacks were in the minority (18 per cent). However, scarcely 20 per cent had seriously considered leaving. Another controversial point about the emigration of South Africans is that it has been perceived as predominantly white. In this study, Crush et al. (JS Crush, et al., 2000)state that this perception is groundless since the same percentage (69% and 68%) of whites and blacks in their sample had "considered" emigrating.

*Intention and realisation in the analysis of emigration and return*

A substantial distinction among studies on reasons for emigrating or returning is whether the studies are based on the participants' intentions of emigrating or returning, or on the realisation of such a plan. On the other hand, other authors have highlighted that sometimes the realisation is not the result of a previous intention, since some expats have to return due to unexpected circumstances or sometimes the emigration is forced by external conditions (H De Haas, Fokkema, & Fihri, 2009). In the following lines we attempt to depict the characteristics of South African emigrants by taking this nuance into account.

*Why: Reasons for leaving South Africa*

According to Crush et al. (JS Crush, et al., 2000, p. 11), earlier studies attempting to figure out the reasons for leaving SA have been based on questions posed to emigrants. The main causes reported for leaving the country were "lack of safety and security, poor economic conditions, and poor social services". Crush et al. (JS Crush, et al., 2000) analyse the significance of these factors by adopting a logic that suited with their sample population: they wonder what factors would cause person to stay instead of leaving. Their findings reveal that an improvement in safety and security would induce a large number of people (25 per cent) to remain in SA. Family roots would be the second factor (15 per cent) and "nothing" *would make me change my mind to remain in South Africa* was the third answer given. Bearing in mind that only 59 people answered this question, we cannot expect these figures to provide a definitive idea of the reasons why people left South Africa, but at least, they provide us with a useful insight into the main push and pull factors driving emigration in this country.

Nash (Nash, 2010, p. 19) using a large dataset (N=5685)  for his study on the effect of "contagion" on the reasons for leaving SA, found that "global job opportunities, crime, travel, family, education, politics and money" were the main driving factors. Nonetheless, when interpreting these results according to the age of individuals when leaving the country, the youngest tend to choose "travel and job global opportunities" as the main factors, whilst older participants (with more family concerns) tend to point out crime (push factor) as one of the main driving factors. Based on the results of another study with 29 doctors living abroad, the main reasons for leaving South Africa were financial factors, better job opportunities and high crime rates (Bezuidenhout, Joubert, Hiemstra, & Struwig, 2009). In the same context of health professionals but based on a random sample of nurses (N=3331, n=501), although still living in SA, the main potential driving factors to leave the country were "*nurses' inadequate remuneration, poor working conditions, excessive workloads, lack of personal growth and career advancement possibilities and inability to meet their safety and security*"

(Oosthuizen & Ehlers, 2010, p. 14). Other study on South African physicians (N=107) showed that the most important reasons for leaving South Africa were "violence and lack of security" (43%), "political uncertainty" (19%), "financial opportunities abroad" (18%), "improper financial remuneration" (13%)(Van der Vyver & De Villiers, 2011, p. 18). With respect to Trlin's study of South Africans in New Zealand, "encompassing various reasons for emigration, it was dominated by one particular factor-increasing crime and violence and an associated fear for personal and/or familial security which accounted for 33 of the 40 responses" (Trlin, 2010, pp. 165-166). Other reasons were social and economic reasons (44.9%) and children's future (28.1%).

*Where: Intended and actual destinations*

Crush et al. (JS Crush, et al., 2000) stated that the main "intended destinations" were the United States (24 percent), Australia (22 percent), The United Kingdom (15 percent), New Zealand (12 percent) and Canada (11 percent), using a sample of 87 individuals targeted towards representing "skill professionals". Crush's works are also some of the best references when it comes to drawing a picture on the real situation of South African expatriate communities. In describing the South African diaspora "outside Africa" he mentions some countries as the main destinations that South African migrants choose when leaving. He points out two types of countries (J. Crush, 2011b). Those countries that historically have shaped the recent reality of South Africa through migratory networks and colonialist dominance, such as Germany, the Netherlands, Portugal, and the United Kingdom. And on the other hand, a second group of countries regarded as "newer destinations", which have some common features such as an anglo-culture, vast and wild territories, and histories steeped in migration such as Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the United States. Rule (Rule, 1994, p. 33) also mentions these destinations as the main preferences of potential SA emigrants, although at that moment, he showed scepticism about the possibility that the South African emigration flow would result in a large diaspora akin to the Turkish or Greek Diaspora. He harboured this scepticism despite the fact that "conservative estimates" calculated that around 200.000 South Africans had left the country in the last 15 years. The availability of data has been one of the main factor leading research on South African communities. At this respect, Australia and New Zealand Statistics have proved to be a very useful and accurate source of secondary data on the South African population living in these countries (Lucas, Amoateng, & Kalule-Sabiti, 2006; Rule, 1994). According to Trlin(Trlin, 2010, p. 166), many South Africans chose New Zealand as destination because it was "*perceived to be politically stable, economically sound with reasonably good social services, and (in particular) to be relatively free of the crime and violence that threatened personal safety in South Africa.*" Louw and Mersham highlight the similarities between South Africa and Australia as one of the main reasons why South Africans choose this destination (Louw & Mersham, 2001). In their work, they state that geography, use of the land, weather and a similar, but not identical culture, are some of the main attractions that South Africans find in Australia. On the other hand, this paper also points out dual citizenships as an important driving factor that simplifies enormously the migratory project. In this concern, United Kingdom appears as the best option for many South Africans who hold British citizenship, even though they would prefer moving to Australia.

*When: stages in emigration*

The emigration from South Africa has taken place in several stages. For Louw and Mersham(Louw & Mersham, 2001) there are five waves. The first wave of emigrants was caused by the victory of Afrikaner nationalism, what implied a relatively diminishing of the British hegemony in the area and the starting point of the apartheid. As a result several thousands of Anglo-south Africans left the country moving into Australia most of them. The second wave seemed to have a sharper effect, and was triggered by the happening of Soweto in 1976. As a result of this incident that faced the white hegemony, there was an emigration of black people involved in politics. Main destinations were both neighbour countries and also Europe or USA. But also a large number of Anglo South Africans living in urban areas and against the apartheid regime, made up their mind to leave the country, being Australia again, one of the main destinations together with the UK and USA (Louw & Mersham, 2001, p. 311). Over 15 years, until 1985 approximately, many Rhodesians with British or South African citizenship emigrated and became part of the South African diaspora abroad. In this third wave, the professional profile of emigrants was closely united to rural business, and because of the war and historical events they underwent, their expectations and values tended to be slightly different from British South Africans. A four wave began with the civil war in South Africa between 1984 and 1990. Reluctance to lose the white hegemony triggered several armed conflicts against communist and national guerrillas. Many whites made up their mind to leave the country and in doing so, avoided being enrolled in the army. Other minorities participated also of this flow to the UK, the USA, Australia and Canada. The last wave defined by these authors is named "post-apartheid", since it started a couple of years before it to collapse. The perception of the end of white supremacy and the risk of racial conflict boosted the emigration of people from all ethnic backgrounds but black, and belonging to a wider social status (including middle and working classes). The number of factors driving this wave proved more complex, since crime and Black Empowerment policies were playing a new role.

On the other hand, Crush (J. Crush, 2011b, pp. 12-13) defines three phases of out-migration in South Africa:

> *"(a) Pre-1990 (primarily migrants, exiles, and refugees of all races leaving apartheid South Africa): Emigration spiked during periods of political unrest (such as in the 1960s after the Sharpeville massacre, in the 1970s after the Soweto Uprising, and during the state of emergency in the 1980s). Australia, Canada, and the United Kingdom were primary destinations during this period.*
> *(b) 1990–2000: Departure of many conservative whites who were not prepared to live under a democratic African National Congress government and objected to the loss of historical white privileges. Most of these migrants went to Australia and the United Kingdom, but the numbers moving to New Zealand increased sharply.*
> *(c) Post-2000: Growing migration of skilled people and professionals of all races pushed by concerns about crime and safety and attracted by the more open immigration policies of skills-seeking Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development countries."*

For our purpose, the latter classification seems to be more convenient given it includes the same substantive information of the five phases that Louw and Mersham describe, at the same time that reduces the number of categories we should consider on our analysis.

*Who: Profile of South African expats according to the existing literature*

According to Crush (2011b, p. 70) the South African diaspora outside Africa is characterised for being predominantly white (>80%) and a similar percentage of men and women due to their family migration pattern. It is made up of skilled, educated and professionals. It can be considered as a permanent migration and very little is known about their specific occupational profile.Nash's study (using a non-probabilistic sampling) depicts the following expats' profile: by sex, 53% of men and 47% of women; age at time of departure: 70% between ages of 20 and 34 (mean 31); by race, 88% were whites, 4% blacks, 5% coloured and 3% indian/asian; by education level, 85% held higher education, and more than 50% were postgraduates (Nash, 2010, pp. 47-50). With a non-random sample technique of 35 South Africans living in New Zealand in 1997/98, Trlin(2010, p. 161) describes his sample as married (91.4%), with children (77%), between 20 and 45 years old, well educated professionals, and being English their first language (85%). Regardless the lack of representativeness of this study, it is notorious the similarity of profiles among studies on South African expats.Among South African expat physicians in Canada, the socio-demographic profile described by Van der Vyver et al. (2011, p. 18) is by sex, 86% men and 14% women; also 86% were married, and 79% left South Africa between 1991 and 1996. In their study about South African diaspora in Australia, Louw and Mersham (2001, p. 308) found evidence supporting the argument that "*the South African Diaspora is largely made up of white Anglo-South Africans*" although also including other minorities (Afrikaners, coloureds, Indians).According to Rule (1994, p. 33) most South Africans expats belonged to middle and upper income categories, with cultural ties in the United Kingdom and other European countries. In terms of skills, he pointed out a profile of high level professionals or technical skilled workers.Apart from having leaded the research on the South African Diaspora (JS Crush, et al., 2000), Crush is also fostering new studies exploring how to use new technologies in order to collect data from Southern African Diasporas in Canada (Jonathan Crush, et al., 2012). So far, only methodological findings have been published, but one fact worth noting is that most respondents in their survey (1653 individuals) are South Africans living in Canada. Hence, their final results will likely provide a vivid picture of the South African Diaspora in that country.

*How long: Expected duration and expectations abroad*

The expected duration of emigration allows us to predict the willingness to return of potential emigrants. Based on 87 respondents, 71 percent said that they would expect to stay more than 5 years at their likely destination and 14 percent expected a stay of between 2 and 5 years. The rest stated that they would return in less than 2 years. Only 4 percent stated that they did not know. Another question about the frequency of return (holidays, visits…) revealed that 57 percent were planning to return yearly (JS Crush, et al., 2000, p. 26).

Another interesting question asked respondents to compare their intended destination and South Africa in terms of safety, job, income, family issues and so on. In general, with N=725, conditions in South Africa obtained a lower score than conditions in the intended destination. On average, black skill professionals had a better opinion than whites regarding the conditions of South Africa as measured by many of these items. For whites, professional advancement and availability of desirable housing were the items in which the intended destination outperformed South Africa (JS Crush, et al., 2000, p. 33).

*Return intention*

Very little is known about the return intention of South African expats. In the case of physicians in Canada (Van der Vyver & De Villiers, 2011, p. 19), 60% considered that return was very unlikely for them, whilst a 33% did not have a clear opinion. When asked what factors would influence a decision of return (pull factors), "low crime, a stable political system and their family in South Africa" were the most important ones.

**South African Returnees, Planners and Stayers**

The actual return of South African expats has virtually never been addressed within the literature on migration because there was not empirical evidence of the existence of this phenomenon. Hence, our main goal is to give a step forward exploring cautiously several aspects of return migration to SA. Recalling that we started this project thinking on how a potential return migration of South Africans could contribute to the development of their country, we must recognize an initial impact-oriented approach. However, since the literature about migration-development nexus offered so many different types of impacts according to the typology of returnees, soon we realized the necessity of finding out more about the profile of the South African Diaspora and those who were returning to SA as a first step for tackling other topics. At this extent, the split between successful and failed returnees seemed to us insufficient and poor as well. Our only alternative turned out to be an exploration of this issue without taking on board any preconception and, in last case, positing some hypotheses that could guide our analysis in the singular South African setting.

Nonetheless, the main contribution of this paper is the possibility of comparing, not only three different stages in the return migration project, but also of comparing the explicit reasons given by emigrants with the implicit factors that are usually addressed in the literature on migration decision. The main question that stems from this scenario is whether there are significant differences about how some factors influence the return decision of returnees, planners and stayers.

> *HYPOTHESIS 1:*
> *Regarding explicit reasons for returning or staying, there are*
> *differences between how the three groups weight each factor*
> *and consequently, what factors are substantially important in*
> *their decision.*
> *HYPOTHESIS 2:*
> *The explicit reasons are associated to the personal socio-*
> *economic profile of participants (implicit reasons).*

Following the paper of Wang and Fan (2006), we also consider that in studying return migration is essential to count on an interdisciplinary approach. The more interdisciplinary the approach is, the more likely to gain knowledge and be able to explain the true reasons for why people return or stay. On the other hand, according to these authors (Wang & Fan, 2006, p. 941) , "*the selectivity and impact approaches are problematic*" because both of them take for granted that return migration can only be the result of a failure or success migratory experience and hence, the grade of success is calculated in the basis of some explicit variables. For them "*return reason is key to understanding return migration and should be emphasized in addition to the selectivity and impacts approaches*"(p. 941).

For our purpose, the NE and NELM theories turn out valuable providing they present a clear logic between the effect of variables on return decision (H De Haas, et al., 2009, p. 4). In the spirit of Wang and Fan's paper (2006) where they compare three categories of individuals (nonmigrants, returnees and continuing migrants) in the urban-rural Chinese migration context, we are also willing to compare three current situations in the international migration project (described by the variable "stage") of many South Africans : returnees, planners and stayers. In this sense, our starting point is what factors (independent variables) are making a South African expat become a returnee (having currently returned), a stayer (not planning to return) or a planner (planning to return). Nonetheless, we are acutely aware that the simplicity of these models is going to face serious troubles to obtain a satisfactory explanation of why some people return whilst other stay. A better explanation is provided by combining these results with the structuralist approach, that in the case of South Africa may help us better understand how the changes experienced by the host and home country/ies in last decades have maybe re-shaped the reasons for leaving and returning.

For instance, according to Crush's paper (2011b) the reasons for leaving the country vary in different periods: before 1990 the main reasons are tied to political and racial discrimination. Between 1990 and 2000, the flow of emigrants experienced a dramatic increase when around 1 million of white South Africans left the country because of the political change, uncertainty and also loss of privileges. After 2000, the economic crisis and the high crime rates that the country was undergoing were the main reasons given by emigrants. Considering that most South African emigrants are high skilled professionals, with cultural ties with other western countries, even many of them holding dual citizenships, it seems to us that the socio-economic and cultural context of South African expats is worth taking into account. In this sense, the structuralist perspective seems capable of interpreting how the contexts in which South African expats are living, become driving factors in return decision.

Nevertheless, the connection between different theories is proving valuable insight into the migration decision-making. Concepts such as social networks, human capital, utility of place, are progressively becoming part of the literature on migration decision (Haug, 2008). Furthermore, many of these concepts are enriched by qualitative approaches that gather a more suitable set of analytical tools to investigate them. It is our goal to interpret the case of South African return migration by combining both quantitative and qualitative data even though this paper shows only quantitative findings. Nevertheless some interpretations given to our results are based on the open-question with which

the questionnaire ended and also on an exploratory analysis of websites and comments made by South African expats and returnees.

[FIGURE 1. GRAPH WITH GENERAL MODEL]

**Data collected and methodology**

Our sample was collected by using an online survey. The use of online survey and social media are proving as new and promising tools for collecting data on South African diaspora (Jonathan Crush, et al., 2012; Pendock, 2010). Our online survey was conducted in August 2012. It was prepared by using "SelectSurvey" software package. The questionnaire was very comprehensive, with more than 50 questions for each participant. The first group of questions worked as a filter to separate participants in two main groups: *expats and returnees*. Then, both groups were asked the same questions although with subtle nuances: about their situation before leaving South Africa, their current situation, reasons why they left South Africa and in the case of returnees, reasons why they have returned and satisfaction regarding their migratory experience. After these questions they were asked about their current or potential contribution to South Africa's future with a set of questions (remittances, transference of knowledge, investment, participation in local projects, and so on). The last part was about personal information (age, sex, race, religion, language, civil status, education level, income, occupation and professional satisfaction).

Participants were self-selected, although a kind of snowball sampling was undertook in order to contact people from different backgrounds. One of the main ways of contacting potential participants was Facebook. A Facebook group was created with the title "South Africans making a difference" in which was explained that the goal of that group was to facilitate expats and returnees to participate in this survey. The group was advertised in more than 70 Facebook groups of South Africans around the World asking permission to the administrators. Moreover, collaboration was required from the ten most important South African newspapers although only two of them gave a positive answer to show the link to the survey. The Homecoming Revolution, an NGO that supports South Africans to return, was another very important mean of contacting participants. This organisation has been also the main source of data for other studies (Barnard & Pendock, 2013; Nash, 2010). Other participants offered themselves as "gatekeepers" to promote the survey among their friends and colleagues. The survey was also distributed by emailing it to potential participants such as South African universities, companies and some South African websites. The survey was online for three weeks.

[TABLE 1. HOW DID YOU RECEIVE THIS SURVEY]

The sample is composed of 384 South African adults (18 or over) who are currently living abroad (expats) or who are currently living in South Africa after having lived abroad (returnees). There were initially a total of 496 survey respondents, but only the respondents who entered their demographic and socioeconomic information were kept in the final analysis since omitting these variables might have significantly biased our results. Like many of the previous studies mentioned in our literature review, there are some concerns about the representativeness of our survey sample, especially due to the non-random nature of the sampling method and the small size of the sample. In the

following sections, we demonstrate that the baseline characteristics of our sample are actually very comparable to those of samples used by other researchers in their studies on the South African diaspora (Barnard & Pendock, 2013; Pendock, 2010). Hence, though our sample may not be perfectly representative, it still provides a rich and plausible picture of South African expatriates and returnees.

[TABLE 2. DESTINATION COUNTRY]

In tackling the reasons why people return or stay, is necessary to bear in mind that one thing is what people consider and belief are the reasons why they move back or stay (*explicit reasons*), and on the other hand, what researchers, with sophisticated analysis and going beyond explicit answers, attempt to define as *implicit factors* associated to return decision. We consider two sets of questions in order to cope both of them. Concerning the *explicit reasons*, questions attempt to give voice to the participants by letting them express the reasons why they have moved back to South Africa, are planning to do it, or intend to stay in their host country.

In turn, the *explicit reasons* were asked in two different ways. The first one consisted of a similar question for returnees, planners and stayers. If respondent was a…
- Returnee: "*How did the following items weigh in your decision of moving back to South Africa (the last time if several)?*"
- Planner: "How do the following items weigh in your decision of returning to South Africa?"
- Stayer: "How do the following items weigh in your decision of staying in "name of the host country"?

The answer was made up of a scale from -5 to +5, where -5 meant "I strongly prefer to stay in "host country", 0 "it is (was) not a relevant factor" and +5 meant "I strongly prefer to return to South Africa" ("preferred" for returnees) and 14 items: safety, relatives, my family, sentimental relation, style of living, weather, racial issues, political circumstances, children upbringing, professional development, economic situation, welfare state, friends and retirement.

[GRAPH 1. HOW MUCH DRIVING FACTORS INFLUENCE RETURN-STAY DECISION]

The second way for asking *explicit reasons* consisted of three questions. In case of returnees, "Which was the first most important driving factor why you made up your mind to return to South Africa?"; "And the second one?"; "And the third?". In case of planners, the question were "Which is the first most important driving factor why you are planning to return to South Africa?"; "And the second one?"; "And the third?". In case of stayers, none question was asked. As a result, this second group of questions only can be used to compare returnees and planners.

[GRAPH 2. EXPLICIT REASONS FOR RETURNING TO SOUTH AFRICA FOR RETURNEES AND PLANNERS]

Once we have presented the measures of "explicit reasons", we proceed to explain how "implicit factors" have been addressed in this paper. The fact of being named "implicit

factors" is due to these variables have been asked without remarking their connection with migration decision, but rather as characteristics of the migratory experience and personal profile. Although in the questionnaire there were many other questions and variables, eventually only a group of them have been used in this analysis.

[TABLE 3. LIST OF VARIABLES]

*Age, female and degree* constitute the first group of socio-demographic variables. They are going to be the main control variables when running the different models.
*Age* is defined as the current age (years) of participants in August 2012. Initially we were wondering whether it would be more convenient to use the age of returnees when they returned to SA. In doing so, we would incur in a less consistent logic for comparing the results, since we should also utilize the age of planners in the year in which they were intending to return (we have also this data), but we could not follow the same criterion for stayers, since for this category we should use the current age. Because of the complexity of the context, we have opted for using the current age of all participants.

[GRAPH 2. GROUP AGE]

*Female* is a dummy variable with value 1 for women and 0 for men.
*Degree* is measuring the current highest educational level of participants. Given the South African Diaspora was virtually defined as a brain drain, we did not expect a large variety of educational level, but rather a relatively similar high educational level among participants. We have defined the variable "Degree" as a dummy variable with value 1 if the respondent hold a university degree or higher degree (master or PhD), and value 0 if the respondent hold a lower educational level or other qualification.

[TABLE 4. HIGHEST QUALIFICATION]

*Marital status*
Initially we have distinguished 7 categories within marital status (see Table 5). Nonetheless, after some exploratory analysis we have considered to transform only two categories into dummy variables due to statistical convenient criteria. The first dummy variable is *Married*, whose value is 1 if the respondent is "married and living with his/her wife/husband" (value 0 for the rest of categories), and on the other hand, *Single,* whose value is 1 if the respondent is a "single" person.

[TABLE 5. MARITAL STATUS]

*Child* is a dummy variable with value 1 if there are children living with the respondent. If so, the respondent was asked the number of children who were in schooling age that is represented by *Numberchild*.

*Sadual* is a dummy variable with value 1 when the respondent is currently holding South African citizenship plus another one. *Sacouple* is a dummy variable with value 1 when the partner (categories 2, 3 and 4: married, legally partnership and cohabiting) holds South African citizenship. *Salost* is a dummy variable with value 1 for those participants who held South African citizenship in the past but for some reasons they lost it.

*RespAfrikaans* and *PartnerAfrikaans* are two dummy variables with value 1 when respondent and respondent's partner speak Afrikaans at home as the main language.

*Yearabroad* is the number of years lived abroad in the last migration, and it is calculated by subtracting the year of emigration to the year of return (returnees) or "2012" (planners and stayers). *Yearemi* is the year when respondent left South Africa. *Waves* indicates the period of emigration according to Crush's classification[1]: "before 1994", "between 1994 and 2000", and "after 2000".

[TABLE 6. YEAR ABROAD]
[TABLE 7. WAVES]
[GRAPH 3. YEAR OF EMIGRATION]

*Property* is a dummy variable with value 1 when the respondent owns or owned (returnees) a property (house, flat, other) in South Africa as living abroad.

*Inc3* is the current annual personal income of respondent in GBP. It has three categories, *less than 24.000GBP, between 24.000 and 60.000GBP, and more than 60.000GBP.* The original variable for individual income was *Personal income,* with seven categories.

Because of this variable refers to the current situation of the participant, its rationale is as follows: we can compare the current financial circumstances of expats who are living abroad willing or not to return, with the financial situation of those who have returned. In doing so, we obtain a hypothetical longitudinal picture of three stages. The most valuable comparison is between returnees and planners, because it also provides some insights into how wage differentials may be driving return migration in the case of South Africa.

[GRAPH 4. INCOME BY STAGE]

**Findings and analysis**

Table 3 presents summary statistics for the entire sample, which includes the descriptive statistics presented in the previous section. Returnees make up almost 15% of the sample (57 respondents), expatriates intending to return represent almost 30% (114 respondents), and the remaining 65% is made up of expatriates not intending to return (213 respondents). This table disaggregates the data into three categories: returnees, those planning to return (planners), and those not planning to return to South Africa (stayers).

At first glance there do not seem to be any stark differences between the three groups: they have similar gender profiles, mean ages, proportion of degree-holders and personal incomes. Among returnees, there is a higher proportion of South African citizens as well as a significantly higher proportion of people with dual citizenship. Most

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[1]Crush, J. (2011a). Diasporas of the South: Situating the African Diaspora in Africa. *Diaspora for development in Africa*. Actually he distinguishes 3 waves although very slightly different: "before 1990", "between 1990 and 2000", "after 2000".

people who have lost their South African citizenship are stayers. The expatriate group has a higher proportion of married (or otherwise committed) individuals. In comparing stayers and planners, the proportion of South African citizens is much higher amongst those intending to return. Also, the proportion of people who are married (or otherwise committed) and the proportion that have children living with them are both much lower amongst those intending to return. Unemployment also appears to be lower amongst those intending to return, but these statistics are based on so few observations (about 16) that this difference may be spurious. The proportion of degree holders, median income levels and average years spent in South Africa are more or less the same between the two groups of expats. With the exception of a few cases, there are few stark differences between these three groups according to these observable characteristics.

The average age of the sample is 39.6 years old with a standard deviation of 9.7 years. The two largest groups are those who are 31-35 and 36-40 years old. Once again, these figures match with the profile of South African migrants described by Crush using data from the New Zealand Census in 2006, in which "the largest adult group (40 percent) was people in their 30s and 40s" (J. Crush, 2011a, p. 68).

The overall proportion of men and women is almost identical, 51 percent and 49 percent. Crush (2011a; 2011b, p. 13) explains that this "*even gender split*" in the diaspora is due to a family emigration instead of the emigration of isolated individuals. However, among returnees seems there be a higher proportion of men than women (45.61% of women). Our figures on the marital status of participants confirm this hypothesis since less than 20 percent are singles whereas the majority are married, 62 percent. By stage, stayers account for the highest proportion of "married and living with wife/husband" participants, with 80.28%, whilst only the 50% of planners belong to this category. The proportion of singles is higher among returnees (28.07%) than among expats (21.05 and 14.55% for planners and stayers, respectively).When asked whether there were more individuals living with the respondent, 46.6 percent responded that his or her child/children were living at home. Among planners this proportion was clearly smaller than other groups (35.96%). Of those with children at home, most of them (76.9 percent) had some children of school-going age and only 23.1 percent did not have any children in schooling age. This figure reinforces the theory of family emigration, though more concrete data would be necessary regarding whether these children migrated with their parents or whether they were born abroad.

In the context of South Africa, race and ethnicity is a particularly complex issue. Following traditional classifications, Louw et al. (Louw & Mersham, 2001) distinguish "four race groups": white, coloured, Indian and black. Due to the rich cultural reality of the South African society, one's ethnic group is often not perfectly identifiable using these categories. Race is defined by the skin colour whereas ethnicity can be described by using alternative measures such as religion or language when not official data are available. According with Louw et al. (Louw & Mersham, 2001), "inferring ethnicity from religion is far from satisfactory" although they use this approach "because religion is such a strong marker of ethnicity in South Africa". Our paper also assesses ethnicity by analysing the most often spoken language at home. Ethnically, (Louw & Mersham, 2001, p. 305) South Africans can be sorted as follows: Afrikaners, Anglos and Portuguese constitute the main white groups, and then there are nine distinct black ethnic groups.

Regarding the racial makeup of our sample, the main group consists of white South Africans, 92.2 percent. Coloured, black and Indian South Africans account for about 2-3 percent each. These figures are not that different from those presented in Crush's work ([2011a, p. 70](#)) where he describes the South African Diaspora as predominantly white, comprising more than 80 percent of the sample population. On the other hand, the fact of speaking Afrikaans at home as a main language is going to be considered as an indicator of ethnicity or at least of some cultural and remarkable identity. Among returnees the proportion of Afrikaans speakers is the smallest, both for respondent (24.56%) and partner (10.53%).

The education level of emigrants is one of the main indicators to assess the loss of professionals, colorfully depicted as a 'brain drain'. The South African outflow has traditionally been thus labelled due to the higher qualifications of those who left the country in comparison with the general population ([Black, Crush, Peberdy, & Ammassari, 2006](#)). Overall, the brain drain has become a major concern for Southern African authorities, particularly in the field of health ([Hagopian, Thompson, Fordyce, Johnson, & Hart, 2004](#); [Padarath et al., 2003](#); [Schrecker & Labonte, 2004](#)). The education level of our survey participants tallies with this group of higher skilled workers. Three quarters of participants had completed higher education studies. Among all participants, 4 percent held a PhD and 21.4 percent had completed a Masters, while 53.6 percent were university graduates. Only 15.1 percent did not hold a university degree although they had finished their high school education.

The proportion of unemployed people in the sample was very low. Only 5 percent of them were unemployed and among them, only half were looking for a job. On the other hand, almost 90 percent of participants were working. The main group was paid employee at 70 percent, and 17.4 percent described themselves as being self-employed. Only 2.6 percent of them were employers themselves.

Regarding the year of emigration, returnees and stayers show a similar profile. By contrast, planners are the most distinct group with 81.58% that left the country in the third wave, after 2000. The median year of emigration is 2001, 2005 and 2003 for returnees, planners and stayers, respectively.

A last point is whether participants have (expats) or had (returnees) a property in South Africa when living abroad. A sparking difference between the three groups illustrates what may be one of the best indicators of return project, since 47.37% of actual returnees had a property in South Africa when they were living abroad, whilst only 16.9 percent of stayers currently own a property in South Africa.


**Explicit/stated reasons for returning**

In interpreting how our 14 items influence return-stay decision, it seems that the three groups of South Africans share similar opinion about some factors that are objectively negative or positively shaping the South African context. *Negative factors* are in the top of the table 8, and when considering South Africa as the baseline, they are working as *"push"* factors (i.e. safety and political circumstances). "Racial issues" and "welfare" also

appear as "push" factors but with less impact in returnees than expats. The bottom of the table shows what most South Africans consider one of the most important *"pull"* factors of the country, its weather. The rest of items in the bottom part are regarded as positive factors although returnees and planners tend to emphasize the importance of these items (relatives, family, friends) more than stayers. The reason why these items are pull factors (especially for returnees and planners) is probably associated with the strength of some family ties and with the number of relatives and friends who are still living in South Africa. "Style of living" has an important role in return decision for both returnees and planners, whereas stayers seem to get used to their new "style of living" in the host country and is not a relevant factor for them. "Retirement" plays a difficult role since there is a group of planners who are willing to return to South Africa once they become retired, but in some cases it is a long term project (more than 20 years). Similarly, "economic situation" and "professional development" are barely important issues for returnees and planners, whereas are very relevant for stayers, who strongly prefer the possibilities and chances that the host country offers. Among all items, only one highlights a very clear distinction between how subjective and personal motivations, hard to measure, can become a driving factor in one and another direction at the same time. It is the case of "children upbringing". For returnees, South Africa is the best place for bringing up their children whereas for stayers, the host country appears as a better place for their children. The interpretation to this contrast has been given by the same participants in the open-question, and also is a common controversial topic in some forums of South Africans. For returnees, nature, weather and extensive family, are part of the education and values they wish to pass through their children. For stayers, safety for their children is a key factor to stay abroad and bringing them up in other country above the wonderful South African traditions.

[TABLE 8. 14 ITEMS]

The interpretation of these 14 push-pull factors for returnees and planners can be contrasted with the answer to the other set of questions about "first, second and third reasons to return". The following graph shows that *family, homesickness and children upbringing* are the three most cited reasons to return. This trend tallies with how much these items have influenced return decision (previous question), where for returnees, they obtained very high scores (my family=3.9; children upbringing=2.1); On the other hand, even though homesickness was not defined as an item, could be associated with "weather", "style of living", "family and relatives", that were also relevant factors for returnees. The combination of both types of question makes clear what the actual driving factors (pull) are for returnees and planners. In this sense, traditional migration decision theories based on economic factors would neglect other important reasons (family, homesickness, children upbringing) that in the case of South African return migration are the most relevant ones. In the next sections we will investigate the 14 items individually and their association with other variables.

[GRAPH 5. EXPLICIT REASONS TOTAL NUMBER RETURNEES AND PLANNERS]

*Using regression models*

The first set of regressions examine the odds of being a returnee, planner or stayer

based on responses given to questions about the degree to which various factors impact the decision to return to South Africa or stay in their host country (see Table 8). Table 9 presents the results of the binary and multinomial logistic regressions using as dependent variables on the one hand, "returnee status" (dummy) in specifications 1 and 2, and in the other hand, "stage" (categorical)in specifications 3-6; the fourteen ratings together with some demographic control variables were the independent variables.

*Binary Logistic Regression: Returnees vs. Expats (planners and stayers)*
In specification 1, the results for 'Political Circumstances', 'Children upbringing' and 'Friends' are statistically significant at the 1% level, indicating that these three factors play a non-trivial role in determining whether or not someone returns to South Africa. The odds ratios for 'Child upbringing' is greater than one, so higher scores on this item (i.e. a stronger preference to return to South Africa based on this item) increases the odds of being a returnee relative to remaining an expatriate. More specifically, a one-point increase in the answer to 'How child upbringing influenced the decision of whether or not to go back to South Africa' is associated with a 21% increase in the odds of being returnee. Conversely, higher scores on the 'Political Circumstances' and 'Friends' items decrease the odds of being a returnee. A one-point increase on 'Political Circumstances' reduces the odds of being a returnee by 28 percent, while a one-point increase on the 'Friends' item reduces the odds of being a returnee by 21 percent. The results for 'Family', 'Racial Issues' and 'Retirement' are also statistically significant at the slightly less stringent 5 percent level. A one point increase on the scale for 'Family' increases the odds of being a returnee by 23 percent and a one point increase in the response for 'Racial issues' increases the odds of being a returnee by 27 percent. Lastly, a one-point increase in the response for the impact of 'retirement' concerns on the preference to return reduces the odds of being a returnee by 15 percent. These results appear to be fairly robust to model specification since the addition of demographic controls such as age, education and couple-status does not notably alter the substantive values or the statistical significance of the results (refer to specification 2 in Table 9). At a high level, these results allow us to start to pinpoint the most salient push and pull factors in the South African context for the population of migrants represented by our survey.

*Multinomial Logistic Regression: returnees, planners and stayers (baseline)*
Next, we investigated whether the salience of these fourteen items differs at a different level of classification. Specifications 3 and 4 display the results for the multinomial logistic regression comparing the odds of being a returnee or an expatriate planning to return to the odds of being an expatriate not planning to return to South Africa. Comparing the results presented in columns 3 and 4, there are notable differences in the factors which most significantly influence the odds of being a returnee or an expatriate willing to return to South Africa. For instance, the results for 'Political circumstances' and 'Friends' are both statistically significant at the 5 percent level for returnees versus 'stayers,' whereas they are not for expatriates planning to leave versus stayers. In both cases, a greater stated preference for moving back to South Africa based on the factor decreases the odds of being a returnee relative to being not willing to return. Also, the results for 'Retirement' are highly significant (p-value << 0.01) for the comparison between the two expatriate groups and not at all significant for the comparison between returnees and stayers. A one-point increase in the stated preference to return in South Africa based on retirement concerns increases the odds of

being willing to return by almost 30 percent. The results for 'Sentimental relation' and 'Style of living' are also selectively significant (at the 1 percent level) for the comparison between the two expatriate groups (specification 3). Again, a greater stated preference for moving back to South Africa based on these factors increases the odds of being willing to return. Finally, the results for 'Safety' are statistically significant at the 5 percent level and indicate that a higher stated preference for moving back to South Africa based on this factor reduces the odds of being willing to return versus not being willing. Interestingly, 'Safety' does not seem to significantly influence the odds of being a returnee versus being an expatriate not willing to return. The similarities between the two groups are also noteworthy. Namely, a greater stated preference for moving back to South Africa to raise children or for professional development increases the odds of being a returnee or an expatriate willing to return, relative to being an expatriate not willing to return. As was the case in the binary logistic regression case, these results appear to be robust to the addition of demographic controls.

[TABLE 9. LOGIT AND MULTI EXPLICIT]

*Reducing the number of items*
Apart from these results, we were also interesting in reducing these 14 items (strongly correlated each other) into a smaller number of variables or factors that conceptually have the capability of providing a substantive classification of this set of reasons. In order to achieve this purpose we run two analyses: first of all, a *Principal Component Analysis* (PCA) and secondly an *Exploratory Factor Analysis* (EFA). Although these two methods share some common features, the comparison of their results help us better interpret the explicit reasons given by participants.

*Principal Component Analysis (PCA)*
 Given the outputs shown in table 10 we have retained only two components according to the following criteria: retain enough components to represent "enough" of total variation; retain components with "large" eigenvalues; retain components above the "elbow" of the scree plot of number of components (14) against eigenvalues. The first component explains 38.2% of total variation, the second 20.2%, turning out 58.4% of total variation. This is not as large as we would like, but the eigenvalues are higher than 1, and they are also above the elbow. Furthermore, the substantive interpretation of these components is the main reason to choose only two components instead of three.

[TABLE 10. PCA]

Hence, the first component may be interpreted as the relative contribution of each item to the overall return decision, regardless whether they are working as push or pull factors. In this regard, "weather" appears as one of the relatively less important item in comparison with the others. The second component usually provide a more substantive interpretation like happens in this case. Component 2 shows the contrast between two groups of items: political circumstances, safety, racial issues, welfare and economic situation on the one hand. And on the other hand, retirement, style of living, family and friends. In the middle, without any specific direction appears "children upbringing".

[TABLE 11. COMPONENTS]

*Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA)*
A second way of tackling the analysis of explicit reasons is by running an exploratory factor analysis. This method is also very convenient when it comes to reducing large number of variables, but also in terms of interpretation and further analysis. Thus, factor loadings (through the scoring coefficients matrix) may be easier interpreted because they are correlated with the variables and due to the feasibility of rotating them to obtain a simpler structure. Given our work is attempting to explore more than confirm any hypothesis,*confirmatory factor analysis* is beyond our scope.

[TABLE 12. EFA AND FACTORS]

In the basis of the PCA outcomes, only two factors are going to be chosen. Factor 1 is mostly defined by "political circumstances", "safety", "racial issues" and "economic situation", whereas factor 2 is mainly defined by "sentimental relation", "relatives", "friends" and "my family". "Style of living" has a similar relevance in both factors. In observing the uniqueness of these variables, "political circumstances" has the highest communality (1-0.205), why its contribution to the factor model is very relevant. "Safety" and "racial issues" also account for a remarkable contribution to the model. These three elements are precisely the items that returnees, planners and stayers strongly agree as "push factors". The communalities of the main variables defining factor 2 are slightly smaller, around 50%. For a better interpretation factor loadings have been rotated using orthogonal rotation (VARIMAX). Our understanding is that factor 1 is reflecting "push factors" whereas factor 2 gathers the main "pull factors" assuming South Africa as the reference point. After rotation, it seems clear that reasons for staying abroad instead of returning to South Africa are the "political circumstances", "safety" and "racial issues". Ambiguous position is that "style of living" is occupying. And the "pull factors" are "sentimental relation", "relatives", "friends" and "family".

[TABLE 13. EFA EIGENVALUES]

The following question is how these pull-push factors influence the decision of the three different groups of South Africans. Although we might presume how the association of these factors with each group is, empirical evidence needs to be shown in order to justify some assumptions. Giving a step forward, we have run several models including both factors. Although at first glance, it could seem obvious whether these two factors are dependent or independent variables, the question is not so straightforward. On the one hand, emigrants tend to justify their decision looking at the benefits rather than the costs of their decision once it has been undertaken. Stayers and returnees are in a relatively stable stage in which they are more likely to avoid new dilemmas, whereas planners find themselves in a transitory stage in which mixed feelings can be part of their ordinary life. Because of that, push and pull factors may act still as a motivation for moving or staying in the case of planners, or simply the justification of what has been decided (stayers) or done (returnees). As motivations, these push-pull factors would be independent variables whereas being a returnee, planner or stayer the result (dependent variable). As justifications, push-pull factors would be dependent variables subject to the current situation of South Africans (independent variables). First of all, we have investigated these push-pull factors that are explicitly stated by participants as dependent variables. Table 14presents the results for simple linear regression models: specification 1 and 2 show that being a actual returnee (vs. planner or stayer) and

holding constant the rest of variables, is associated with an 0.399 points increase the value of factor 1 and 0.558 points increase the value of factor 2. This result is sound with previous outputs, since factor 1 and factor 2 are positively correlated with the main variables defining each factor, and hence, an increase in factor 1 or factor 2 entails an increase in how much these variables influence the return-stay decision (recalling that the lowest values of the scale were for "I strongly prefer host country" and highest values for "I strongly prefer South Africa"). Thus, returnees are associated with higher values in factor 1 and factor 2 since overall, they are closer to "prefer living in South Africa" than in the host country, and when giving an opinion about negative issues such as political circumstances or safety or racial issues (push factors-f1), they are less negative than stayers or planners. Specification 3 and 4 compare stayers with returnees-planners. The results are also significant for factor 1 (p<0.01) and factor 2 (p<0.001). To be a stayer instead of a returnee or planner, is associated with 0.28 points decrease in factor 1 (push factors) and 1.114 points decrease in factor 2. Comparing with specifications 5 and 6 in which the three stages are taking into account (returnee is the baseline), the only significant differences take place between returnees and stayers. Holding constant all variables, being a stayer is associated with a 0.468 (p<0.01) points decrease in factor 1 and  0.991 points decrease in factor 2 when comparing with returnees.

[TABLE 14. MODELS WITH FACTORS AS DEPENDENT VARIABLES]


**Implicit factors: Demographic and Socioeconomic Factors**

Moving on from explicitly stated reasons for preferring to return or to stay, our next set of regressions examine the role of demographic and socioeconomic factors in influencing the odds of being a returnee or an expatriate. Table 15 (only multinomial) presents the results of multinomial logistic regressions using whether or not an individual was a stayer (baseline), a planner or a returnee as the dependent variable. Model 1 and 2 ("implicit factors") include only
a set of personal characteristics which have been shown to be significant in previous literature. Apart from some controlling variables (age, female, degree), model 1 includes the stage when emigration took place (*waves*), and *yearabroad*. The later was the emigration, the smaller are the odds of being a returnee instead of a stayer. If the emigration took place in the second wave, the odds of being a returnee are 77.4% (p<0.05) smaller than being a stayer. If the emigration took place in the third wave, the odds of being a returnee are even smaller, 95% less than being a stayer (p<0.01). On the other hand, one year increase in the variable "yearabroad" turns into 0.846 (p<0.001) times the odds of being a returnee in comparison with a stayer, that is the same that one year increase the duration of last emigration reduces the odds of being a returnee against a stayer by 15.4%.  In model 2, holding constant all variables, to be "married and living with husband or wife" decreases the odds of being a planner by 0.27 times the odds of being a stayer (p<0.01). Those respondents whose partner holds South African citizenship show 2.73 times higher odds of being both a returnee (p<0.05) and a planner (p<0.01) than a stayer. Those whose partner's main language at home is Afrikaans the odds of being a returnee are 84.4% smaller than of being a stayer (p<0.01). To own a property in South Africa whilst living abroad increases the odds of

being a planner rather than a stayer by 3.21 times (p<0.001). For returnees against stayers the odds are 5.2 times higher (p<0.001).

Moving on the comparison between implicit and explicit factors (models 3-7) and controlling all variables, one unit increases in factor 2 (pull) is associated with up to 17.5 (model 7) times the odds of being a planner instead a stayer (p<0.001). Similarly, one unit increase in factor 2 is also associated with up to 10.1 times (model 7) the odds of being a returnee rather than a stayer (p<0.001). The effect of one unit increase in factor 1, has only a significant effect in the case of returnees, where by one unit increase in this factor is associated with, on average, 2 times the odds of being a returnee rather than a stayer (p<0.001 for model 4).

Holding constant all variables, to be married is associated with a 0.26 times (model 3, p<0.01) the odds of being a planner rather than a stayer (to be married decreases the odds of being a planner rather than a stayer by 74 %). The fact of having lost the South African citizenship is associated with a significant decrease in the odds of being either a planner or a returnee rather than a stayer. In model 4, the loss of South African citizenship is associated with 0.176 times the odds of being a planner rather than a stayer (p<0.01), and is also associated with a 97 % decrease in the odds of being a returnee rather than a stayer (p<0.01).

In model 6, controlling all variables, one year increase in the duration of last emigration is associated with a 13% decrease in the odds of being a returnee rather than a stayer (p<0.01). Owning a property as living abroad is still associated with a significant increase of the odds of being a planner or a returnee rather than a stayer. In this regard, in model 7, the odds of being a planner increase by 3 times the odds of being a stayer (p<0.05), and by 5.2 between returnees and stayers (p<0.01). Lastly, in model 7, the odds of being a returnee or planner are also associated with whether the partner's respondent speaks Afrikaans at home. If so, the odds of being a planner decrease by 80% (p<0.05) and the odds of being a returnee decrease by 95% (p<0.01) in comparison with the odds of being a stayer.

**Discussion of results and conclusions**

Unlike other studies on migration decision, in our study variables such as *age, gender* or *education level (degree)* are not playing a distinctive role when it comes to analysing the implicit factors driving return migration. The interpretation of this outcome underlies in the very profile of the South African diaspora, since this diaspora gathers particular characteristics that are in its turn very different from other Diasporas. With regard to age, the South African diaspora is still a relatively young diaspora. Gender seems not to have an effect due to the family migration profile of the South African emigration, where there are predominantly marriages and couples, and hence, a similar proportion of males and females. In terms of intention and perceptions, earlier studies have shown that migratory experience seems to be more challenging for South African women (Trlin, 2010, p. 163), why we could expect that women be more eager of coming back to South Africa than men and also that women's reasons for returning be different to men's reasons. In our analysis non-significant evidence of this tendency has been found.

The high educative level of South Africans expats tallies with earlier studies that describe the South African diaspora as a brain drain of high skilled professionals (as described in the above section). Our data may be biased in term of age and education level given our sampling method tends to over represent young and high skilled people, who are usually more familiar with the use of the Internet and social networks.

Income as controlled in model 6 (inc3), has not proved a good explanatory variable to explain return decision. We presume that our sample is made up of people who enjoy a relatively high level of income (in comparison with South African standards) and because of that, wage differentials might not be enough reason (in case of their existence) for driving return migration.

Whether being married is an important explanatory variable, we have seen that only in the case of planners there is a significant output, making smaller the odds of being a planner in case of being married. We do not have a clear explanation of this finding because this data is not retrospective, although a possible explanation would be that only once people have taken the decision of returning or staying, then they try to found a family and many who are in the transition stage (planners) are waiting for resolving such situation before getting married.

The literature on children and return migration (Démurger & Xu, 2011; Djajić, 2008; Christian Dustmann, 2003a) seems to indicate that somehow, children affect return decision, although the way in which this happens diverges among studies. Respondents were asked whether there were children living with them, and if so, how many were in the schooling age. Behind this question we were assuming that a potential driving factor could be "having young children" rather than "children in the university or over 18 years old". We lack of information about the sex of the children, why we have not been able to test the hypothesis of Dustmann(Christian Dustmann, 2003a), according to which, parents have a different concern about the effect of return on their male and female offspring. In the context of South Africa where rapes are rife, it could be a good predictor of return migration to distinguish between the gender of children, since in some comments made by expats, parents fear their young daughters could be victims of rape. Nonetheless, when analysing the explicit reasons given by respondents, "children upbringing" appeared as a relevant issue both returnees and stayers. As previously mentioned in that section, a subjective idea of what the best education is for their own children underlies the direction of this factor.

The role of citizenship in migration decision has scarcely been addressed in its simplest version. By contrast, dual citizenships have been considered relevant factors for the success of the integration/assimilation process of immigrants in host countries (Mazzolari, 2009). Due to the cultural ties of many white South Africans with other countries such as the UK, the Netherlands or Portugal, dual citizenship is not a rare phenomenon among South African expats. On the other hand, the South African government recently changed its policy on dual citizenship, hindering South African expats to hold dual citizenship by using an automatic procedure of cancelling their South African citizenships in case of gaining a new citizenship without applying for preserving their previous status. The point is that a good number of South African expats has lost their South African citizenship, and because of that, their chance of returning to South Africa has been drastically reduced. In our analysis, there is statistically significant evidence that those who have lost their South African citizenship are associated with "stayers" rather than planners or returnees. Further analysis on this

group of people needs to be carry out in order to figure out whether they had ever thought to return to South Africa before losing their South African citizenship and if so, whether this loss has become one of the main troubles when thinking on returning.

Regarding citizenship, a second point is partner's citizenship. According to some comments made by expats in forums and websites, to get the South African citizenship for the partner is one of main steps that should be faced before returning since without such status there are many setbacks for a fully integration in the country and for receiving public services. Findings are statistically significant only for model 2 (in model 7 the tendency is similar when observing t-test close to 2), where those whose partner holds South African citizenship have higher odds of being a planner or returnee. In the case of returnees, the lack of retrospective informationdoes not allow us stating whether their partners had South African citizenship before returning or whether they got it once they settled in SA. However, by comparing with planners we could assume that they might hold SA citizenship before the actual return.

The exploration of the main spoken language at home as a driving factor is tied to the role of ethnicity. This issue is worthy and enough complex for being addressed through other paper. Briefly, we have taking into account only Afrikaans as a dummy variable because it seemed to us that this language could be the most remarkable distinction among some white South African groups (see (Louw & Mersham, 2001). Findings are a bit controversial providing if the main language spoken by respondent is Afrikaans the odds of being a planner rather than a stayer increase by 3.6 times (p<0.05). On the other hand, when dealing with the partner's main language at home, the result is also significant but in the opposite direction. We presume that the variables married and the partner's language are producing some collinear effects, although ethnicity in the South African diaspora requires a deeper understanding.

The stage in which emigration took place is only significant when comparing returnees and stayers. The later the emigration took place, the smaller are the odds of being a returnee. This tendency can be interpreted by studying the average emigration duration and considering that only after some years living abroad, people ponder the return project, why those who have just emigrated are less likely to return than those who emigrated in an earlier stage. Nevertheless this explanation can be excessively simple as long as other author have shown evidence of how other variables (i.e. wages differentials) influence the return decision (Christian Dustmann, 2003b; Christian Dustmann & Kirchkamp, 2002; Gundel & Peters, 2008). More specifically, *yearabroad* is illustrating how the duration of the latest emigration experience is associated with being a returnee, planner or stayer. The outputs in models 1, 2 and 5 are saying that one year increase emigration duration reduces the odds of being a returnee by 15%, on average, rather than a stayer. When observing descriptive statistics in Table 3, duration emigration for returnees is 7.4 years, 6.9 for planners and 9.16 for stayers. With these figures a sensible explanation is that around the 7th year of emigration, return is undertaken and after that, it seems less likely to think on returning. If the average duration for planners were 10 or 12 years, we should think about other explanation, but since they are, on average, reaching their 7th year of emigration duration, it is sound to state that so far, 7-8 years could be the average duration emigration for South Africans who are thinking on return or have already returned.

Among all variables used in our analysis "owning a property (house, flat or similar) in SA" as living abroad has proved as a remarkable factor to predict return migration intention and actual realisation. The fact of keeping owning a property in South Africa when leaving the country mirrors the existence of a permanent return project or at least, the idea of temporal return for holidays or other events. It also reflects the wish of maintaining the contact with the homeland, either through the reminder of the existence of this property or actually making use of it through periodical visits.

As a last point, the analysis of the combination of explicit and implicit factors shed lights on how individual return decision mechanisms are operating in a different fashion. On the one hand, when reducing the number of items by running *exploratory factor analysis* we have presented the main current push and pull factors involved in migration decision in South Africa and its diaspora. By connecting these factors with the current stage of participants some interesting findings have arisen. Push factors are the negative issues that South Africa is facing nowadays. These push factors have a heavier weight in those who do not plan to return to South Africa, then in returnees and lastly in planners. On the other hand, pull factors are the positive issues of South Africa. Unlike push factors in which both stayers and returnees-planners share a relatively similar opinion considering them as negative issues of South Africa, in the case of pull factors the agreement among the three groups is weaker since these issues have a remarkable subjective component (but weather, that is positive although its importance is not relevant). As a result, pull factors play a very important role in the decision of planners, are a bit more temperate for returnees and have virtually null effect on stayers. Behind this trend there are several psychological behavioural explanations that are not going to be thoroughly explained here although broadly, one explanation would say that these answers given by participants are trying to justify their actual decision in order to avoid cognitive dissonance. Planners are in the less stable situation and their decision need to be specially strengthened till it become effective, and because of that, they give much more importance to the positive things and try to reduce the prominence of the negative ones. Stayers prefer looking at the negative things of South Africa and thus to avoid homesickness and living in a constant dilemma. Returnees value specially the good things of South Africa although they show a sensible opinion about the negative issues that are currently affecting their ordinary lives. Hence, their opinions would be the result of a defensive psychological mechanism. The second explanation is that all these elements are properly pondered in a cold-mind way for all participants regardless their current stage and because of that, these push and pull factors could be considered as independent variables rather than dependent variables (as in the previous case). We have considered these two options in the different regression analyses presented in this work. In the last analysis (using factor 1 and factor 2 as independent variables), significant statistical evidence support the previous explanation. The effect of factor 1 is only significant to explain the situation of returnees in comparison with stayers, providing that negative issues in South Africa are taking into account for returnees but in a less negative way than stayers. The effects of factor 2 are highlighting significant in all models for both returnees and stayers, showing that the most positive consideration of the "positive things" of South Africa correspond to planners and then returnees, and lastly stayers.

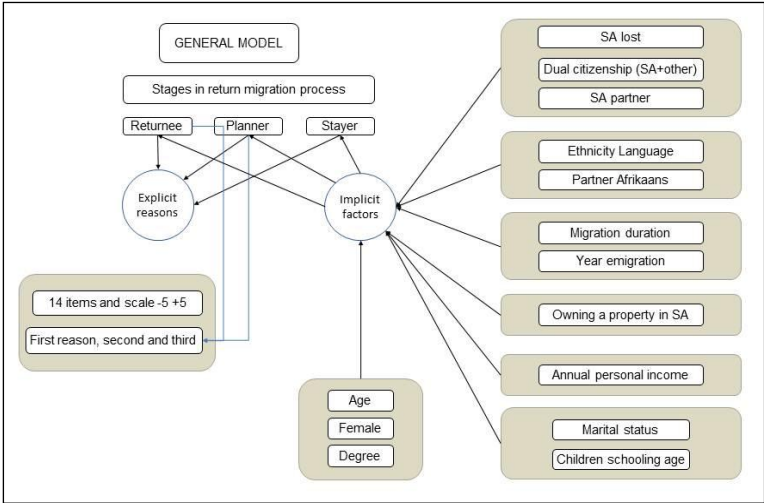[FIGURE 2. MODEL INTERPRETATION PUSH AND PULL FACTORS]

[FIGURE 3. SCALE PUSH AND PULL]

## Conclusions

Migration decision is a complex phenomenon with many interwoven variables or factors affecting individual choice mechanisms in a very different fashion. As a result, approaches taking into account only aggregated variables drawn from data set that do not include personal stated reasons, will always be assuming rational choice models. On the other hand, qualitative approaches specially suitable for exploring individual contexts where decision making  is affected by not only objective factors, but also by subjective elements, are able to further understand why some people return whilst other stay. Regarding our two hypotheses, the first point is to state that returnees and planners share similar opinions about what they consider positive and negative things of South Africa. Nevertheless, planners seem to be more idealistic in their view, underestimating the negative aspects and emphasizing individual and personal reasons as the main factors driving their return project. On the other hand, stayers show a kind of better adaptation to their new environment by overestimating the negative issues that affect South Africa's life and also, giving a minor importance to the objective positive things that South Africa has, in part, because maybe their current host country has also similar positive conditions. It would be interesting to explore whether people living in Australia or New Zealand or the USA, that are countries with much more similar conditions to South Africa, are more likely to remain in those countries (also because of a better economic context –in Australia and New Zealand, at least). The size of our sample did not allow us to disaggregate the data by countries with a minimum reliability. The analysis of the obtained push and pull factors as dependent variables has proven a very clear picture on how returnees, planners and stayers weight and are also influenced by those items. An improvement in political circumstances, racial problems and safety, could maybe foster the return of many South African expats. The transparency of the administrative procedure to retain the South African citizenship when applying for a second citizenship would be also an efficient way of supporting the return of expats. This paper has also tried to prepare the ground for future research on the nexus return migration and development in the South African context.

## GRAPHS AND FIGURES
## FIGURE 1



[FIGURE 2. MODEL INTERPRETATION PUSH AND PULL FACTORS]
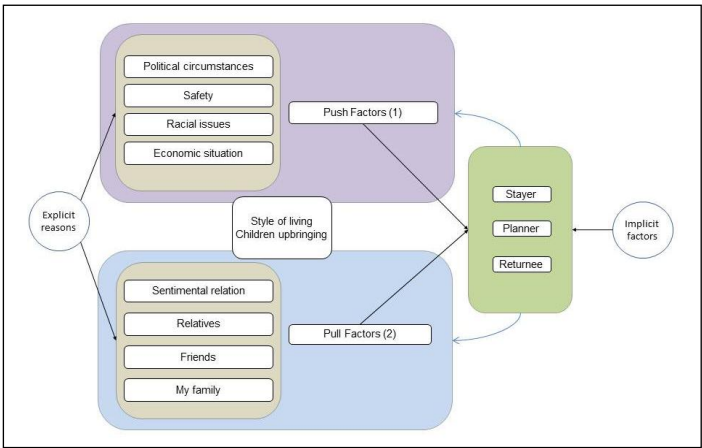


[FIGURE 3. SCALE PUSH AND PULL]
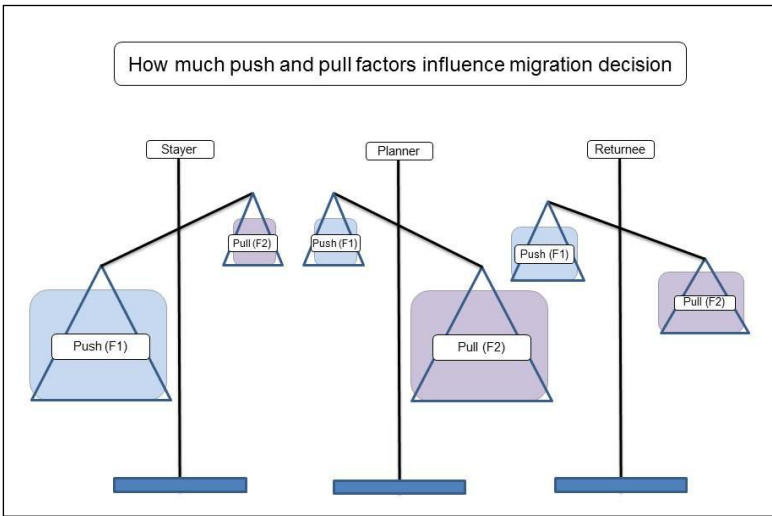
[GRAPH 1. HOW MUCH DRIVING FACTORS INFLUENCE RETURN-STAY DECISION]
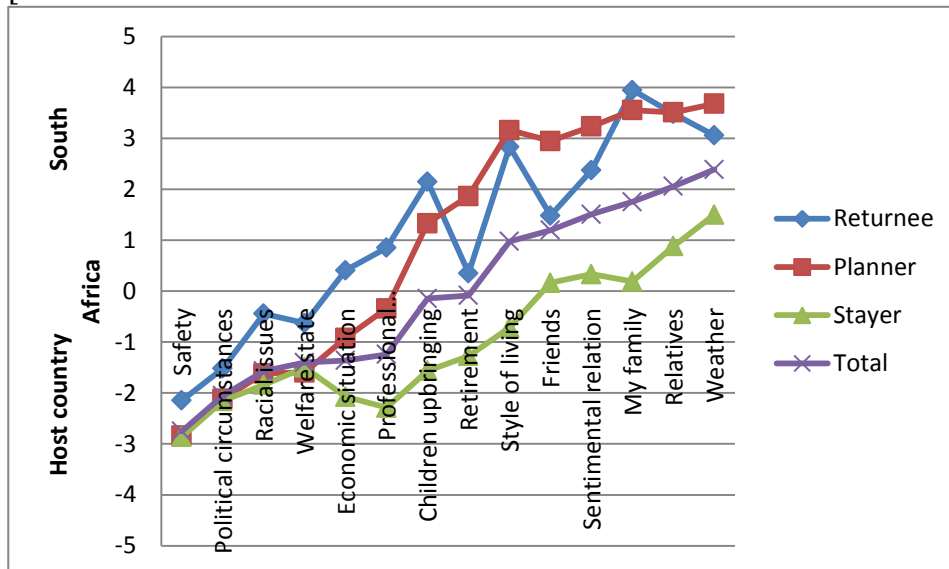


[GRAPH 2. EXPLICIT REASONS FOR RETURNING TO SOUTH AFRICA FOR RETURNEES AND PLANNERS]

[GRAPH 2 GROUP AGE]



Graphs by stage of migration
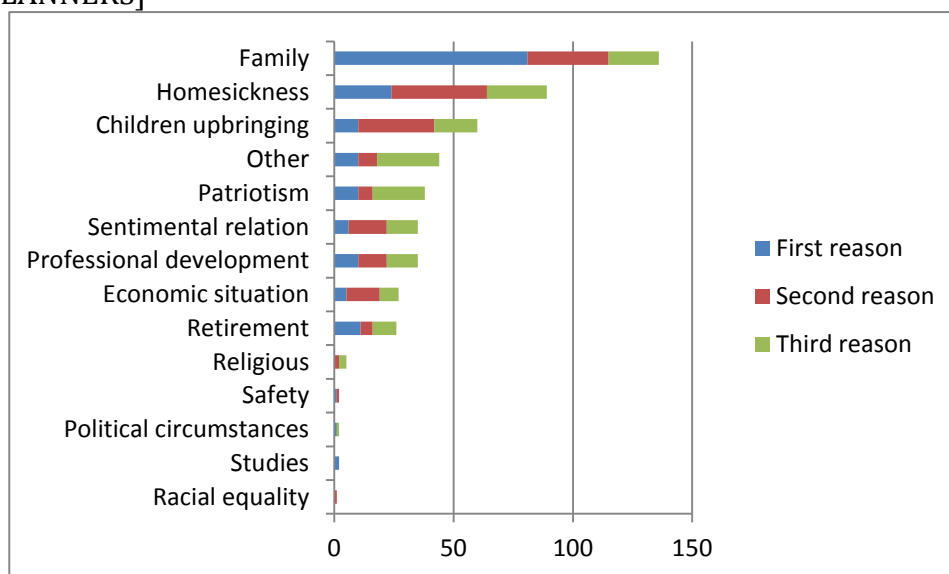
[GRAPH 3. YEAR OF EMIGRATION]
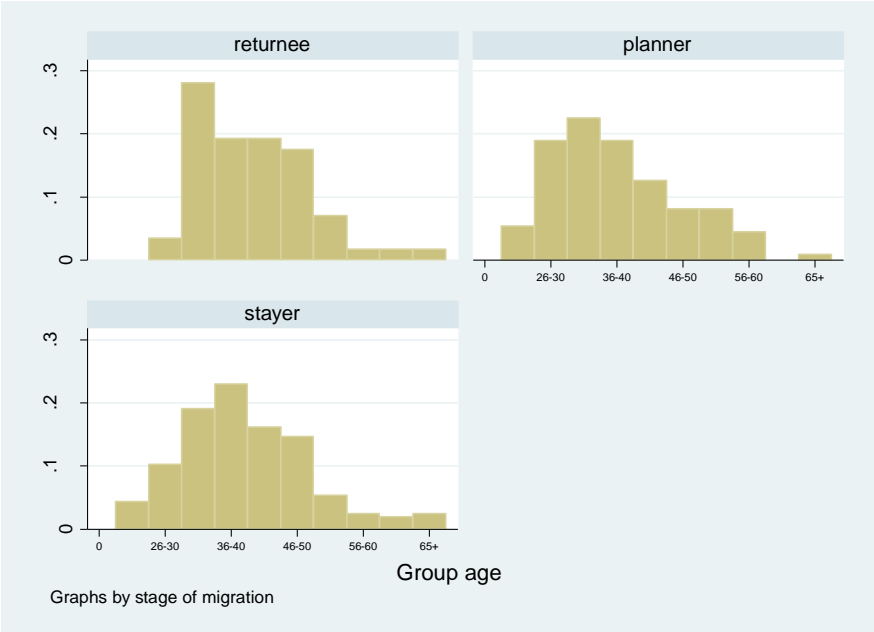


Graphs by stage of migration

GRAPH 4. INCOME BY STAGE

Graphs by stage of migration
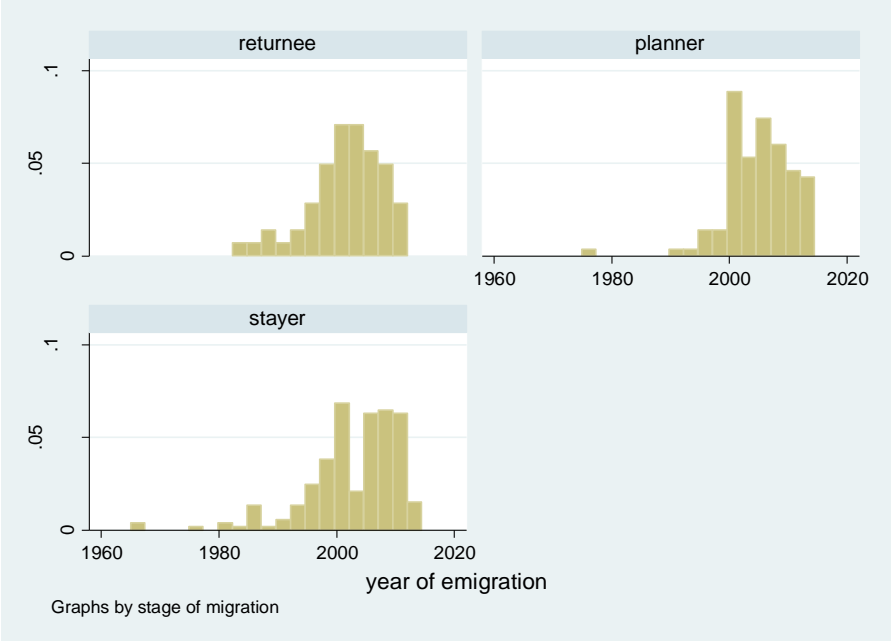
[GRAPH 5 EXPLICIT REASONS TOTAL NUMBER RETURNEES AND PLANNERS]
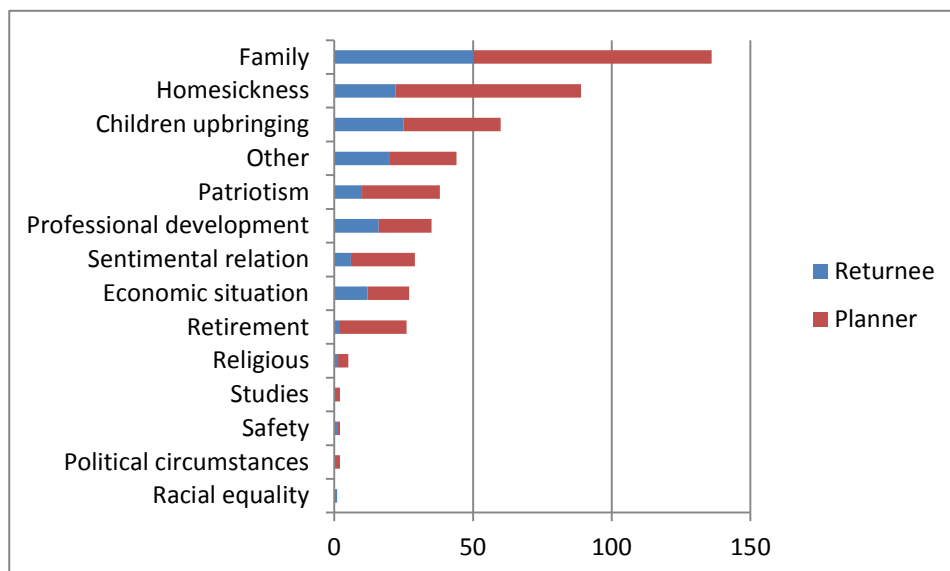
## TABLE1. HOW DID YOU RECEIVE THIS SURVEY?

| How did you receive this survey? | Freq. | Percent |
|---|---|---|
| HR website | 101 | 27.52 |
| HR Facebook | 35 | 9.54 |
| A friend or relative | 47 | 12.81 |
| Expat society | 47 | 12.81 |
| Diaspora website | 15 | 4.09 |
| Facebook groups | 92 | 25.07 |
| Other | 10 | 2.72 |
| SA Good News | 20 | 5.45 |
| Total | 367 | 100 |

[TABLE 2. DESTINATION COUNTRY]

| Destination country | Freq. | Percent |
|---|---|---|
| United Kingdom | 148 | 38.54 |
| United States | 30 | 7.81 |
| The Netherlands | 9 | 2.34 |
| New Zealand | 19 | 4.95 |
| Australia | 35 | 9.11 |
| Canada | 19 | 4.95 |
| Ireland | 22 | 5.73 |
| Portugal | 9 | 2.34 |
| South Kporea | 12 | 3.13 |
| Middle East | 26 | 6.77 |
| Nordic countries | 11 | 2.86 |
| Rest Europe | 32 | 8.33 |
| South East Asia | 9 | 2.34 |
| Other | 3 | 0.78 |
| Total | 384 | 100 |

*[TABLE 3. LIST OF VARIABLES]*

| List of variables (*used in models*) | Returnees | Planners | Stayers |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Age [A] (average in years)* | 41.07 (38.01)[1] | 37.88 | 40.17 |
| *Female=1 (% women)* | 45.61 | 52.63 | 47.89 |
| *Degree=1 ( % holding University Degree or higher)* | 80.7 | 83.34 | 76.42 |
| % White[2] | 96.49 | 88.5 | 94.31 |
| Marital status | | | |
| % Married or reporting long-term partnership[3] | 70.18 | 70.18 | 80.28 |
| *Married=1 (% married and living with partner)* | 63.16 | 50 | 68.54 |
| *Single=1 (% single)* | 28.07 | 21.05 | 14.55 |
| *Child=1 (% children living with them)* | 49.12 | 35.96 | 51.64 |
| *Numberchild=Average number of children at school-going age [B]* | 1 | 1.34 | 1.19 |
| % currently holding South African Citizenship | 98.25 | 95.61 | 79.81 |
| *Sadual (% holding SA+Other Citizenship)* | 73.2 | 49.54 | 57.05 |
| *Salost (% have lost SA citizenship) [D]* | 1.75 | 4.39 | 20.19 |
| *Sacouple (% respondents whose partner is South African)* | 43.86 | 42.11 | 33.8 |
| *RespAfrikaans=1 (respondent's home language is Afrikaans)* | 24.56 | 36.84 | 31.92 |
| *PartnerAfrikaans=1 (partner's home language is Afrikaans) [E]* | 10.53 | 24.68 | 23.03 |
| *Yearemi (Median year of emigration)* | 2001 | 2005 | 2003 |
| *Waves (Wave of emigration)* | | | |
| before 1994 | 10.53 | 2.63 | 8.49 |
| between 1994 and 2000 | 26.32 | 15.79 | 22.17 |
| after 2000 | 63.16 | 81.58 | 69.34 |
| *Yearabroad= Average number of years of migration duration* | 7.439 | 6.974 | 9.16 |
| *Property=1 (owning a property as living abroad)* | 47.37 | 37.72 | 16.9 |
| *Inc3= Personal Income Bracket GBP (personal)[C]* | | | |
| *Less than 24,000 GBP* | 20.75 | 19.81 | 25.93 |
| *Between 24,000-60,000 GBP* | 41.51 | 50.94 | 47.62 |
| *More than 60,000 GBP* | 37.74 | 29.25 | 26.46 |
| % Unemployed (at time of survey)[4] | 1.75 | 2.63 | 6.16 |
| Average # of years lived in South Africa | 27.21 | 29.07 | 28.85 |
| Percentage | 14.84 | 29.69 | 55.47 |
| Observations (N=384) | 57 | 114 | 213 |

[1]Age at time of return

[2]Population group categories included White, Black, Coloured, Indian or Asian, Other

[3]Civil Status categories included Married and living with partner, Legally recognized civil partnership, Cohabitating with partner, Married but separated, Divorced, Widowed, Single. Statistic calculated using individuals in the first four categories listed.

[4] 3.84% of Returnees reported that they were unemployed 6 months prior to returning to South Africa

[A] N(Planners)= 111, N(Stayers)= 204

[B] N(Returnees)= 28, N(Planners)= 41, N(Stayers)= 110

[C] N(Returnees)= 53, N(Planners)= 106, N(Stayers)= 189

[D] N(Returnees)= 57, N(Planners)= 114, N(Stayers)= 213

[E] N(Returnees)= 38, N(Planners)= 77, N(Stayers)= 165

[TABLE 4. HIGHEST QUALIFICATION]

| Highest completed qualification | Freq. | Percent |
|---|---|---|
| Primary-Secondary School | 2 | 0.52 |
| High School | 58 | 15.14 |
| University-Graduate | 206 | 53.79 |
| University-Master | 82 | 21.41 |
| University-PhD | 15 | 3.92 |
| Other | 20 | 5.22 |
| Total | 383 | 100 |

[TABLE 5. MARITAL STATUS]

| Marital status | Freq. | Percent |
|---|---|---|
| Single | 71 | 18.49 |
| Married and living with m | 239 | 62.24 |
| Legally recognised civil p | 13 | 3.39 |
| Cohabiting | 29 | 7.55 |
| Married but separated | 10 | 2.60 |
| Divorced | 20 | 5.21 |
| Widowed | 2 | 0.52 |
| Total | 384 | 100.00 |

[TABLE 6. YEAR ABROAD]

| | Mean | Std.Err. | [95% Conf. Interv] | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| returnee | 7.439 | 0.658 | 6.145 | 8.732 |
| planner | 6.974 | 0.506 | 5.979 | 7.969 |
| stayer | 9.160 | 0.537 | 8.104 | 10.217 |

[TABLE 7 WAVES]

| Waves | Freq. | Percent |
|---|---|---|
| before 1994 | 27 | 7.05 |
| between 1994 and 2000 | 80 | 20.89 |
| after 2000 | 276 | 72.06 |
| Total | 383 | 100 |

[TABLE 8. 14 ITEMS]

| | Mean | | | | Std.Err. | [95% Conf. Interval] | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Returnee | Planner | Stayer | Total | | | | |
| Safety | -2.148 | -2.839 | -2.863 | -2.751 | 0.157 | -3.060 | -2.442 | -5 "I strongly |
| Political circumstances | -1.519 | -2.116 | -2.157 | -2.051 | 0.142 | -2.331 | -1.772 | prefer to stay |
| Racial issues | -0.444 | -1.616 | -1.838 | -1.568 | 0.143 | -1.849 | -1.286 | in "host |
| Welfare state | -0.630 | -1.598 | -1.500 | -1.403 | 0.121 | -1.641 | -1.164 | country"" |
| Economic situation | 0.407 | -0.920 | -2.074 | -1.362 | 0.163 | -1.682 | -1.043 | |
| Professional development | 0.852 | -0.339 | -2.289 | -1.241 | 0.171 | -1.576 | -0.905 | |
| Children upbringing | 2.148 | 1.330 | -1.564 | -0.146 | 0.184 | -0.508 | 0.216 | 0 "It is not a |
| Retirement | 0.352 | 1.866 | -1.275 | -0.086 | 0.167 | -0.415 | 0.242 | relevant factor" |
| Style of living | 2.833 | 3.161 | -0.716 | 0.976 | 0.193 | 0.597 | 1.355 | |
| Friends | 1.481 | 2.946 | 0.162 | 1.197 | 0.153 | 0.896 | 1.499 | |
| Sentimental relation | 2.370 | 3.232 | 0.333 | 1.508 | 0.143 | 1.227 | 1.789 | |
| My family | 3.944 | 3.554 | 0.186 | 1.754 | 0.190 | 1.380 | 2.128 | +5 "I strongly |
| Relatives | 3.481 | 3.509 | 0.882 | 2.057 | 0.146 | 1.769 | 2.345 | prefer to return |
| Weather | 3.056 | 3.679 | 1.500 | 2.386 | 0.144 | 2.103 | 2.670 | to SA" |
| N | 54 | 204 | 112 | 370 | | | | |

[TABLE 9. LOGIT AND MULTI EXPLICIT]

| Explicit Return Reasons | Logistic Model | | Multinomial Logistic Model | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | | 4 | |
| | Returnee | Returnee | Planner | Returnee | Planner | Returnee |
| Safety | 0.912 | 0.912 | 0.826* | 0.823 | 0.822* | 0.824 |
| | (-1.07) | (-1.06) | (-2.13) | (-1.89) | (-2.12) | (-1.82) |
| Relatives | 1.208 | 1.191 | 1.095 | 1.237 | 1.088 | 1.222 |
| | (1.74) | (1.58) | (1.02) | (1.83) | (0.94) | (1.70) |
| My family | 1.231* | 1.264* | 1.033 | 1.210 | 0.998 | 1.211 |
| | (2.17) | (2.35) | (0.46) | (1.88) | (-0.03) | (1.81) |
| Sentimental relation | 0.977 | 1.011 | 1.257** | 1.086 | 1.236* | 1.119 |
| | (-0.27) | (0.12) | (2.70) | (0.84) | (2.44) | (1.10) |
| Style of living | 1.043 | 1.027 | 1.204** | 1.113 | 1.218** | 1.108 |
| | (0.50) | (0.31) | (2.65) | (1.19) | (2.73) | (1.11) |
| Weather | 0.968 | 1.001 | 1.043 | 0.992 | 1.032 | 1.015 |
| | (-0.38) | (0.02) | (0.51) | (-0.09) | (0.36) | (0.16) |
| Racial issues | 1.272* | 1.224 | 0.870 | 1.170 | 0.897 | 1.144 |
| | (2.41) | (1.95) | (-1.41) | (1.33) | (-1.05) | (1.10) |
| Political circumstances | 0.723** | 0.740* | 0.929 | 0.706* | 0.898 | 0.719* |
| | (-2.65) | (-2.38) | (-0.62) | (-2.45) | (-0.85) | (-2.23) |
| Children upbringing | 1.214** | 1.226** | 1.289*** | 1.404*** | 1.289*** | 1.410*** |
| | (2.59) | (2.64) | (3.62) | (3.89) | (3.51) | (3.84) |
| Professional development | 1.147 | 1.172* | 1.217* | 1.285** | 1.230* | 1.321** |
| | (1.80) | (1.97) | (2.46) | (2.74) | (2.48) | (2.87) |
| Economic situation | 1.186 | 1.138 | 0.935 | 1.118 | 0.946 | 1.081 |
| | (1.95) | (1.46) | (-0.75) | (1.06) | (-0.61) | (0.73) |
| Welfare state | 1.110 | 1.121 | 0.889 | 1.013 | 0.886 | 1.011 |
| | (1.21) | (1.28) | (-1.34) | (0.12) | (-1.32) | (0.10) |
| Friends | 0.795** | 0.777** | 1.067 | 0.829* | 1.083 | 0.814* |
| | (-2.89) | (-3.09) | (0.87) | (-2.14) | (1.03) | (-2.27) |
| Retirement | 0.852* | 0.829* | 1.293*** | 0.996 | 1.319*** | 0.970 |
| | (-2.20) | (-2.46) | (3.82) | (-0.04) | (3.85) | (-0.34) |
| age | | 1.039 | | | 0.998 | 1.033 |
| | | (1.86) | | | (-0.11) | (1.39) |
| female | | 0.866 | | | 0.929 | 0.851 |
| | | (-0.38) | | | (-0.20) | (-0.38) |
| degree | | 1.629 | | | 1.466 | 1.984 |
| | | (0.84) | | | (0.78) | (1.08) |
| married | | 1.131 | | | 0.367* | 0.736 |
| | | (0.29) | | | (-2.47) | (-0.64) |
| child | | 1.079 | | | 0.966 | 1.044 |
| | | (0.19) | | | (-0.09) | (0.09) |
| N | 370 | 358 | 370 | 370 | 358 | 358 |

Exponentiated coefficients; t statistics in parentheses
* p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001
Model 1 and 2: baseline is "expatriate" (both planner and stayer)
Model 3-4: baseline is "stayer"

[TABLE 10. PCA]

| Component | Eigenvalue | Difference | Proportion | Cumulative |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Comp1 | 5.350 | 2.522 | 0.382 | 0.382 |
| Comp2 | 2.828 | 1.948 | 0.202 | 0.584 |
| Comp3 | 0.879 | 0.127 | 0.063 | 0.647 |
| Comp4 | 0.753 | 0.088 | 0.054 | 0.701 |
| Comp5 | 0.665 | 0.071 | 0.048 | 0.748 |

[TABLE 11. COMPONENTS]

| | PC (eigenvectors) | | PC (loadings) | |
| | | | "Overall" | "Heart-Mind" |
| Variable | Comp1 | Comp2 | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| rrpolitical | 0.289 | -0.341 | 0.669 | -0.574 |
| rrsafety | 0.283 | -0.313 | 0.654 | -0.526 |
| rrracial | 0.292 | -0.244 | 0.674 | -0.410 |
| rrwelfare | 0.220 | -0.221 | 0.509 | -0.371 |
| rreconomic | 0.326 | -0.170 | 0.754 | -0.286 |
| rrprofessional | 0.316 | -0.083 | 0.731 | -0.139 |
| rrchildren | 0.333 | -0.038 | 0.771 | -0.063 |
| rrretirement | 0.287 | 0.102 | 0.663 | 0.171 |
| rrstyleliving | 0.329 | 0.142 | 0.761 | 0.239 |
| rrfamily | 0.255 | 0.263 | 0.590 | 0.442 |
| rrfriends | 0.220 | 0.303 | 0.509 | 0.510 |
| rrweather | 0.139 | 0.362 | 0.322 | 0.608 |
| rrsentimental | 0.187 | 0.394 | 0.432 | 0.663 |
| rrrelatives | 0.167 | 0.404 | 0.387 | 0.679 |

[TABLE 12. EFA AND FACTORS]

| | Factor Loadings | | Varimax Rotated FL | | Scoring Coefficients | | |
| | Factor1 | Factor2 | Factor1 | Factor2 | Factor1 | Factor2 | Uniqueness |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Safety | 0,741 | -0,320 | 0,807 | -0,015 | 0,203 | -0,071 | 0,349 |
| Relatives | 0,211 | 0,682 | -0,064 | 0,711 | -0,052 | 0,212 | 0,491 |
| Friends | 0,445 | 0,523 | 0,214 | 0,653 | 0,001 | 0,166 | 0,528 |
| Sentimental relation | 0,256 | 0,688 | -0,024 | 0,733 | -0,049 | 0,230 | 0,462 |
| Style of living | 0,646 | 0,417 | 0,440 | 0,631 | 0,051 | 0,192 | 0,409 |
| Weather | 0,153 | 0,587 | -0,081 | 0,601 | -0,038 | 0,140 | 0,632 |
| Racial issues | 0,746 | -0,228 | 0,776 | 0,072 | 0,167 | -0,029 | 0,392 |
| Political circumstances | 0,799 | -0,395 | 0,889 | -0,062 | 0,385 | -0,165 | 0,205 |
| Children upbringing | 0,728 | 0,135 | 0,623 | 0,401 | 0,095 | 0,089 | 0,452 |
| Professional development | 0,688 | 0,074 | 0,609 | 0,329 | 0,084 | 0,058 | 0,521 |
| Economic situation | 0,747 | -0,047 | 0,710 | 0,240 | 0,125 | 0,033 | 0,439 |
| Welfare state | 0,515 | -0,169 | 0,541 | 0,039 | 0,065 | -0,013 | 0,706 |
| My family | 0,346 | 0,558 | 0,109 | 0,648 | -0,015 | 0,159 | 0,568 |
| Retirement | 0,557 | 0,303 | 0,401 | 0,491 | 0,035 | 0,099 | 0,598 |

[TABLE 13. EFA EIGENVALUES]

| | Maximum Likelihood Method | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Factor | Eigenvalue | Difference | Proportion | Cumulative |
| Factor1 | 4,75137 | 2,25409 | 0,6555 | 0,6555 |
| Factor2 | 2,49727 | . | 0,3445 | 1 |
| | Rotated Factor Loadings | | | |
| Factor | Variance | Difference | Proportion | Cumulative |
| Factor1 | 4,02173 | 0,79483 | 0,5548 | 0,5548 |
| Factor2 | 3,2269 | . | 0,4452 | 1 |

[TABLE 14. MODELS WITH FACTOR AS DEPENDENT VARIABLES]

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | f1 | f2 | f1 | f2 | f1 | f2 |
| returnee | 0.399$^{**}$ | 0.558$^{***}$ | | | | |
| | (2.93) | (4.26) | | | | |
| stayer | | | -0.285$^{**}$ | -1.140$^{***}$ | | |
| | | | (-2.91) | (-15.20) | | |
| 2.stage(planner) | | | | | -0.275 | 0.224 |
| | | | | | (-1.79) | (1.91) |
| 3.stage (stayer) | | | | | -0.468$^{**}$ | -0.991$^{***}$ |
| | | | | | (-3.31) | (-9.16) |
| _cons | -1.026$^{***}$ | 0.0903 | -0.850$^{**}$ | 0.781$^{***}$ | -0.633$^{*}$ | 0.604$^{**}$ |
| | (-3.94) | (0.36) | (-3.18) | (3.82) | (-2.17) | (2.70) |
| N | 358 | 358 | 358 | 358 | 358 | 358 |

t statistics in parentheses

* $p<0.05$, ** $p<0.01$, *** $p<0.001$

Controlling for age, female and degree.

f1 is defined by push factors (negative issues in SA) and f2 by pull factors (positive issues in SA).

New section [TABLE 15]

| | Implicit Factors | | | | Explicit and Implicit Factors | | | | | | | | | |
| | Model 1 | | Model 2 | | Model 3 | | Model 4 | | Model 5 | | Model 6 | | Model 7 | |
| | Planner | Returnee | Planner | Returnee | Planner | Returnee | Planner | Returnee | Planner | Returnee | Planner | Returnee | Planner | Returnee |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Factor 1 (push) | | | | | 1.288 | 1.806** | 1.421 | 2.162*** | 1.357 | 1.829** | 1.314 | 1.802** | 1.459 | 2.298** |
| | | | | | (1.33) | (3.01) | (1.87) | (3.72) | (1.66) | (3.11) | (1.38) | (2.82) | (1.53) | (3.00) |
| Factor 2 (pull) | | | | | 12.92*** | 7.132*** | 13.04*** | 7.062*** | 12.75*** | 6.863*** | 14.26*** | 7.031*** | 17.51*** | 10.19*** |
| | | | | | (9.12) | (6.71) | (9.00) | (6.52) | (9.12) | (6.52) | (8.70) | (6.17) | (7.37) | (5.62) |
| Married | | | 0.271** | 1.197 | 0.266** | 1.003 | | | | | | | 0.209* | 0.741 |
| | | | (-3.21) | (0.26) | (-2.85) | (0.01) | | | | | | | (-2.41) | (-0.35) |
| Salost | | | | | | | 0.176** | 0.0285** | | | | | 0.278 | 0.0674* |
| | | | | | | | (-2.81) | (-3.09) | | | | | (-1.65) | (-2.21) |
| Sacouple | | | 2.738** | 2.752* | | | 0.940 | 1.074 | | | | | 2.392 | 2.118 |
| | | | (2.84) | (2.23) | | | (-0.18) | (0.19) | | | | | (1.71) | (1.32) |
| RespAfrikaans | | | | | | | | | | | | | 3.623* | 2.652 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | (2.04) | (1.31) |
| PartnerAfrikaans | | | 0.595 | 0.156** | | | | | | | | | 0.200* | 0.0484** |
| | | | (-1.35) | (-2.99) | | | | | | | | | (-2.07) | (-3.09) |
| 2nd wave (1994-2000) | 2.409 | 0.226* | 5.303 | 0.511 | | | | | 2.174 | 0.392 | | | 5.480 | 0.867 |
| | (0.97) | (-2.00) | (1.58) | (-0.70) | | | | | (0.74) | (-1.03) | | | (1.31) | (-0.11) |
| 3rd wave (after 2000) | 3.123 | 0.0504** | 7.699 | 0.145 | | | | | 3.261 | 0.130 | | | 9.374 | 0.529 |
| | (1.10) | (-3.13) | (1.61) | (-1.68) | | | | | (0.97) | (-1.81) | | | (1.41) | (-0.43) |
| Yearabroad | 0.978 | 0.846*** | 1.060 | 0.875* | | | | | 0.975 | 0.870** | | | 1.088 | 0.916 |
| | (-0.62) | (-3.71) | (1.28) | (-2.39) | | | | | (-0.53) | (-2.71) | | | (1.35) | (-1.25) |
| Property | | | 3.217*** | 5.207*** | | | | | | | 2.035 | 3.673** | 3.083* | 5.280** |
| | | | (3.32) | (3.82) | | | | | | | (1.76) | (3.06) | (2.23) | (3.02) |
| N | 371 | 371 | 271 | 271 | 358 | 358 | 358 | 358 | 358 | 358 | 324 | 324 | 266 | 266 |

t statistics in parentheses

* p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001

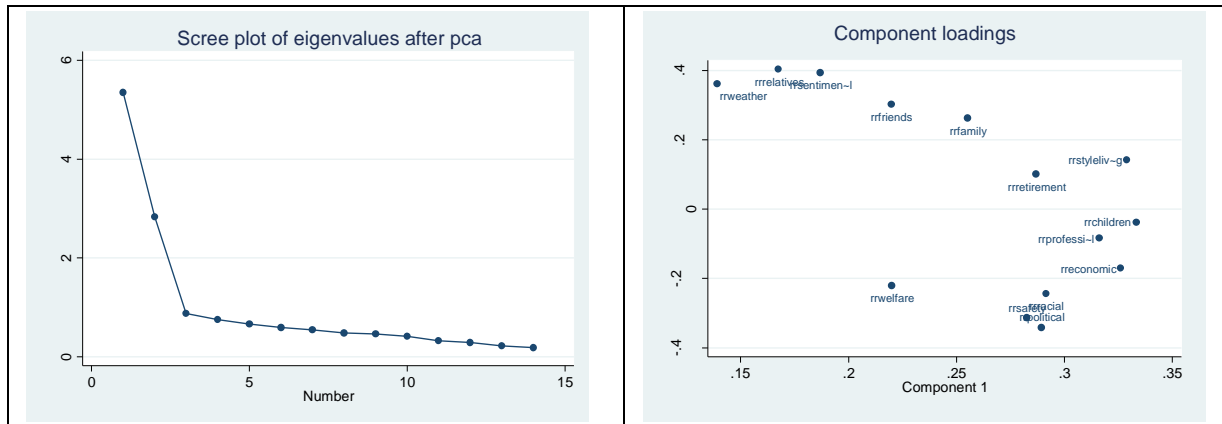All models: controlling for age, female and degree.

Model 3: controlling single and child

Model 6: controlling inc3.

Model 7: controlling child.

*End section[not to touch section-problem with pages design]*

*PCA*



EFA

**2**               **factors**     **3**              **factors**
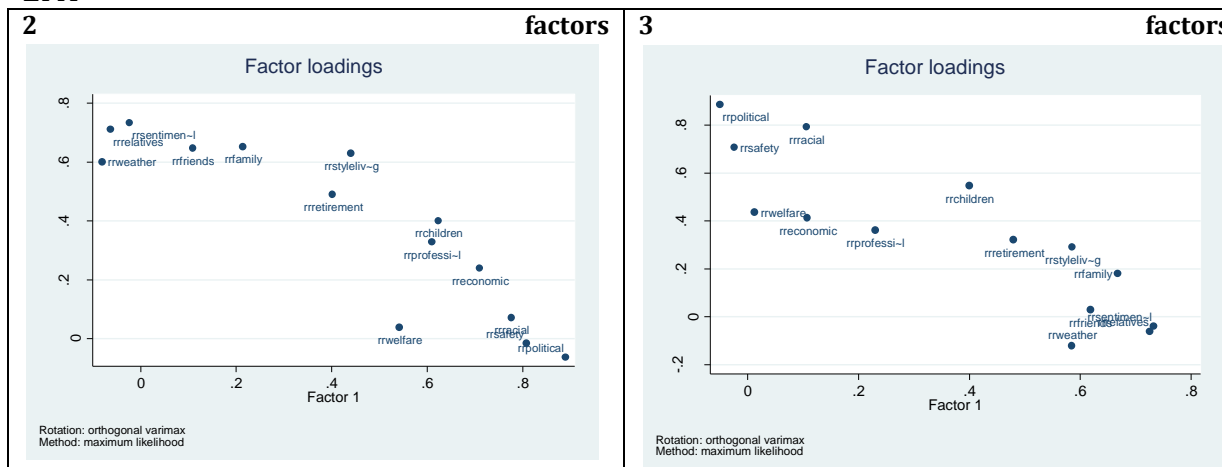
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