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**FORGED COMMUNITIES: A SOCIOLOGICAL EXPLORATION OF
IDENTITY AND COMMUNITY AMONGST IMMIGRANT AND MIGRANT
COMMUNITIES IN FORDSBURG**

by

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Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree



D Litt et Phil in Sociology

UNIVERSITY
FACULTY OF HUMANITIES
JOHANNESBURG

at the

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

UNIVERSITY OF JOHANNESBURG

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July 2015

DECLARATION

I undertake that all the material presented for examination is my own work and has not been written for me, in whole or in part, by any other person. I also undertake that any quotation or paraphrase from the published or unpublished work of another person has been duly acknowledged in the work for which I present for examination.

Pragna Rugunanan

July 2015



ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Embarking on a doctoral thesis is an arduous journey and the ultimate discovery is the discovery of the self. While the individual soldiers on in this solitary task, the achievement is not without the considerable effort and sacrifice of others.

My most sincere and heartfelt thanks go to my supervisors, Professor Sakhela Buhlungu and Professor Ria Smit, who championed me through this journey. Their enthusiasm, support and patient counselling have steadied my path. To Professor Buhlungu, who inspired me to reach further, to think outside the box, to have fun, but kept pushing me to move beyond the obvious and the ordinary, I thank you. To Professor Ria Smit, your strength, intellect, attention to detail and unwavering support brought this thesis to its final completion.

The thesis would not have been possible without the monetary contribution of the University of Johannesburg and the National Research Foundation (NRF), I deeply grateful for the financial contributions received, any mistakes are solely my own. To Professor Kammila Naidoo, I am grateful for your support and the space provided to complete this thesis. To Professor Tina Uys, I acknowledge your assistance and in particular, your contribution provided at the hosting of the International Sociological Association (ISA) PhD laboratory held at the UJ Island in 2011, the insightful comments and camaraderie by members from across the globe helped shape my ideas.

To Professor Joan Fairhurst, for your meticulous editing, I thank you for taking me under your wing. To Elisabeth Marnitz, your careful attention to the technical component of this thesis is appreciated.

I am indebted to dear colleagues and friends, Prof Cecilia van Zyl Schalekamp and Letitia Smuts, who provided endless moral support, courage and hope, shoulders to cry on and who walked the highs and lows of this journey with me. Other friends may have faltered and since parted ways, but new ones filled the gap. Elli Kriel, I am grateful for the support and uplifting words when I needed it most, Prof Grace Khunou and Prof Zosa Gruber, thank you for that final push to the end. To Siphelo Ngcwangu, we walked this path together, thank you for your ‘virtual’ comradeship and encouragement. A special note of thanks to Anthony Kaziboni and Dr Tapiwa Chagonda for their resolute friendship.

To Videhi Sivurusan, I am forever in your debt. Thank you for your grace and humility.

My sincere appreciation goes to Dr Zahraa McDonald, Dr Zaheera Jinnah and Prof Marlize Rabe for their unstinting friendship, encouragement and advice, often at odd hours of the night that spurred me on to completion.

The most important pillar of all is family. The people that love unconditionally and understand the road ahead has many winding paths. I have been truly blessed, by my mother's stalwart courage and unfailing spirit that my 'book' will soon be completed. To my husband's family, my sincere appreciation for your constant support.

To my dearest brother Deepak and wife Geetha, your steadfast encouragement gave me strength when I needed it the most. To my beloved sister, Karuna, to new beginnings and a new life filled with love and light. Hold your head up high.

There are two very special people without whom this task could not have been achieved, to Ramula Patel, I am truly blessed to have you in my life, without your strength, wisdom, sheer belief and love, I would have surely faltered a long time ago. To Rita Ranchod, thank you for being such an amazing friend, I simply have to ask and my will is done.

To my two sons, Meeren and Nikhil, I cannot begin to explain the enormous joy that you both bring, the love and honour with which you conduct yourself. I could not have achieved my dream without your support, incredible sacrifice and the many stolen hours that cannot be replaced, and the many 'hug coupons' that need to be claimed.

My most precious birthday gift hangs on a wall in my office, a poster given to me my husband, Anil, which reads "when you get to the top of the mountain, keep climbing". Those words have inspired me every day. On every one of the mountains that we have physically climbed together, symbolically in preparation for this journey, you have stood behind me, to steady me in case I fall, and cautioned me to put one foot in front of the next, take small steps till we get to what seems an insurmountable climb. My deepest and most heartfelt thanks for championing me, every day, in every way.

To my father, who planted this idea a long time ago, your star will always shine brightly....

ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ANC:	African National Congress
CDE:	Centre for Democratic Enterprise
CID:	Central Improvement District
CoRMSA:	Consortium for Refugees and Migrants in South Africa
DA:	Democratic Alliance
DHA:	Department of Home Affairs
FMSP:	Forced Migration Studies Programme, University of the Witwatersrand
ILO:	International Labour Organisation
IOM:	International Organization for Migration
JDA:	Johannesburg Development Agency
JHC:	Johannesburg Housing Company
JMS:	Johannesburg Muslim School
JRS:	Jesuit Refugee Service (JRS)
JVC:	The Japanese Voluntary Committee
SACPO:	South African Coloured People's Organisation
SACTU:	South African Congress of Trade Unions
SADC:	Southern African Development Community
SAIC:	South African Indian Congress
SAMP:	Southern African Migration Project
SASA:	Somali Association of South Africa
SBSM:	Shree Bharat Sharda Mandir School
SCB:	Somali Community Board
SCF:	Somali Community Forum
TIC:	Transvaal Indian Congress
UNDP:	United Nations Development Programme
WHO:	World Health Organization

ABSTRACT

The major focus of this thesis entails a sociological exploration of identity and community within immigrant and migrant communities in Fordsburg. Founded in 1888, Fordsburg is one of the earliest suburbs created after the proclamation of Johannesburg in 1886.

Four main research objectives guide the study. The first considers how new migrant communities withdraw into enclaves allowing new identities to emerge. The second examines the role of family relationships, religion and remittances among migrant communities in Fordsburg. The third explores the role of social networks and social capital in terms of economic and social integration. The final exposes how migrants define belonging to a community, an ethnic or a religious group. The thesis is based on a case study using information gathered from semi-structured, in-depth interviews with South African Indian traders and migrants from Bangladesh, Pakistan, India, Egypt and Malawi living and/or working in Fordsburg. Key participants in local government, educational institutions and voluntary associations were also interviewed. In fact, this study contributes significantly to the extant body of literature on South Asian migration, which is known to be under-researched particularly in the South African context.

In the process of conceptualising the concept of *community*, the thesis uncovered the tension between the pulling apart and the coming together of communities - a forging of communities. While the term 'community' has multiple meanings and connotations, in this discourse community is about belonging to and longing for community. By examining immigrant and migrant groups from a historical and contemporary view, it emerged that, in their search for community and a sense of belonging, migrants developed a contingent and instrumental solidarity, which related closely to place and space. Their choice of Fordsburg was integral to their search for community; a *place to belong* to. Migrants also retreated within their ethnic communities, *as a space* that provided a sense of the familiar and the known where resources could be accessed.

The choice to migrate to Fordsburg was purposeful; prior established networks and an Indian diaspora identified Fordsburg as a 'Muslim' place and an 'Indian' place. Fordsburg, with its close access to multiple spaces of worship, employment, education and ethnic foods, make it an ideal and familiar place to settle. This Muslim identity featured strongly in the narratives of the migrants and religion became the central focus around which migrants constructed their lives. Migrants depict their agency in choosing South Africa as a

destination because of its economic potential, religious tolerance and the freedom to practice their religion. The building of additional places of worship reflect of their intent to keep their cultural practices alive and they conduct prayers in a language of their understanding, developing a religious solidarity within a migrant group context, albeit one that is fractured by class, caste and nationality. The study asserts that migrant identities are fluid and situational and change depends on social location, the space and place of the migrants' position within their communities.

The study shows that migrants maintain transnational ties to the country of origin through social and economic remittances and rely on their transnational capital within the host community to integrate into broader society, yet remain insular communities within Johannesburg's space. While remittances perpetuate transnational practices, older migrants with established families in South Africa find it hard to remit as their families in South Africa are their chief concern and responsibility. The younger cohort of migrants, remit regularly to support the family's income stream in the country of origin and to repay family members for the cost associated with their undocumented entry to South Africa.

The findings of this study confirm the established literature on migration studies that purport migration as being predominantly male; however, it shows that religion and cultural practices prescribe who should migrate. A significant discovery concerns practices some of the migrant men enter into with South African women from previously disadvantaged backgrounds when they sign binding 'marriage of convenience' contracts. The women demonstrate their agency by dictating the terms of this arrangement. Another fresh idea is shedding light specifically on burial practices among the migrants, an area given little attention in migrant studies in South Africa.

The study renders support for the segmented labour market theory, which states that the arrival of a sufficient number of migrants is conducive and stimulating for an economy that has the potential to thrive. Instead of merely filling the need for menial labour, Pakistani, Bangladeshi and Indian migrants engage in small-scale retail trade and being involved in ethnic restaurants as owners or employees and the Egyptians specialised in the selling of traditional Muslim clothing. The Malawians provide the labour in some of these outlets, together with migrants from other African countries. An important finding reveals that dense, transnational networks operate producing strong bonds of trust and solidarity that

form an ‘intra-ethnic’ basis of social protection, which disguises the precarious nature of work in which migrants engage.

In their search for community, the study concludes that migrant communities are not neatly-bound, safe constructs, but are instead carved from the almost mundane, day-to-day living experiences to create something that give people their identity, something they want to belong to and to which they can relate. From the experiences and memories of long-time residents, Fordsburg remains a space where the residents experience community, where bridging ties reaches across race, class and religion. Present-day Fordsburg, however, is a space consisting of different national and ethnic communities where strong bonding ties are intact. Bridging ties that connect the communities through crime fighting initiatives, voluntary associations and offering assistance with xenophobic attacks are few.

Social capital, the glue that holds migrant communities together, is itself fluid and, like community, can be both inclusive and exclusive. The social dynamics of the groups in this study conforms Putnam’s (2000) bonding (exclusive) and bridging (inclusive) social capital approach as the study expose a complex web of social relationships among and within the groups. It examines migrants and non-migrants relationally, within a shared habitus and not independently of each other. The overall findings reveal that a rank order emerges among the migrant groups studied. There is no direct path from bonding to bridging social capital at micro-level. Rather the perspective that emerges is an instrumental and contingent solidarity where migrant communities are insular and develop an ambivalent identity.

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Preface

Reflecting on childhood memories

My earliest and most vivid memory of myself is as a young child of three, or maybe four years old, standing behind a countertop in my grandfather's tailor shop on Bree Street, Fordsburg, Johannesburg. I clearly see the traffic outside and hear the voices and sounds from the busy road. Why were my brother and I at my grandfather's place of work, I wonder? I know my brother was there but I do not see him, I merely remember his presence. I wonder if this was the time when my sister broke her leg, and that is why we were waiting here in my grandfather's shop - yes, when would my parents return from the hospital? Yet I clearly remember rummaging through the drawers in my grandfather's shop, I found a whistle and blew on it quite loudly, much to the dismay of my grandfather. *"Look at what you have done now,"* he scolded sharply. *"That whistle is only to be used in emergencies to call the police and now if they come they will be angry, because you called them for nothing".* I remember cowering behind the counter and scrutinising each individual who visited the shop after that, in fear of being hauled off to the police station. The year was 1973-74, the white policemen were strict and to be feared. Even then I remember that sense of 'them and us': the white policemen and us.

I was born in Fordsburg and because of the South African government's apartheid policy, my family was 'urged' to move to Lenasia, an area 33 kilometres away, to set up a new home and life. Ironically, my grandfather's business was still 'allowed' to operate in Fordsburg.

Fast forward, a few years later and I have more pleasant memories of Fordsburg: buying the best fish and chips in town at Solly's Corner, (next to my grandfather's tailor shop on Bree Street) and shopping at the Oriental Plaza was always a treat. The Oriental Plaza was full of tantalising aromas of 'bhajias' and 'samosas' (deep-fried Indian snacks), reams of colourful material flowing from overstocked vendors, glittering ornamental displays, interspersed with the latest Indian music hits resonating with the cries of specials and chatter from the multitudes of shoppers and traders alike. Shoppers of all colours and nationalities descended on the Oriental Plaza in search of a bargain and yet also something glamorous. The Oriental Plaza was also the first 'mall' as we now come to understand what a mall is. Unlike the malls of present day, the Oriental Plaza lived up to the 'Oriental'

in its name, evoking images of Indian bazaars, sounds and smells of India, and perhaps in the late 1970s of feelings of an ‘imagined’ India or homeland (Anderson 1991).

Looking out across the Plaza to Lillian Road, at the empty spot where my grandparent’s home used to be, and from which I was able to visit my grandfather’s shop around the corner, tugs at my heartstrings as if I want to hold onto something in the past, the nostalgia of the past. It serves as a reminder of where I came from and I want to understand that longing, that memory. So I bring to this thesis an insider’s perspective of trying to understand what it meant to be removed from Fordsburg and considered the ‘other’, and yet now I also play the role of the outsider trying to understand the ‘insider’ in Fordsburg.

Reflecting the present

Forty years later and looking at the Oriental Plaza through the eyes of a grown matured woman, I see many changes and feel the lack of energy, of vibrancy in the place. What had happened here, what changed? I glance around and notice that numerous outlets are selling leather goods, but every other outlet is selling the same leather goods. Then there are mobile technology outlets that have sprung up, this is new to the Oriental Plaza. There are also many outlets selling household wares that offer more variety at a cheaper price than those sold by the local traders in the Oriental Plaza. The one important change is that the workers in the outlets are different; they are not South African. Mainly male, they are non-nationals from India, Pakistan and Bangladesh, and they either converse among themselves in rapid Gujarati, Hindi or Urdu. Their English is limited and stilted and they speak with a distinct foreign accent. Their hair is thick, glossy and oily. The style of dress is made up of long trousers and the shirt hanging outside of the trousers with sandals or ‘*champals*’ on their feet, are distinctive and set them aside from the local South African Indians.

What has happened to the Plaza? It feels like the spark has gone from the place. The Plaza has lost its allure. Not only has the Oriental Plaza changed, but so too has Fordsburg, which houses the Oriental Plaza. It is interesting to note the ways in which it has changed: diverse groups of migrants are visible on the streets of Fordsburg; groups of three or more men, always men, chatting loudly in a foreign language, or otherwise with a cellular telephone glued to their ears, and rapidly firing off a conversation in a foreign tongue. The streets have changed too. Hair and beauty salons have replaced old local stores and are found on almost every street corner; sometimes there are two or three outlets all in close proximity on one street. They have the most unusual names such as ‘Rose Hair Salon,’

‘Moonflower Hair Salon’ and what is unique is that they are not just hair salons, but a combination of hair and beauty salons all in one outlet. These outlets may be run by one individual doing multiple tasks or by individuals who specialise in cutting hair, waxing, threading and facials. New and different food outlets specialising in Pakistani, Indian, Bangladeshi and Indo-Chinese cuisine have sprung up everywhere. A person is spoilt for choice for South Asian cuisine. This is in contrast to the local fare which is either just ‘fish and chips’ outlets or established franchise outlets such as Debonair’s Pizza, Kentucky Fried Chicken, Chicken Licken, among others. Here again is another significant change - the contrast between traditional South Asian fare and mainly western franchise outlets. It almost seems like a clash of cultures.

Who are these migrants in Fordsburg? Where did they all come from? Why did they come to South Africa and to Fordsburg in particular? In my early observations of the area when returning to the haunts of my youth a while ago, there was a noticeable absence of foreign migrant women, where were they? Why are there so many hair and beauty salons within such a small area? How do they all make money? Why do they have so many employees in one outlet? Suddenly there are all these tailor shops around! Where did all these tailors come from?

All this musing led to me to want to grapple with how different groups of migrants in one neighbourhood work together. Because it appeared that groups of Pakistanis hung out together and were involved in the same type of work, do they network with each other? Groups of Bangladeshis also seem to work together. So the migrant groups appeared to remain within their ethnic enclaves. What fascinated me was the diversity of groups in this suburb; interspersed with Pakistani hair salons, were Egyptian outlets selling traditional Islamic wear such as abhaya and burkas. Two or three of these outlets next to each other, across the road from each other; then you will have a western fast food outlet and then a Bangladeshi tailor, a man selling Bollywood DVDs. It is not only South Asian migrants, but migrants from North Africa and then southern Africa too, who are drawn to this locale. This blend of local and foreign, traditional and modern, juxtaposed each other at every level, jostling at every turn. To some extent, the foreign traders had appropriated Fordsburg, essentially reconstructing the community to look and feel like the ‘home’ country, creating a sense of ‘belonging’ and invoking a different identity here.

The sudden regeneration of Fordsburg is not new. As a community, Fordsburg has borne witness to the ebb and flow of economic development. The Oriental Plaza, initially a white elephant, went on to become so successful that it has become a world-renowned tourist landmark. Families evicted in the 1960s and 1970s have moved back into the surrounding areas *en masse*. However, the end of the Group Areas Act (1991) also saw the movement of Indian families out of Fordsburg and into other parts of the previously whites only suburbs of Johannesburg. A new wave of residents in the form of migrants, from Africa, and particularly from South Asia, (known as South to South migration), have beaten a steady path to the Fordsburg and the Mayfair areas. A regeneration of communities, use of social networks, development of economic spaces and vibrancy has taken hold of Fordsburg. New migrant communities have come in with and maintained their own identity, brand and style of trading and crept through the gaps to establish themselves as traders, sometimes very successfully.



PART 1: INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

Fordsburg has historically been associated with the ‘Indians’ of Johannesburg. Romantically characterised as noisy, aromatic and colourful, this enclave, as in the case of Johannesburg itself, has a history born and forged in the industry of gold mining. The story of Fordsburg is about the continuous makings and re-makings of communities, often by disenfranchised groups of people. The attempts at social engineering in the early days of Fordsburg were almost a prelude of what was to become the system of apartheid.

Chapter 1 provides an overview of the founding of Fordsburg in 1888, soon after the discovery of gold in Johannesburg in 1886. A brief history is presented of the various communities that came to inhabit Fordsburg; the scene is one of waves of immigrants and migrants and their struggles to eke out a living, establish an identity, care for their own interests and define their place in Fordsburg. The origins, culture and identity of actors who occupy Fordsburg and its immediate surrounds, stem from the British colonies of South Asia, Europe, Africa, the Middle-East and countries of southern Africa.

The chapter is divided into five periods, beginning with Fordsburg’s founding in 1888, to a post-apartheid South Africa in 1994, and it conveys the changes against the political, social and economic backgrounds that shaped the decades. Fordsburg evolves from an initial white working class suburb, to taking on the hue and characteristic of an Indian suburb. The community, fortified by years of struggle against economic and social repression, is yet again undergoing flux and change. Fordsburg, in redefining itself again, can no longer call itself just a South African community; it is a community of many nationalities, a culturally diverse community.

CHAPTER 1

FORDSBURG: THE CONSTRUCTION OF A MIGRANT COMMUNITY

1.1 A Migrant Community is Born: a Sociological Reconstruction

Fordsburg, proclaimed in 1888, soon after the birth of Johannesburg in 1886, is the site of this study. Historically, Fordsburg is a most significant settlement in the early history of Johannesburg. Two intrepid speculators, Lewis P Ford and Julius Jeppe bought two sections of the Langlaagte farm on which Fordsburg was established. Fordsburg was laid out on the western side of early Johannesburg with Jeppetown on the eastern side (Beavon 2004: 53). Fordsburg followed soon after the proclamation of a group of townships, 'Ferreirasdorp, Marshalltown, Doornfontein, Paarlshoop, Booyens and Ophirton' between 1886 and 1887 (Beavon 2004: 51).

The post-1888 'second wave of townships' is different from those of 1886-1887, representing a more permanent settlement. Furthermore, these eastern and western townships set the social blueprint of race and class for future Johannesburg. Fordsburg, in the west, reflected a more working-class socio-economic character, while the suburbs in the east were described as 'snob suburbs' (Beavon 2004: 52).

From the beginning the structure of Fordsburg emerged as a community of immigrants and of white working-class people. As a receiving area for a diverse group of immigrants, the settlement was a mixture of cultures and communities, all serving the economic needs of a newly thriving gold mining industry. Throughout its history, Fordsburg has been a contested area, often an experiment in racial and economic segregation that would serve as the blueprint for the apartheid policies to come.

I have chosen to locate the history of Fordsburg in five periods; the periodisation is selective and defined by the major political, social and economic events that shaped its settlements and migrant communities. The first period, 1886 to 1922, begins with the discovery of gold and ends with the white miners' strike in 1922, which brought Johannesburg to a 'war' (see Section 1.2.7). The period represents the birth of

Johannesburg, the foundation of much of the political, economic and social history, and the laying out of Fordsburg in 1888. Attention focuses on the arrival of new immigrant communities, particularly to Fordsburg.

The next period, 1923 to 1948, following the success of the post-gold rush, was a rapid period of growth of industrialisation for Johannesburg. The spatial segregation policies of the first period were further institutionalised by the Natives (Urban Act) No 21 of 1923 and effected a racial ordering of the city, creating a 'whites-only' Johannesburg. The period ends with the legislation of apartheid in 1948, which carved South Africa into segregated communities based on race.

The period 1949 to 1977, describes apartheid's impact on the communities of Pageview and Fordsburg; the movement of the people into and out of these two suburbs overlapped to such an extent that it is inconceivable to narrate the story of Fordsburg without acknowledging that of Pageview. The memories of Fordsburg are closely intertwined to the spaces, livelihoods and history of Pageview. The period ends in 1977 when the last Indian trader in Pageview succumbed to the forced removals that characterised the dislocation of communities during that period.

The period 1978 to 1994 reflects on the last surge by the apartheid government to remain in power, the intensification of apartheid before its demise. The civil disobedience of people of colour as they forced their way back into Fordsburg changed much of its character. The year 1994 is a watershed moment in history as a democratic South Africa opens its doors to the world. In particular, new waves of migrants from Africa and South Asia make their way to Fordsburg and carve out additional communities there.

The following historical overview is moulded sociologically to contextualise the study of Fordsburg and how its genesis as a community of migrants is still an important feature of its identity today. It is beyond the scope of this study to provide a full and in-depth historical account of Johannesburg. Specific attention is given to the South African Indian community as Fordsburg became characterised as an 'Indian' suburb.

1.2 The Making of Fordsburg: 1886 to 1922

The accidental discovery of the gold reef in 1886 on the farm Langlaagte, on the Witwatersrand would herald a city, dominated by the mining industry. The first mining camp following the discovery of gold in 1886 was awarded the official name 'Johannesburg' in September of the same year (Beavon 2004: 6). Johannesburg is located on a 'high interior ridge, or South African Highveld in what was formerly known as the Zuid-Afrikaanse Republiek (ZAR) or the Transvaal Republic...' (Beavon 2004: 1). Often omitted in the annals of history is that gold here was mined by the original people of the land, for many centuries before 1886.

1.2.1 Johannesburg: a City of Migrants

The population of the early camp grew rapidly from just 3 000 diggers in 1886 to 100 000 people in 1896 and rose exponentially by 1914 to 'over a quarter of a million inhabitants' (Van Onselen 1982a: 2). At first, the gold mine drew little international interest, producing just 0.16 per cent of the world's gold in 1886. Just twelve years later, in 1898, this figure rose to 27 per cent. By 1914, South Africa had become the world's top producer (Lang 1986: 509). At the heart of this rapid development was the control of gold reserves, gold production and manpower to work the gold from the seam.

The barren landscape was rapidly transformed by the miners from makeshift tents and covered wagons, to slightly firmer structures of corrugated iron in the mid-1890s, evolving into a town with more permanent and sturdy brick buildings encompassing 'banks, shops, hotels, boarding houses, a stock exchange, and ... saloons and brothels' (Beavon 2004: 6). From its early beginnings, Johannesburg was already known as a city of 'uitlanders' (in Afrikaans) or foreigners (Brodie 2008: 53). It was heterogeneous with regard to race, class and creed, and was largely male-dominated (Beavon 2004). Growth was characterised by successive waves of migrants and immigrants.

The first wave comprised mainly white male miners or prospectors with the intent of 'striking it rich'. Men of all statures in the form of 'diggers, miners, traders, adventurers, agents and speculators' came to the makeshift mining town congregating around the Market Square (Van Onselen 1982a: 4). [Refer to photograph of Square in Appendix 4]. Immigrants were mainly from southern Africa, Europe, Britain, North America, the Middle East and New Zealand (Brodie 2008: 52). A variety of 'African

tribes' were also interspersed with migrants from 'Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Denmark, France, Belgium, Portugal, Italy, Norway, Sweden, Russia, Greece and Romania ... Chinese, Syrians and Australians,' and even Americans (Brodie 2008: 53).

The second wave of people was associated with secondary and tertiary industries that supported the burgeoning mining industry. They were lawyers, traders, shopkeepers, ox-wagon drivers, etc. (Callinicos 1981: 9). It is at this point the social geography of early Johannesburg becomes important and its connection to Fordsburg becomes relevant. During this meteoric rise Johannesburg quickly became the pulse for a new social, political and economic dispensation.

1.2.2 The Racial Geography of Space

As early as 1887, we see the 'racial prejudices against dark-skinned people ... manifest[ing] itself in a geography of segregation' (Beavon 2004: 41). Land ownership was a contentious issue and the Gold Laws of the ZAR (Zuid-Afrikaanse Republiek) restricted any person of colour, i.e., African, Indian, coloured, Malay, Chinese and children of 'mixed' race marriages, from owning land. Prime business sites and residential areas were set aside for privileged whites (sahistoryonline a, n.d.).

Rise of the 'Locations'

With the steady influx of miners and supporting industries, the new town was unable to cope with the growing masses of people. People were segregated into racially-defined 'locations' or formal ghettos (Parnell and Beavon 1996: 14) where they were 'allowed' to live. The profile of these 'locations' was based on racial and ethnic categorisations of the pre-apartheid government at the time. The reference to 'Malays' is associated with the 'Cape Malay' now referred to as Cape Muslim. Indians in this context refers to Hindu and Muslim immigrants from India and blacks were referred to as 'Africans', 'natives' or 'kaffirs' (Brodie 2008: 136)¹. These 'locations' (See Figure 1.2), the official policy of the colonial Transvaal government, became known as the 'Coolie Location' (Indian or Asian location), 'Malay Location' (mostly Muslim Cape Malay) and ...

¹ The four main race groups in contemporary South Africa used in this thesis refers to as black, coloured, Indian and white people

‘Kaffir Location’ (African location) and these existed alongside the ‘white’ Brickfields’ (Brodie 2008: 127). Johannesburg was thus constructed around these ordained racial spatial divisions within which people could live and trade along with their fellow racial kin (Tomlinson et al. 2003).

The racial geography of space and class asserted itself in spaces of privilege as well. The wealthier mine owners set up homes in the broader Witwatersrand area, while skilled British miners lived in the many boarding houses that sprang up to accommodate the miners, for example, in Fordsburg. The western section of the city of Johannesburg drew poor working-class communities who moved into Vrededorp (an Afrikaans word meaning ‘town of peace’). Indians, coloureds and African people lived mainly in the ‘Coolie Location’ or along the marshy grounds of the Fordsburg Spruit (Mandy 1984: 13). Ironically, white Vrededorp, a shantytown, looked out onto the ‘jumble of shacks made from scrounged materials’ belonging to African, Indian and coloured people who lived in the ‘Malay Location’ (Beavon 2004: 10). In spite of the legislative and ideological boundaries, these demarcations could not prevent people from passing through the areas. Additionally, driven by the scarcity of accommodation, the practice of rack-renting, where the renter pays exorbitant rates, violated the segregation laws that were in place. This practice was to continue well into the 1980s.

On the eastern side of the city, in Troyeville, Jeppestown and Doornfontein the more well-off members of the mining class could be found. The mansions of the wealthy whites developed further into the northern suburbs of Johannesburg, such as Parktown Ridge, facing the panorama of the Magaliesberg range of mountains.

1.2.3 The ‘Locations’ around Fordsburg

The segregation into demarcated racial and ethnic spaces was regarded as an instrument of social control by the state. This form of social and ethnic engineering was to preserve the race, ethnic and class interests of the Transvaal government and white mine owners. The ‘locations’, given their proximity to Fordsburg, have a bearing on the movement of communities in and out of Fordsburg. However, the early ‘locations’ were fluid and so too were the boundaries that strived to confine the communities within them.

Brickfields/Burghersdorp

The area known today as Newtown, was first called Brickfields or Burghersdorp (meaning citizens' village). In 1887, a group of indigent Afrikaner families successfully appealed to President Paul Kruger to allow them to settle in Brickfields. Prior to 1900, this area was more popularly known as The Brickfields-Burghersdorp. Barely a street separated Brickfields and Fordsburg (see Figure 1.1).

The 'Coolie Location'

In 1887, the Indian or 'Coolie Location' consisted of six city blocks and incorporated 'Malherbe, Malan, Locations/Carr and Christian Streets' (Brink 2008: 5). This was the only area that Indian people could buy and own property in Johannesburg. As an exception to the Transvaal Law No. 3, they were allowed to buy 'preferent' rights to stands on 99-year lease (Beavon 2004: 77). By 1897 the 'Coolie' location had grown to 96 stands with an estimated population of 4 000 (Brink 2008: 5). Post the South African War² of 1899-1902, some 1 600 Indians returned to the city.

The location was in a deplorable state, without proper lighting, roads and sanitation services and, together with the densely packed population, conditions were prone to being slum-like. Although set aside for Indians, when the location was evacuated because of the bubonic plague (discussed below), it comprised 1 642 Indians, 1 420 Africans, and 1 146 Cape Coloureds (Itzkin 2000: 50). This supports my view (see Section 1.2.2) that the borders of the areas were artificial and porous, and that these locations were, in fact, racially integrated.

The 'Malay Location'

In 1894, the location designated for the 'Cape Malays' and Cape Coloured people, was made up of 469 stands of about 248 sqm, similar to neighbouring Vrededorp occupied

² The South African War started in 1899, where the British declared war against the Boer Republics of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. The Transvaal government wanted to use the taxes from the gold mines to invest in commercial farming and factories and to enforce the pass system to keep labour on the farms. The British wished to take the investments from the mines back to Britain. The war ended in 1902. The mine-owners gave their support to the war and were happy when British succeeded in defeating the Boers

by poor Afrikaners (Beavon 2004: 190). The coloured people were linked with the 'wagon-based transport', which ended with the development of the railways in 1890.

The scarcity of accommodation resulted in Indians settling here as well. The authorities at that stage made no distinction between Malays and Indians, as a result some Indian names were placed on the register for the allocation of stands. However, when displaced Indians from the fire-ravaged Klipspruit began to illegally occupy the 'Malay Location', this location became overwhelmingly Indian, but also home to working-class, blacks and Chinese (Brodie 2008).

Given the dearth of accommodation, many people were desperate to become 'tenants or sub-tenants' (Parnell and Beavon 1996: 14). Indians, because of restrictive labour and business by-laws, seized the opportunity to become landlords. Thus began the practice of letting or subletting of properties to members of any race group (Parnell and Beavon 1996), disregarding prescribed regulations. Attempts to remove the 'Malay Location' were made on several occasions; first when it was established and again in 1919, but it remained as the Council was unable to provide alternative housing. The 'Malay Location', later renamed Pageview, continued to exist as a veritable slum.

The 'Kaffir Location'

Black workers housed in compounds on the mines (Van Onselen 1982a), lived under decrepit conditions and were segregated by ethnic group, causing further divisions. Furthermore, these workers were contracted for 18-month periods with no guarantee of continued employment (Harrington et al. 2004: 65). As Johannesburg grew, so did the demand for black labour. Those workers not employed on the mines, were employed in the town, as menial labourers, domestic workers or were self-employed. The stands set aside for blacks in their allocated 'locations' was even smaller than those for the Indian and Malay people. To survive from their meagre wages, African workers also resorted to subletting in order to supplement their rental payments (Callinicos 1987: 68).

The Slums around Fordsburg

Poverty, the demand for space and housing, created slum-like conditions and concerns around the unhygienic living conditions in the areas around Burghersdorp, the 'Coolie and Kaffir Locations' and parts of the 'Malay Location', have a reputation on record of being amongst the 'worst slums' (Beavon 2004: 75). In 1896, the accidental explosion

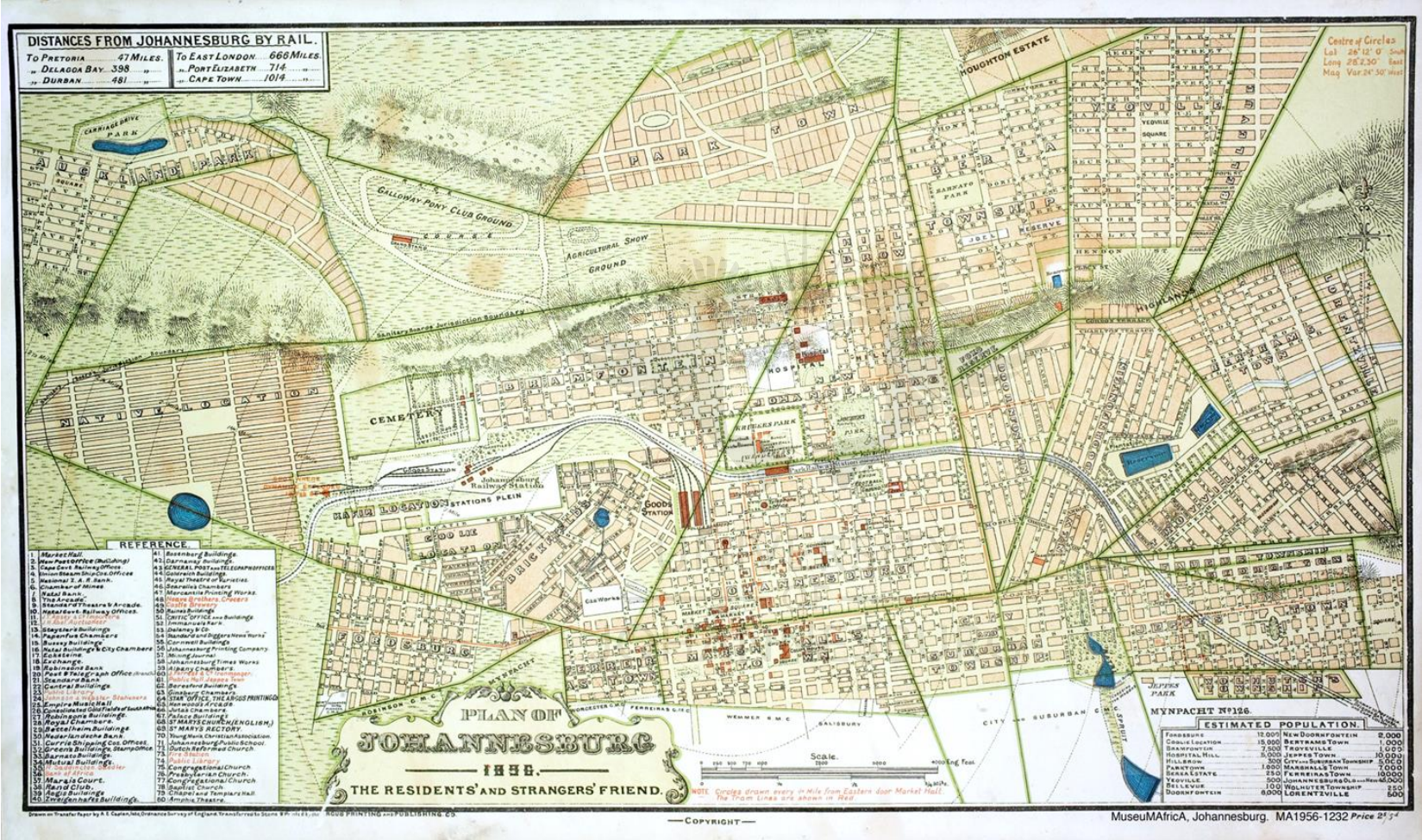
of a train loaded with 55 tons of dynamite in the Braamfontein railway area, killed 130 people and destroyed 1 500 homes. The areas most affected were the nearby Malay location and Brickfields areas. The Star (1896: no page) newspaper reported that ‘half of Fordsburg [was] practically laid low, and the native locations [were] ... simply a heap of iron’. The movement of homeless people from these devastated areas into the surrounding locations worsened the existing slum conditions.

Once the British took control of Johannesburg in June 1900, the spotlight resumed on the slum conditions of Burghersdorp and the ‘Coolie Location’ which were regarded as an ‘[un]sanitary area’ (Brink 2008: 20), described as ‘dilapidated and dirty tin huts, ill-lit, inadequately ventilated, and huddled densely together’ (Beavon 2004: 76). The perceived threat of ‘racial intermingling’ and the growth of the ‘unemployed poor whites’ became worrying concerns for the authorities (Brodie 2008: 132). White landlords, however, enjoying a lucrative income from exorbitant rentals and subletting of property to black, Indian, Chinese and Malay tenants objected to the demolition of the area (Brodie 2008).

As the authorities vacillated and stalled in the provision of alternative accommodation for whites and Indians, the much anticipated fear of bubonic plague broke out in the old ‘Coolie Location’ on 19 March 1904 (Beavon 2004: 77). The authorities cleared the Brickfields and ‘Coolie Location’ of its inhabitants that same night and then razed the area with a fire lasting three days. Whites from Burghersdorp were relocated to Vrededorp, while the Indians and blacks were uprooted to an area called Klipspruit, 19 km from Johannesburg, next to a sewage works site (Brodie 2008). This was regarded as Johannesburg’s first form of forced removals (Tomlinson et al. 2003). Unsatisfactory conditions in Klipspruit resulted in most of the Indians returning and moving into the already congested ‘Malay Location’.

This discussion reflects how different race groups became confined by law to certain areas around Fordsburg; a template for the apartheid policy that was to follow. It also reflects the fluidity of the concept ‘locations’ and how racial, class and capital interests governed and controlled the development and growth of communities, all in support of the burgeoning economy of Johannesburg. The next section considers the town planning of Fordsburg, and how Indians, living in the congested section of the ‘Malay Location’ spilled over into Fordsburg, eventually forcing an ‘Indian’ identity upon the suburb.

Figure 1.1 Proximity of the various Locations around early Fordsburg



Source: Museum Africa, Johannesburg

1.2.4 The Town Planning of Fordsburg

In 1887, stands went on auction in the Main Street in Fordsburg. With no stipulation on whether the land was to be used for commercial or residence purposes, the stands were quickly taken up, such that, by 1896, there were 6 000 people occupying Fordsburg (Beavon 2004). The proximity of Fordsburg to the gold mines, (Robinson, Crown Mines, Village Deep) and to the centre of Johannesburg, made it particularly convenient to live. Fordsburg, on the west, and Jeppe on the east, were among the first to connect to Commissioner Street, the earliest east-west road link joining Jeppetown and Fordsburg, and the mining camp. This ‘significant commercial node’ (Jinnah 2013: 22) was exploited by traders.

Temporary hotels and rooming houses sprouted everywhere and individual rooms were let out to white male mineworkers. Buildings were simple ‘corrugated iron outsides with unfired ‘green’ brick walls on the inside³’ (Beavon 2004: 53). After the South African War (1899-1902), miners brought their families to live in Fordsburg in small worker cottages. Fordsburg in the early twentieth century consisted of workers mainly employed in service-related industries that supported the mines and subsequently developed into a working-class neighbourhood.

A characteristic that still remains true today is a combination of residential homes, small shops, small industries, workshops, eating places, with the exception of bars. In 1887, to accommodate the growing number of migrated Indian traders, an area of six blocks of houses to the west of Fordsburg was founded (Jinnah 2013). The proximity of Pageview and Burghersdorp to Fordsburg meant that Indians and Afrikaners shared similar working and living spaces (Brink 2008: 10). The spillover of Indians from congested Pageview into Fordsburg resulted in the movement of Afrikaans-speaking people out of Fordsburg and into other areas. This event is an example of the ‘recycling of communities’, a feature that tends to reappear in Fordsburg throughout its history, even to this day.

³ The ‘green’ or stock bricks were made from muddy soil rich in clay deposits

1.2.5 Communities in Fordsburg

By 1915, Fordsburg could be characterised as a diverse community made up of ethnically distinct English, Afrikaans, Jewish, Lebanese, Indian, Chinese, coloured and African people (Brodie 2008). A brief glimpse of these communities is provided in this section showing that Fordsburg was anything but a white immigrant suburb; instead each wave of migrants cast their own identity on the overall character of Fordsburg.

The Afrikaner Community

Afrikaners initially leased land from the Afrikaner landowners and worked mainly as subsistence farmers. During the 1880s to the early 1900s, they abandoned their rural land because of drought, crop failures and plagues of locusts (Brink 2008). Dispossessed because of the South African War, the Afrikaners came to Johannesburg to start a new life. Many settled in the Bricksfield/Burghersdorp area and in Fordsburg, next to the Fordsburg Spruit where the muddy soil was rich in clay deposits. The Afrikaners grasped this opportunity to supply the growing mining camp with the unfired 'green' bricks (Beavon 2004). Brickmaking was an easy 'entry-point' and a quick trade to learn for the unskilled labourers across the different race groups, such as blacks, Europeans, Indians, Chinese and Cape Malays (Brodie 2008: 127). Only the Afrikaners obtained their brickmaking license from the government, other races were not extended this same privilege of receiving their licenses to engage in brickmaking.

Many of the early workers, managed to survive as cab drivers and transport riders. A small number of Afrikaners purchased small hooded 'Cape carts' and horses to set up a cab trade. In 1891, the Johannesburg Cab Owners Association was formed with over eighty members made up mostly of Afrikaners and some Cape Coloureds (Van Onselen 1982a). They operated the horse-drawn cabs to transport materials and people from home and work.

The Indian Community

Between the years 1860 to 1911, over 150 000 immigrants from India arrived in South Africa to work as indentured labour on the sugar plantations Natal (Bhana and Brain 1990: 15), today, KwaZulu-Natal. Unable to find employment in India, this group of indentured labourers entered into labour contracts guaranteeing them employment on the sugar plantations of Natal. They were mainly Telegu, Tamil and Hindi-speaking

Indians from the southern parts of India. A second group of Indians consisted of free Indians or ex-indentured immigrants who could return to India or were free to settle in southern Africa. Attracted by trade and business opportunities, this group made their way to Transvaal and to Johannesburg in particular. The third group, non-indentured migrants or 'passenger' Indians (mostly Muslims from Gujarat) who paid their own way, arrived from 1870s onwards (Brodie 2008). They consisted of a mixture of 'teachers, and interpreters' with the majority being traders and hawkers (Bhana and Brain 1990: 23). The Indian community in the Transvaal comprised all three groups of Indian immigrants.

Both Cachalia (1983) and Bhana and Brain (1990) thus categorise Indian migrants of this era as 'trading class', 'wealthy merchant', 'hawkers' and 'petty entrepreneurs'. Characteristically, all of these groups had a strong entrepreneurial flair. The majority of the 'passengers' Indians were relatively wealthy Muslims while most of the formally indentured Indians were Hindus (Brodie 2008; Kuper 1960). The high 'registration' fees required to start a business effectively excluded most Indians from setting up their own businesses (Tomaselli and Beavon 1986: 182). With limited options, many resorted to hawking activities. Those 'free' Indians, who were mainly Muslim, sold fruits and vegetables, while the more established 'passenger' Indians ran enterprises in the fresh produce wholesale market. The poorer group of 'free' Hindus moved into flower selling (Joshi 1941), while Gujarati Muslims and Memon traders from western India operated retail outlets (Bhana and Brain 1990: 86). The hawkers and pedlars, who were primarily Gujarati Hindus, lived in Burghersdorp, Fordsburg and Vrededorp.

Indians, were subjected to discriminatory legislation such as Transvaal Law 3 of 1885 of the then Transvaal Republic, also commonly known as the anti-Indian law. The Act placed restrictions on access to residence and trading rights for Indians. After the South African War (1899-1902), the governor of the Transvaal did not repeal the laws of the old republic, instead implemented additional laws such as the Gold Law of 1908 and the Precious and Base Metals Act, which prohibited all people of 'colour' (or 'non-white') from owning land (Parnell and Beavon 1996). The Asiatic Law Amendment Ordinance and the Asiatic Registration Act, which curtailed any further immigration of Asians into

the Transvaal, deported illegal residents and ensured that every legal Indian in the Transvaal was forced to carry a registration certificate at all times⁴ (Brink 2008: 22). The Transvaal Land and Tenure Act of 1919 sought to establish separate living and trading places (Tomaselli and Beavon 1986: 182). Benjamin (1979: 87) argues that because the policing of these Acts was spurious many 'Indians effectively owned 'white' property through a nominee'. The practice of working through a nominee continued until the late 1980s in Fordsburg.

Passenger Indians were not wealthy, as they did not enter South Africa with capital, although many came to South Africa with the intention to find business opportunities. However, Cachalia (1983: 6) also notes that merchants, who first established themselves in Natal and then moved to Transvaal, were among a wealthier group of traders who sought to protect their commercial activities closely. Other Indians found work in the catering industry, or as employees in established trades or worked as petty traders, hawkers, waiters, labourers and *dhobies* (laundryman) (Bhana and Brain 1990; Cachalia 1983). The 1896 Census showed there were 3 398 Indians in Johannesburg, comprising 1 572 Muslims and 1 826 Hindus (Bhana and Brain 1990: 84). Males outnumbered females by eight to one.

The apparent success of the Indian traders was attributed to the astute use of the extended family system, hard work and kinship networks (Bhana and Brain 1990: 83). The following quote by a white man captures the Indian traders' ethic:

'All seven days in the week are working days for the Indians and they work from sunrise to sunset. On Sundays they write up their account books and hawkers settle their accounts. Others either keep the shop open on holidays blatantly or station a man outside to smuggle customers in...' (Bhana and Brain 1990: 84).

The Coloured Community

In 1894, people of mainly Malay origin and Cape Coloureds, were provided with land in the 'Malay Location' that they could legally buy and occupy (Brodie 2008: 137).

⁴ This is similar to the immigration laws in South Africa at present, as it applies to refugees, asylum seekers and undocumented immigrants. The law, in different guises, continues the inequities of the past into the present

From a population of 4 000 in 1896, the coloured population had increased to a relatively modest 11 000 people in 1911 (Beavon 2004: 8). Marriage across lines of colour was inevitable, given the gender disparity. It is recorded that Cape coloured women married Indian men and lived in the Asiatic Bazaar, in Pretoria (Bhana and Brain 1990: 88). Similarly, marriages such as these must have taken place in and around Fordsburg too.

The African Community

The largest group of people in Johannesburg were black labourers. Primarily engaged as unskilled labour to ‘do the rough work’, this group grew from about 14 000 in 1890, to 100 000 workers in 1899 (Beavon 2004: 9). The mine owners recognised that the deep level gold mining needed a corpus of unskilled and cheap labour. In orchestration with the government, mining authorities sourced this labour throughout southern Africa resulting in the migrant labour system (Beavon 2004). The African migrant labourers were mainly housed in communal ‘compounds’. The municipality, the second largest employer of unskilled African labour, also made use of compound housing for African labour (Parnell 2003). Cachalia (1983: 6) notes that blacks in the late nineteenth century were restricted from engaging in any forms of ‘independent livelihood’. A significant presence in Johannesburg, the black population faced massive restrictions in movement and space. Although Indians and blacks faced oppression, the Indians were slightly less underprivileged than their black counterparts were.

The Chinese Community

The very earliest ‘Chinese’ came to South Africa in the mid-seventeenth century. Mainly from Java, Batavia and southern China, they arrived in the Cape as convicts or slaves of the Dutch East India Company (Park 2008). Comprising mainly men, they continued arriving in small groups of about one hundred, throughout the eighteenth century.

After the South African War ended in 1902, African labourers began demanding higher wages for work on the mines. British authorities urged mine owners to recruit Chinese workers and in 1904, 64 000 workers arrived. A number of constraints were placed on the indentured Chinese labour, effectively excluding them from any skilled mining operations. Their return to China at the end of their three year contract period was

guaranteed (Park 2008). By 1906, the number of Chinese workers grew to 52 900. The treatment meted out to Chinese workers was so inhumane that the system failed due to the 'slave-like conditions' they suffered under (Harrington et al. 2004: 67). The Chinese workers were restricted to the perimeter of the compounds of the gold mines. The Cape enacted the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1904 where Chinese workers were further restricted from acquiring licenses dealing with liquor, mining, trading, hawking, building and dealing in fixed property (Park 2008). A designated area in Ferreira'sdorp became known as Johannesburg's 'Chinatown'. Ironically, this community had little or no connection to the indentured Chinese mine workers. They sustained their living by trading in staple foods (sahistoryonline a, n.d.).

The Jewish Community

The Jewish community came as refugees from Western Russia, Lithuania and Latvia in the late nineteenth century (Brink 2008: 16). In 1887, the number of Jews were around 100, but this figure rose to 500 a year later, and by 1890 grew to 2 000. At the turn of the century, Jews accounted for 25 000 people in South Africa with about fifty per cent of these living in Johannesburg (Beavon 2004: 9). It was not only the vision of economic prosperity that attracted the Jews, but push factors also included the economic dislocation of Jews in Western Russia, anti-Jewish legislation and persecution that prompted their flight to South Africa (Krut 1987). Some of the early Jews were traders, craftsmen and small businessmen, while a smaller group became professionals, specifically in law and medicine (Beavon 2004: 9).

Most of the early Jews were impoverished and left even more destitute after the South African War. They settled in the working-class neighbourhoods of Fordsburg and Mayfair. Those with some resources started working as peddlers, engaged in the sale of legal and illegal liquor and prostitution (Brodie 2008; Krut 1987: 136). Prostitution prompted a Jewish welfare organisation, the Chevra Kadisha to assist with this problem (Brink 2008: 16). Synagogues in both Fordsburg and Mayfair today bear testament to the Jewish community. The shul served the dual purpose of a learning centre and as a place of worship. A photograph taken in 1906 shows a group of 25 boys who attended the Talmud Torah of the Fordsburg synagogue (Brink 2008: 17). The B. Gundelfinger warehouse (late 1890s) in Pine Road was another Jewish establishment in Fordsburg.

The places of worship and business indicate the settlement and growth of the Jewish community in Fordsburg.

The British Community

Immigrant British miners brought the English language to Fordsburg. Hyslop's (2004) description of early white trade unionism showed the British as 'skilled artisans' with strong trade union experiences of both the British and the Australian labour movements (Brink 2008: 18). The churches in the area such as the Anglican Church on Park Road are reminders of the presence of the English, but their full story still needs to be recorded. A detailed, systematic exposition of the English-speaking working class in Johannesburg is under-researched, even more so is the story of white working-class communities in Fordsburg and Mayfair (Brink 2008).

The Lebanese Community

The Lebanese community of the late nineteenth century were mainly immigrants from Sebhel, Mezgara, Besharre, Hadath El-Joube, Maghdouche and other places (Maronite Catholic Mission n.d.). In 1892, the first Maronite and Lebanese immigrants arrived in Durban, Cape Town and Mozambique. They were a strong Catholic group and of Maronite faith. To maintain their faith, they wrote to the Maronite Patriarch, asking for a Maronite Priest to come to South Africa and continue with Maronite rites. In 1928 the Maronite Patriarch sent Fr. Peter Alam, to serve the Lebanese community. Significantly, in 1913, the South African Lebanese Association took action and defeated the Supreme Court that intended to classify the Lebanese as non-white (Hourani n.d.).

In summary, early Johannesburg and Fordsburg was a mixture of races, nationalities and religions. Many of the migrants from Europe and Britain choose to leave their wives and families at home for fear of the risk associated with a young volatile industry in a then unknown land. African migrants from the rural areas arrived in the new town as single men; the promise of the gold mining industry and subsequent capitalist revolution was seen as a worthy economic venture. The racially segregated living spaces contributed to a sense of separation, keeping a distance between races and communities, with very little integration among the people living in the area. This background to the origins of these residents and their settlement offers some insight into how early migrant communities retained their identities, through trade and belonging to

particular social ethnic groups, with social class, religion and language, acting as distinctive markers.

1.2.6 Social and Cultural Amenities in Fordsburg

As communities establish, the building blocks of community emerge to address the needs of education, religion and leisure, showing that, within a small, bounded space, communities are fluid and integration across race and nationality become inevitable.

Schools

The development of schools in Fordsburg from the 1900s to the 1970s, attests to the importance of education in the community, transmission of language and culture and the rooting of communities. Prior to the 1900s, children of migrants and the local citizens, had the choice between Dutch medium (government) education or an English medium (private) education. The Spes Bona Skool was established in nearby Brickfields in August 1889 and started with 67 pupils. The Spes Bona Skool became the largest Afrikaans school in Johannesburg, but closed at the outbreak of the war in 1899 (Brink 2008: 15).

Another Afrikaans school known as the Fordsburg Church School, opened in January 1891 and by 1892, listed 91 pupils and three teachers on its roster (Brink 2008). The school building also served as a church and suffered a number of setbacks from 1896 to 1899. It re-opened as a private school in June 1900 (Brink 2008: 15). In 1903, the Goede Hoop School in Fordsburg was completed at a cost of £2 000. There were 315 pupils in this school (Stals 1986: 50), established to provide mother tongue tuition for Afrikaans-speaking children.

The collective efforts of a group of Muslim traders resulted in a school for Indian children, set up in 1913 and began with 136 pupils (Arkin 1989: 107), indicating the presence of a significant Indian population in Johannesburg. The government provided one of Johannesburg's first Indian schools in 1914, the Johannesburg Indian Government School, commonly known, as the Bree Street Indian Government School, ('BIGS') (Brink 2008: 12). The school, situated on the corner of Bree and Malherbe Streets, across from the Oriental Plaza, still exists and today houses the Johannesburg Muslim School. Until 1939, the school only provided primary education, but when additional classrooms were built the school then became known as the Fordsburg Indian

High School (Carrim 1990; see Chapter 9, Section 9.2). During the period 1948-1968, residents from Pageview sent their children to primary and secondary schools in Fordsburg (Carrim 1990).

The Shree Transvaal United Patidar Society in Fordsburg was established by Mahatma Gandhi in 1912, with the Patidar Hall being built in 1918 for the Hindu community. To ensure the transmission and continuation of the Hindu language, cultures and tradition, the Shree Bharat Sharda Mandir school (SBSM) was founded in 1936, under the patronage of the Patidar society (Maharaj 2012). The school was housed in the Patidar Hall, in Fordsburg and rooted within the Hindu faith; the words *Sharda* (learning) and *Mandir* (temple), appropriately translates to ‘temple of learning.’ A broader educational forum, the Shree Transvaal Hindu Educational Society, constructed a formal structure to house the SBSM school in 1948. In 1955, a training college for South African Indian teachers called the Transvaal College of Education was opened in Fordsburg.

Thus we see that since 1913, schools catered for different race and religious groups. Although Fordsburg was demarcated as a white area, a school for Indian children was made provision for. In 1976, the SBSM, in line with the changing needs of the community developed a nursery and preschool. Today, these schools still actively contribute to the community albeit with a changed demography. More importantly, apart from the schools being a facility for learning, the preservation and transference of identity and culture confirms the evolvement of community in Fordsburg.

Places of Worship

The presence of different religious structures attests to the diversity of groups in early Fordsburg. In the early twentieth century members of the Muslim, Hindu, Catholic and Jewish communities established places of worship and culture in Fordsburg. Itzkin (2000) attributes the religious tolerance to Gandhi’s influence as he promoted mutual respect and co-operation between Hindus and Muslims. The Patidar Hall had the dual purpose of not only hosting weddings, it also accommodated several prominent overseas visitors; the school and hall became an integral component of the community where culture, language and religious practices could be imparted and sustained.

Amongst the many mosques that can be found around Fordsburg, Mayfair and Vrededorp today, the Hamidia Mosque is situated at 2 Jennings Street, Newtown. The

Hamidia Islamic Society, a leading Muslim organisation in the Transvaal was established in 1906 to look after the welfare of Muslims. On 10th January 1908, Mahatma Gandhi (a Hindu) led a gathering of Hindus, Muslims, Christians, and Chinese who burnt their passes in defiance of the new discriminatory laws (South African Tourism, n.d.). Various nationalities of Muslim migrants still make use of this religious space today. The Hamidia Mosque, together with the Gandhi memorial, a cauldron similar to the one used to burn the passes, is a symbolic space remembered for its contribution in the passive resistance movement, but that space was not confined to Muslims only, the unifying factor was the solidarity of the immigrants against discrimination.

In 1936, Father Peter Alam bought a four-storey former Dutch Reformed Church at 61 Mint Road for the Lebanese community and he also set up the second Lebanese school in South Africa, serving the community until his death 34 years later. Father Alam's congregation belonged to a Syrian Christian Catholic sect. The Lebanese Church still stands in Fordsburg, however, most of the Lebanese community have left Fordsburg and Mayfair, but the church still hosts services on Sunday mornings. Another Catholic group, the Congregation of the Sisters of Mercy, taught at a small school in Crown Road, from 1908 until about 1913 (Congregation of the Sisters of Mercy, n.d.).

Mosques, churches of various denominations together with a synagogue built in 1906, bearing testimony to the Jewish presence, show that early Fordsburg reflected the diversity of its communities in the establishment of religious places of worship. Missing from this history is a formal place of worship for Hindu immigrants, a temple. Beavon (2004) records that a Hindu temple was burnt down during bubonic plague, but no further information of the temple could be traced.

Sport

Even though spaces of living were segregated, sporting activities reached across colour lines to build communities. In the early twentieth century, the Rangers Football Grounds, in Mayfair South, provided access to sporting facilities, for both whites and Indians. This club was formed in 1889 by a group of British miners. Brink (2008) notes that Indian teams from Fordsburg and Mayfair made use of the facilities. These grounds have been renamed the 'Arthur Bloch Park'. It is recorded that one of the first swimming baths in Johannesburg was developed here, although the record does not

specify whether it was opened to all races, one can safely assume it was for the use of white population only (Potgieter et al. 1971).

Prostitution

The historian Charles Van Onselen (1982a: 5) characterises the working-class communities in early Johannesburg as ‘drinking, gambling and whoring, which would probably have played an important part in the emerging working-class culture of the [Witwatersrand]’. This characterisation underscores the absence of family structures of the immigrant and local population; the gender imbalance of communities in their early stages of development; and, lastly, how these activities provided for some form of communal association, in an otherwise lonely existence. The early working-class Afrikaans-speaking community was beset with social problems associated with impoverishment, gambling, prostitution and alcoholism (Stals 1986: 35). During the depression of 1906 to 1914, Van Onselen (1982a: 32) records that working women from Fordsburg and Vrededorp engaged in ‘casual sexual liaisons’ to supplement their incomes. For some this soon gave way to a full-time career in prostitution. Prostitution, as a means to create additional streams of income, also spread to the Jewish community.

A summary of the social and cultural amenities show how early migrant communities formed deep associations in and to Fordsburg, by creating an infrastructure through places of work, worship and social attachments to people and places. Social institutions of education and religion and even sport, served as conduits around which community was built. The historical perspective of Fordsburg is important when trying to deconstruct the notion of community amongst new migrant communities today since these existing historical sites of worship and schooling play a decisive role in creating and recreating communities of belonging.

One of the more well-known historical sites is the Fordsburg Market Square, made famous by the 1922 white miners’ strike. It was also the nerve centre of the strike.

1.2.7 The 1922 Miners Strike

The 1922 white miners’ strike on the Witwatersrand was a formative event in the history of labour in South Africa. The military precision and organisation of the attack and retaliation by the government with bomber aircraft and troops leads me to conclude that the strike edged Johannesburg to a ‘war’ with thousands of white miners on one

side and mine owners on the other. Mine owners sought to replace 2 000 white semi-skilled workers with ‘unorganised and poorly paid black workers’, and the use of machines to cut production costs. White workers, threatened by the growing number of black workers, went out on strike, and insisted on the re-establishment of the status quo colour bar agreement of 1918. When the Chamber of Mines adamantly refused, the miners and their allies organised themselves showing ‘elements of military organisation’ (Krikler 1996: 349).

The white miners’ strike also referred to as the ‘Red Revolt’ or the Rand Rebellion of 1922, saw the young Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA) playing an active part in what was to become an open rebellion against the state. The strike leaders used the Market Square to train their commandos and the troops occupied the trenches dug around the Square. Bomber aircraft were also seen flying over Fordsburg during the strike. On Tuesday, 14 March, the Trades Hall at Fordsburg was hit with artillery and fell to the government forces in the afternoon (The Star 1922: no page).

Shorten (1970: 3280) adds further:

At Fordsburg casualties were lighter though fighting was more spectacular. There the strikers were strongly entrenched around the Market Square where Percy Fisher had his headquarters in the Market Buildings. Trenches, surmounted by sandbags, had been dug around the northern, eastern and western boundaries of the Square which was protected on its south side by Market Buildings and Sack’s Hotel; barricades had been thrown across Main and Commercial Roads and within the Square another trench that ran along the northern and eastern side of Market Buildings formed a second line of defence (See Appendix 4 for pictures).

The two communist leaders of the strike, Percy Fisher and Harry Spendiff, left a suicide note saying, ‘we died for what we believed in – the Cause’ (sahistoryonline, b). The strike and its ‘bloody suppression’ (Krikler 1996: 349) lasted for two months, ended on 16 March 1922; 153 people were killed, 500 were wounded and 5 000 strikers were either imprisoned or fined (Callinicos 1981: 82). Fordsburg reflected very poignantly the broader tensions between the working classes and the economic threat that low cost black labour posed to the white working class in particular.

The period 1886 to 1922 ends with the Red Revolt, marking an intense period of growth and turmoil in the short history of Fordsburg. Supporting the mining industry was the primary reason for the establishment of Fordsburg. Post-1920 sees a drop in the gold

price and slowing of the economy, with manufacturing as a secondary sector gaining ground. The Premier Milling Company, the B. Gundelfinger warehouse and the growth of Indian-owned businesses all indicate that Fordsburg outgrew its reliance on mining and re-invented itself in light of the impact of the 1922 Miners' Strike and The Natives (Urban Areas) Act of 1923 that figures in the next period.

1.3 Creation of a White Labour Aristocracy: 1923 to 1948

The defeat of the white workers was a crushing blow to their aspirations; they returned to work for wages lower than before the strike and many workers lost their jobs to black workers. In turn, black workers took on more skilled and semi-skilled work without any increase in wages (Callinicos 1981: 84). However, this event has far-reaching consequences not only for the white workers but for South Africa as a whole. In the aftermath of the strike, mine owners lost political ground. The formative political and economic Acts such as The Natives (Urban Areas) Act of 1923, and the growing manufacturing industries reshaped the geographical and socio-political landscape of Johannesburg.

White miners turned the tide in the 1924 elections by voting against the Smuts government that favoured the mine owners. They brought into power the Pact Government, consisting of an alliance between the Labour Party (favoured by 'English-speaking craft workers') and the National Party (supported by Afrikaner workers). This event was to change the course of history for South Africa. In the contest for political power, the Pact Government supplanted British colonial power. At the centre of these changes was the demand that white workers (skilled and unskilled) had been fighting for since the early 1900s: keeping their wages high, reserving their position of a privileged working class (Callinicos 1981: 85). This ensconced a 'racially-bounded labour aristocracy' (Krikler 1996: 350) that was to last up until the 1990s.

The Pact Government protected white workers' privileges by passing the Mines and Works Act of 1926, wherein Africans and Asians were permitted to engage in work but required a permit to do so. It further implemented the 'civilised labour policy' that introduced job reservation for white workers. The policy protected the wage levels of white workers and allowed employers to hire black workers at much lower wages. This soon became the normal practice for the entire country. The Pact Government's creation

of a white ‘aristocrat’ working class sought to hasten the growth of South African capitalism (Callinicos 1987: 88). The introduction of job reservation therefore implicitly set up a white hegemony, aristocracy in the workplace and an economic discontinuity of privilege in the community space.

The development of the mining sector and supporting manufacturing industries resulted in the creation of jobs and people living in the inner city. Contrary to the strict segregationist policies that were in place, the inner city areas were replete with all races living together (Parnell 2003: 616). Some of the poorest dwellers and dwellings arose in the inner city areas of Johannesburg. However, once the shift in political power occurred after the 1922 miner’s strike, the removal of blacks from the inner city began in earnest. When the Carnegie Commission Report of 1932 found that the racial composition of the urban poor comprised a high percentage of whites, immediate action against the slum conditions in the city was taken (Parnell 2003). The implementation of The Natives (Urban Areas) Act of 1923 was an attempt to resolve the housing needs of the poor whites who were residing in the racially heterogeneous slums (Parnell 1988; 2003).

1.3.1 The Natives (Urban Areas) Act of 1923

Post-1910, the question of how to manage accommodation and shelter amongst the different races gave rise to The Natives (Urban Areas) Act of 1923. Parnell (2003: 615) calls it the ‘most racially repressive legislation’ attempting to regulate the ‘racial pattern of settlement within South African cities’ by omitting blacks completely from cities and confining them to segregated areas. The Natives (Urban Areas) Act of 1923 prohibited black people from owning property or even renting in white designated areas. Coloureds and Indians were allowed to own property but only under severe restrictions (Parnell and Beavon 1996: 13).

The Act catalysed the planned programme for the relocation of black people to the south of the city in an area known as the South Western Township (Soweto). By 1933, the entire city of Johannesburg had been designated a white area. Once the legislation was passed, Johannesburg acted quickly to implement the law. It overturned its earlier ambivalence of allowing black settlement in the inner city areas and in rental housing, to accommodate the wishes of white employers. By 1938, from a population of half a million, 60 000 people had been relocated from Johannesburg (Tomlinson et al. 2003:

6). The Natives (Urban Areas) Act of 1923 together with the Slums Act of 1934 provided the impetus and legal rationale for the Johannesburg Council to remove black and coloured residents from Pageview ('Malay Location') as well (Parnell and Beavon 1996: 15).

At the outbreak of World War II, there were approximately 7 000 Indians living in Pageview (Parnell and Beavon 1996). In 1943 the City Council took the decision that Pageview should become an exclusive area for Indians, and asked parliament to 'legalise ownership by Indians' (Benjamin 1979: 78). The formally 'Malay Location' was renamed Pageview in recognition of the efforts of the then Mayor Mr JJ Page to establish the suburb.

1.3.2 Reciprocity between Communities in Fordsburg

In the period 1920 to 1940, the working-class neighbourhood for white miners and Afrikaners of Fordsburg saw many other working-class people make their home here. The neighbouring Indian suburb, Pageview, was now overflowing with inhabitants. At the start of World War II in 1939, the number of Indians living in Johannesburg was approximately 14 000, with 5000 to 7 000 living in Pageview (Parnell and Beavon 1996: 15). Inevitably, a number of Indians sought refuge in nearby Fordsburg, north of Avenue Road.

Stals (1978) provides a glimpse of the lives of the Afrikaner and Indian communities: the close proximity of Pageview to Fordsburg and Mayfair meant that Indians and local Afrikaners shared similar socio-economic circumstances giving rise to a form of reciprocity for each other. Indian traders would set up a credit system that enabled local Afrikaners to buy food and other necessary items (Stals 1978: 175). In turn, literate clients would then write up the goods that were bought, since some of Indian traders were illiterate. Stals (1978: 175) points out that a 'mutual system of trust and honesty existed'. It is documented that Afrikaans-speaking women took in laundry for Indians with some Afrikaner women marrying Indian men saying 'he was the only person who had always been good to her' (Stals 1986: 30). While Stals (1978) sees these developments as moral decay, on another level, they do represent a transcendence of race, language and religion (Brink 2008: 14) to a communal form of solidarity.

During the 1920s newly arriving Afrikaners used the working-class suburbs as entry points. Once their fortunes improved, some of them moved from Fordsburg to the more successful areas of Turffontein or Jeppestown (Beavon 2004). Research shows that, in 1945, only 9 per cent of those Afrikaners who lived in Fordsburg were in fact homeowners (Stals 1978; 1986: 27). This raises further questions first, about the permanency and claims to Fordsburg by the Afrikaners and second, who were the other homeowners then? Post-1920, the National Party won the seats in Fordsburg and Vrededorp and these remained an Afrikaner nationalist stronghold until 1948 (Stals 1978: 99).

The housing shortage of the earlier decades persisted during this period. A main concern was that the white community lived in slum-like conditions in Fordsburg, Jeppestown and Doornfontein. The Housing Utility Co. was established in 1934 to redevelop the slum areas and one of the first housing schemes to be built was the Octavia Hill apartments in Fordsburg. Today, this housing scheme still provides accommodation for poor and destitute families, this time to all races.

The period 1923 to 1948 was thus shaped by key events that set in motion a number of socio-political policies that became the design for apartheid. As far as Fordsburg was concerned, we see some form of reciprocity between the Afrikaner and Indian communities. The period ends when the National Party government comes into power in 1948, essentially to tear apart the communities, and a country, based on creating a white racial hegemonic state. The severe housing shortage led parliament to limit housing and land available to the Indian community through the 1946 Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act, which restricted Indians to Pageview (Parnell and Beavon 1996). The next section highlights how the Group Areas Act of 1950 reshaped communities, in particular, the people of Pageview, and its relation to how Fordsburg became accepted as an Indian area, in spite of the fact that it was never proclaimed as one.

1.4 The Rise and Fall of Pageview: 1949 to 1977

The passing of the Group Areas Act, No. 41 of 1950 effected the social re-engineering of the entire South African landscape, segregating it into separate racialised units. This Act was closely followed by the passing of the Group Areas Act of 1957 and the

Natives (Urban Areas) Amendment Act of 1957. These policies effectively criminalised a person who resided in an area that was designated for another racial group. On a deeper level, it destroyed individuals, families, homes and communities.

As Johannesburg’s central business district grew and with it the enforcement of the Group Areas legislation, Indians in the city centre were relocated to an area set aside exclusively for Indians situated 33 km to the south called Lenasia. Initially, many Indians resisted this relocation, but government pressure and housing shortages forced families to move.

The Growth of the Indian Population in Johannesburg

The growth of the Indian community in Johannesburg from 1950 to 1980 (Table 1) is generally steady with most Indians living predominantly in Pageview and Fordsburg. From 1939 to 1951, there was a sharp increase of 8 295 people. By 1960, the figure had risen by seven thousand people and by 1970 another 11 000 Indian people lived in Johannesburg. A decade later, the Indian population grew by almost 15 000, reaching 54 940 in 1980.

Table 1: Indian Population of Johannesburg 1950-1980

	1951	1960	1970	1980
Number	22 295	28 993	40 021	54 940
% change	~59.3 ^a	6.1	6.3	6.7

^a: based on approximation of 14 000 in 1939

(Brink 2008:11)

Pageview was divided into two sections; those living north of 17th Street were mainly Indian families who were ‘leaseholders of their property’; those on the south side of 17th Street comprised blacks, Cape Malays, coloureds and a few Indian families lived on property owned by Indians. These absentee ‘landlords’ cared very little for maintaining their properties typifying the slum-like conditions of the 1930s (Beavon 2004: 190-191). From the late nineteenth century, Pageview was known as the ‘home’ of the Indian community in Johannesburg, in 1952, however, it was declared a future ‘whites’ only residential area (Parnell and Beavon 1996: 17), even those with ‘secure[d] tenure’

were affected by the Group Areas Act of 1950. From 1957 to 1970, expulsion notices were served on all blacks, coloured and Indians living in Pageview (Brodie 2008: 137).

Pageview, popularly referred to by the locals as “Fietas”, comprised ‘twenty six parallel streets and 352 residential stands’ (Brodie 2008: 137). The 14th Street Bazaar, famed as Johannesburg’s ‘Petticoat Lane’ (Benjamin 1979: 78), was a shopper’s paradise, attracted people from the greater Witwatersrand, including black mine workers to white women from the upper class northern areas. The traders stocked a variety of goods, with half of the merchandise flowing onto the pavements. The area was home to about 10 000 residents living either above the shops or in small houses in the streets behind the shops (Benjamin 1979: 80-81).

A ‘strong community spirit’ developed in Pageview (Beavon 2004: 191) reflected by the establishment of mosques, three churches, three ‘Indian’ cinemas, schools, communal hall, and the social clubs were closely interwoven into the fabric of the community (Beavon 2004; Benjamin 1979). There were also a few private primary schools belonging to the Hindu, Muslim and Tamil-speaking communities. Although government set up two small government-run schools in Pageview, pupils’ preferred attending school in nearby Fordsburg (see Section 1.2.6).

For leisure, most residents preferred the ‘smarter’, more ‘elite’ cinemas of Fordsburg such as ‘The Taj’, ‘The Royal’ and ‘The Star’, compared to the three cinemas in Pageview. Mr Y Patel (Carrim 1990: 75) is quoted as saying:

Going to the bios was a major social event on Saturday nights. You needed to book your tickets well in advance. Everybody used to dress up for the occasion. It was a time and place where everybody could check everybody else out.

With barely a street dividing them, was Vrededorp, almost solely inhabited by poorer Afrikaners. They shopped in Pageview, receiving ‘extended credit’ from the Indian traders, and there appeared to be little hostility between the communities (Benjamin 1979: 81). Although Pageview was racially mixed for a long time, with a strong multi-cultural community, conflict however was visible. Brodie (2008: 137) shows that Afrikaners began pushing for the exclusion of Indians, coloureds and black people from Pageview from early in the twentieth century. Parnell (1988) supports this view by stating that whites in Vrededorp protested and distanced themselves from their black neighbours. In 1939, the coloured people started rent boycotts against the Indian

slumlords in Pageview. It is documented that the coloured people voluntarily moved to Coronation Township and Albertsville (sahistoryonline c, n.d.). The government, sympathetic to the concerns of the Afrikaners in Vrededorp, began enforcing party policies and placed the relocation of Indian people high on its post-1948 agenda.

Eviction notices served on residents between 1957 and 1970 were mostly ignored. While the Indian community of Pageview resisted this forced relocation to Lenasia, it also sowed tension and division amongst the Indian members and traders themselves (Rugunanan et al. 2012; Parnell and Beavon 1996). Benjamin (1979: 81) is of the opinion that the City Council was an unwilling party in this whole process, and instead would have preferred that both Vrededorp and Pageview become Indian areas. For a critique of this view, refer to Parnell (1988) and Parnell and Beavon (1996). Realising that the 170 traders would not survive if forced to move to Lenasia (Beavon 2004), and more as a form of appeasement, the City Council funded a R16 million building construction site in nearby Fordsburg and constructed the Oriental Plaza. The Pageview traders were now compelled to relocate their businesses to the commercial centre in Fordsburg (Nagel 2008), while moving their families to Lenasia. When a major part of the Plaza was complete in 1975, the first eviction notices were given to the traders in Pageview. Some traders moved to Fordsburg, while others steadfastly remained behind, causing dissension amongst the community.

The Dislocation of a Community

As of 30 June 1976, 67 per cent of the original 170 traders were still in Pageview, resisting all attempts to relocate (Benjamin 1979). Even after the violent Soweto uprisings of 16 June 1976, the government persisted with evictions later that month in Pageview, using similar methods violence such as resorting to force, using police with riot gear and dogs, breaking through locked doors and confiscating trader's goods and shop fittings on the streets with impunity.

For the Indian traders, Pageview was a way of life; businesses and homes were an extension of each other, and family members played an active part of the business. Now, removed to a far-off townships resulted in an economic discontinuity between home and work life, increasing the costs of travel, childcare, labour and the economic costs of conducting business overall. Some of the traders made successes of their businesses, others lost everything, but the trauma and dislocation caused by the forced

removals and the in-fighting among traders for the best trading spaces at the Oriental Plaza, had an acrimonious effect on the community (Fraser 2003a; Hermer 1978).

The movement of Indian traders from Pageview to the Oriental Plaza in Fordsburg suggests an attempt to placate the anger of the South African Indian community, the government was obliged to provide alternative trading facilities when traders were dispossessed of their properties in Pageview (Fraser 2003b). Many of the traders viewed the Plaza as a 'white elephant' as trading conditions in the first few years were difficult, some of the businesses failed, others were sold, or merged. During the early years, the centre seldom attracted more than a thousand customers per month. In contrast, today more than a million people visit the Plaza every month. This success is best captured by Mr Ismail: "I don't think they understood the resolve of the Indian community as such. From then [1977] they started building Fordsburg to what it is today" (Mr Ismail, May 2011, interview).

After a bitter struggle to keep Pageview as an Indian area, even the landowners were evicted and removed to Lenasia in the late 1970s (Carrim 1990). Parnell and Beavon (1996: 13) show that even though the Indian landlords were themselves racially oppressed, they 'profited from rack-renting to poor black, coloured and Indian people'. This argument is supported by working-class Indian organisations who 'allege' that, in order to continue benefitting from this 'rack-renting', the landlords opposed the offer for segregated housing in the 1940s and 1950s (Parnell and Beavon 1996). Today these landlords have the only legal title to property in Pageview and stand to benefit from the Land Claims Court decisions, while the tenants have no recourse to any kind of restitution (Parnell and Beavon 1996). Even though the South African Indians as a whole were oppressed, they still benefitted economically from repressing other races. The sense of community is then fractured, and the nostalgia with which people remember Pageview remains a contested memory.

Pageview today is a derelict, seedy-looking area, with empty plots and run-down buildings except, perhaps, for two refurbished mosques, standing on 15th and 25th Streets. The Anglican Church, St Anthony's still bears vivid reminders of a community lost. It provided refuge during the 1976 uprisings and shelter for the homeless tenants during the evictions. Currently, the church is used as a relief centre and provides AIDS counselling (City of Johannesburg a, 2002).

Pageview was razed to the ground by bulldozers in 1977. All that remained of a once vibrant community were two mosques, witness to the destruction by the apartheid government. On 27 March 1977, the Sunday Times stated that ‘Yesterday, Pageview was dead’ (Hermer 1978: no page). In an emotional sense, the bonds of community linger on in the memories and nostalgia of the inhabitants. Efforts to recreate this past can be seen in murals hanging on the subway walls under the railway lines in De la Rey Street, linking Fordsburg and Vrededorp (Chapter 5, Section 5.3.1).

1.5 The Recycling of Communities: 1978 to 1994

The post-1978 period is one of the most tumultuous periods in the history of South Africa where the country was brought to the brink of economic collapse and close to a revolutionary and violent overthrow of the apartheid government. However, following years of intensive and sustained anti-apartheid resistance, the National Party in 1990, succumbed to this pressure, unbanned political organisations and released all political prisoners. Morris (1999b: 667) highlights the collapse of ‘urban apartheid’ by revealing that, prior to 1990, ‘land invasions by squatters, the proliferation of informal settlements in urban areas and the ‘greying’ of formally ‘white’ residential areas’ proved that apartheid was unsustainable.

Contextualised against racial segregation and the inclusion and exclusion that characterised South African society up until 1994, is an interesting quirk of fate, that Fordsburg was never declared a ‘white’ area; it was classified as a ‘mixed area’. While Pageview and Mayfair, bordering Fordsburg, were declared white areas, Fordsburg escaped the attention of local government. Instead they expropriated part of Fordsburg (an area called Red Square, see Chapter 10, Section 10.3.3) to build the Oriental Plaza. During the middle of the 1980s, we see a gradual movement of the Indians back into Fordsburg and Mayfair closer to their trading concerns. Feeding their economic greed, white landlords overlooked legislation prohibiting people of colour moving into white only areas, benefitted from charging higher rentals.

Matters came to a head in the 1980s, precipitated by a Mayfair resident, Gladys Govender, in a precedent-setting Supreme Court ruling that permitted Indian families to move into Mayfair. The Supreme Court judgment stated that she could not be evicted under the Group Areas Act until other suitable accommodation was made available

(Beavon 2004). This ruling gave impetus to Indian families moving back into Mayfair, either as tenants or as buyers of properties. It is estimated that from 1983 to 1987, approximately 5 400 people (or 1 200 families) moved into Mayfair. They set about renovating their homes and by 1987, property prices had increased by 161 per cent (Beavon 2004: 219). This practice put enormous pressure on the government to repeal the Group Areas Act.

The movement of South African Indian people back into Fordsburg (and its surrounds) mirrored the movement of black people from the townships back to Johannesburg's inner city areas. The lifting of the influx control laws in 1986 facilitated this movement⁵. The subsequent physical decline of the Johannesburg and the inner city areas was blamed on the people of colour moving into these areas (Morris 1999a), which prompted the outward movement of white residents. Landlords, capitalising on the higher rentals, spent less on maintaining the buildings and facilities (Morris 1999a). This same situation currently prevails in Fordsburg where new migrants are tainted in the same negative light as black South Africans were when moving into the inner city areas, described as bringing decay and destruction to the area, its buildings and environs.

1.6 Post-apartheid Fordsburg: 1995 to Present

The first democratic elections, held on 27 April 1994, provided the turning point in South Africa's history. The relatively peaceful transition to a new democratic South Africa, framed by Desmond Tutu as a 'rainbow nation' appealed to many migrants, refugees, asylum seekers, temporary and seasonal migrants and displaced people from across the African continent, South Asia and other parts of the world.

A large number of migrants made their way to Johannesburg and Fordsburg. From across Africa, there are people from Sudan, Egypt, Morocco, Uganda, Kenya, Nigeria, Zimbabwe, Malawi, and Mozambique. From South Asia, there is a growing Pakistani,

⁵ In 1986, for example, 20 000 people resided in the inner city of Hillbrow and by 1993, the population residing in the inner city was 85% black (Morris 1999a)

Indian, Nepalese and Bangladeshi migrant population, and new waves of Chinese migrants. Two waves of migrants are found in Fordsburg: 1994-2000, the first wave of Indian and Pakistani traders; and, post-2000, a second more diverse group of nationalities, lured by the promise of political stability and economic opportunity.

Casting a blight on this perceived stability, was the intensity of the May 2008 xenophobic attacks on mainly black Africans, mostly non-South African citizens, an indication of the turn in sentiment towards non-nationals. During this attack, 62 deaths were reported, 21 of those killed were South African citizens, over a hundred-thousand people were displaced and property damage or theft ran into millions of rands (R1 million is equivalent US\$ 84,600). Since then, sporadic attacks on non-nationals continued, inclusive of South Asian migrants, culminating in a surge of xenophobic violence in Soweto of January 2015. Specifically Somali, Pakistani and Bangladeshi migrants, were targeted with a resurgence of the attacks in the Gauteng and Kwa-Zulu Natal provinces in April 2015. What then, is this attraction to Fordsburg that draws migrant communities even today?

The landscape in Fordsburg today shows signs of urban degeneration, broken-down buildings, interspersed with neglected historical monuments and rubbish paving the streets. In-between this is the development of old and new business outlets, and a commitment to regeneration by the Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA). In her assessment of the Fordsburg/Mayfair Urban Development Framework, Loots (2008: 1) of the City of Johannesburg captures this dialectic best:

However, as one starts to engage with the place and its people, the vibe, commitment and sincerity of a passionate community start to overpower all negative images. One starts to wonder why the physical environment does not seem worthy of such a community.

Part of the regeneration efforts is to upgrade parts of Vrededorp, Pageview and Fordsburg. The upgrade involves installing new paving, changing lighting and greening the area. In Fordsburg particularly, R9 million was set aside to upgrade the Square, to accommodate 287 traders and to further maintain the open space. An alternate perspective on the degeneration of Fordsburg, I argue, is that new migrants contribute to the regeneration of the suburb, carving their own identity over the suburb (see Chapters 5 to 10).

Thus, contemporary Fordsburg is a *mélange* of old and new, historical and contemporary. The area is a bustle of blaring religious music and hot-off-the-charts songs from the latest Indian Bollywood movies, peppered with the blaring of horns and harsh sounds of traffic congestion. The architecture is of old buildings with significant historical value interspersed with ordinary buildings, and then modern, high rise apartment blocks and business establishments. Among these are outlets rented or owned by the migrant traders, in places never imagined by local South Africans as able to support a business venture. Their outlets are welcoming, bright, colourful and open, and with cheap prices. It speaks to Nuttal and Mbembe's (2007: 282) portrayal of Johannesburg's streets where 'the formal and the informal, official and unofficial, cohabit and at times becomes entangled', so too in Fordsburg. I wish to understand not only 'a sense of place' but also 'the sense of community' in Fordsburg, both past and present.

1.7 Rationale for the Study of Fordsburg

Fordsburg has been a long-standing spectator of the growth of Johannesburg. In the 1922 miners' strike, it became the nerve centre for the resistance against the capitalist mine owners. During the 1930s and 1940s, Afrikaner communities moved out and other, mainly Indian communities moved in. In the 1950s and 1960s it became a point of resistance for the African National Congress (ANC) and Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC). The Red Square (named after the Red Square in Moscow), saw future leaders gather and hold public meetings (see Chapter 10, Section 10.3.3), but it had to make way for the Oriental Plaza. The Red Square was not only a bitterly contested site of trading offered to the displaced traders of Pageview, but was also symbolically eradicated as a space that opposed and threatened the security of the apartheid state. The people of Fordsburg were subjected to pass laws, licensing and trading restrictions. Eventually Indians, blacks and coloureds in the area were uprooted and relocated to distant racially segregated townships (Beavon 2004).

A recognition of Fordsburg has flitted between texts on Johannesburg, as in the work of Brodie (2008), Beavon (2004), Tomlinson et al. (2003), Cachalia (1983), Van Onselen (1982a, b) and Callinicos (1981). While some texts allude to Johannesburg's relationship to Fordsburg these are only been in passing. Jinnah's (2013) thesis on the Somali community explores their livelihood strategies in Mayfair and Fordsburg, while

Mohammed's (2005) dissertation concluded that Fordsburg was an ethnic enclave which contributed to its regeneration. Mohammed's (2005) and Toffah's (2009) study was framed within the Faculty of Engineering and the Built Environment perspective. Research by Rugunanan et al. (2012) explored how traders at the Oriental Plaza experienced a sense of identity, citizenship and exclusion; while Yengde (2014) looked at emerging lifestyle and changing habits of Indian labour migrants at the Fordsburg flea market; and Munshi (2013) merely hints at the Bangladeshi community in Fordsburg.

While the thesis essentially explores a (re)construction of 'community' not only from a historical perspective, but also from of a sense of identity and belonging that has developed from the era of the earliest communities to the diverse groups and nationalities that comprise Fordsburg today. This chapter shows that communities are not neatly bounded constructs forged in our imaginations, but become forged in decadence, in gambling halls, in filth and fluidity, in the mundane amid the intricacies of their day-by-day experiences. Consequently, in any city, the people who live in it shape the character of the community by the livelihoods they craft. Each wave of migrants sculpts their own identity in Fordsburg, but together they have contributed to the overall character of the community in Fordsburg.

Closely interwoven within this setting lie the multiple meanings of space and place that are derived in the evolution of community. In this study, the role of social capital in the (re)construction of migrant communities and their identities is examined. The relationship between immigrants, present day South African Indians in Fordsburg living in South Africa for generations, and migrants as newcomers to a particular space exposes the relevance of bridging and bonding capital within and between these groups revealing experiences of exclusion and inclusion in the past and now. How this has taken place in Fordsburg is the theme of this thesis. In this tension of the pulling apart and bringing together of communities, one then encounters the complexity of the term community itself, which this thesis grapples with. In the unravelling of communities, how do we begin to make sense of Fordsburg as a community?

Most importantly, Fordsburg was, and still is rather enduringly, a suburb of migrant communities, as home and host to many immigrant and migrant communities in its one hundred and twenty seven year history.

The **main research question** of this study is ‘How are identities and communities constituted and reconstituted in immigrant and migrant communities in Fordsburg?’

New migratory flows into South Africa show that these migrant communities retreat into enclaves, causing multiple and perhaps unique identities to emerge, and remain uniquely obvious extensions of identities of the home country. How are these identities preserved and which identities get preserved? What role do family relationships, religion and remittances play in the integration of migrant communities in Fordsburg? What role do social networks and social capital play for new entrants, and in terms of economic and social integration? What does it mean to belong to a community, to an ethnic or religious group? The subquestions the study investigates focus on five ethnic groups: Egyptians, the Bangladeshi, Indians, Pakistanis and Malawians and the sixth group comprises the South African Indian traders in the suburb of Fordsburg.

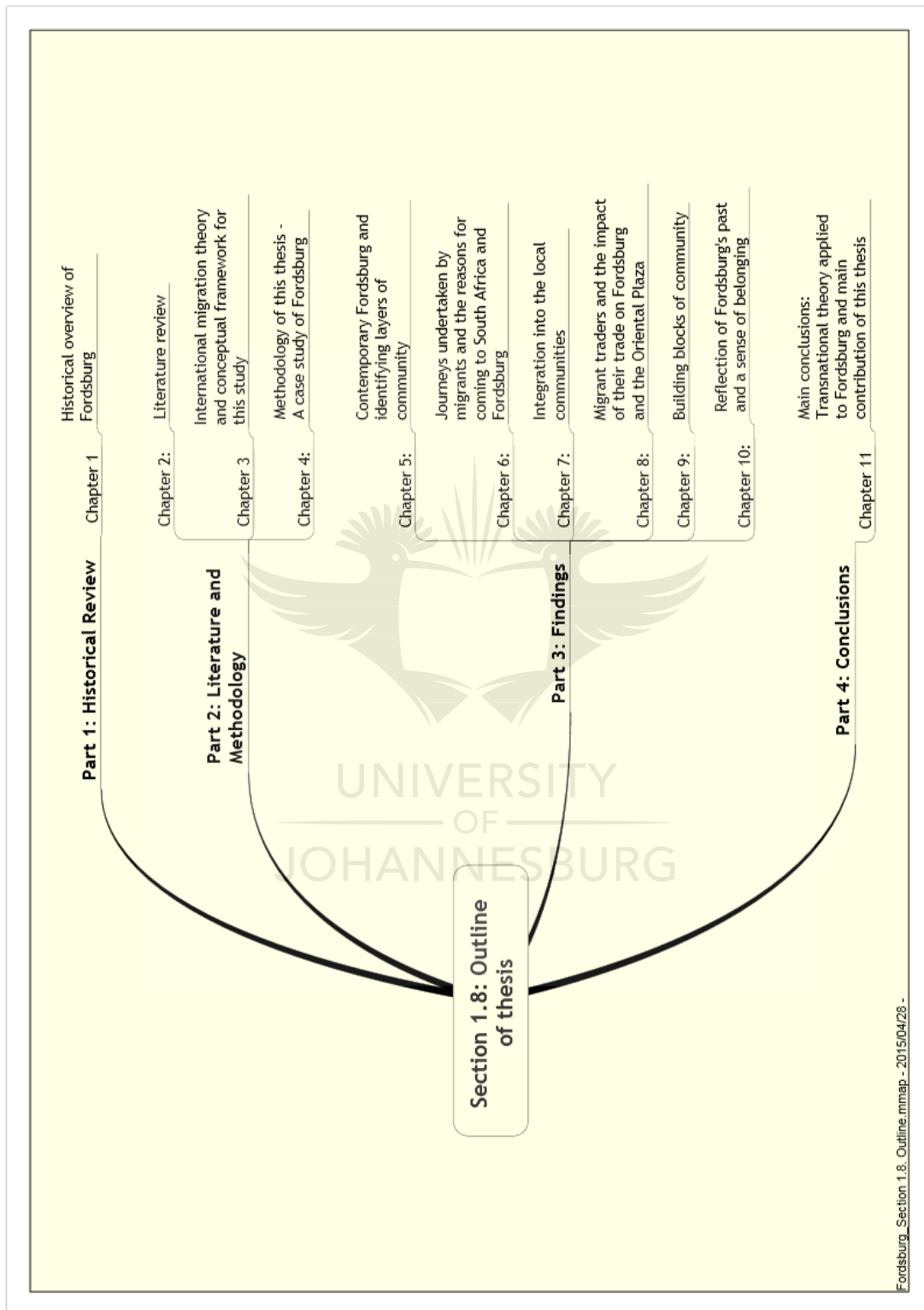
1.8 Outline of Chapters: How this Thesis is Organised

The thesis is organised into four main Parts. A diagrammatic representation of these Parts and its respective content is given in Figure 1.3.

Part 1 begins with a historical overview of the construction of Fordsburg and early migrant communities that make up Johannesburg and Fordsburg in particular. The discovery of gold in 1886 and the formation of Fordsburg in 1888 is significant for the conceptualisation of this thesis. The chapter is structured along five periods detailing key events that were significant during each period that shaped the communities of Fordsburg. Particular emphasis is given to how the threads of identity, community and belonging were interlaced during each period.

Part 2 considers the literature review and methods section of the thesis. Chapter 2 is a review of the current literature on migration, communities, identity, with a specific focus on migrant communities in South Africa. It highlights the gaps in the literature and shows how this thesis contributes to extending the body of this knowledge in this arena.

Figure 1.3: A diagrammatic representation of the various parts of this thesis and a brief overview of the respective content of each part



Source: Researcher's own construct

Chapter 3 examines international migration theory and social capital theory. A transnational approach and migration network theory have been used to explain how migrants use social capital to integrate into host communities. A conceptual framework of how the researcher constructs community is developed to analyse the findings. Chapter 4 engages with the case study methodology as the primary research tool for this study.

Part 3 of the thesis introduces the findings of this research. Beginning with Chapter 5, the thesis provides a contemporary mapping of Fordsburg through the eyes of various respondents. The rest of the findings are spread across five chapters organised along the micro- meso- and macro-levels of a community.

At the micro-level, the focus is on the individual in the community. Here, Chapters 6 and 7 highlight the migratory routes undertaken by migrants; explore family and kinship patterns and shows how migrants root themselves in Fordsburg and begin to construct communities there.

At the meso-level of analysis, the focus is more on the building blocks of a community. Chapter 8 examines the economic activities in which the migrants engage. Chapter 9 looks at the human and physical resources that make up a community. Attention is given to how migrants are educated, practise religion and respond to local government and voluntary associations as resources of social capital. At the macro-level, Chapter 10 explores belonging to South Africa while drawing on Anderson's (1991) concept of an 'imagined community'. The Chapter also draws on long-time residents memories of the past in understanding belonging to a community.

Part 4 summarises the thesis. Chapter 11 concludes the thesis by drawing out from the analysis an endorsement of the context of the theoretical framework of the study. The chapter documents the significant findings of the thesis and purports a new way of understanding how communities are forged.

Part 2: The Literature Review and Methods

Section of the Study

Part two of the thesis provides for a conceptual framework for the thesis.

The development of the conceptual framework of this thesis begins with a review of the literature of migrant communities in Chapter 2. The study of the migration of Puerto Ricans to New York (Mills et al. 1950) is taken as an important premise to understand migration that is further developed by the concept of transnationalism, which highlights how migrants deal with identities and integration in their adopted country.

In particular, the literature examines the social networks that migrants use to enter a new society and the role of social capital in maintaining social and economic integration. Chapter 2 also appraises contemporary migration to South Africa and argues that South Africa's post-apartheid immigration policy remains exclusionary to migrant communities. The direct consequence is that migrants live under precarious conditions as acceptance by locals is not always a given, but emphasises that there are positive consequences of migration.

In Chapter 3 a definition of community is developed from a review of the theory of migration. International migration theory and social capital theory set the basis for an understanding of community in the context of migration.

CHAPTER 2

CONSIDERING THE OTHER IN CONTEMPORARY MIGRATION TO SOUTH AFRICA: A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

2.1 Introduction

The purpose of the research was to understand how groups of migrants come to construct communities in Fordsburg. This chapter provides a review of some classic and contemporary literature and includes a focus on *The Puerto Rican Journey: New York's Newest Migrants* (Section 2.2) in the late 1940s by Mills et al. (1950). Briefly it highlights the problems with assimilation theory (Section 2.3). The section thereafter examines migration using a transnational lens (Section 2.4) with a specific focus on Africa in Section 2.5. Lastly, the chapter contextualises contemporary migration in South Africa (Section 2.6).

Castles and Miller (2009: 11-12) identify a number of trends that characterise recent migration patterns which are likely to continue shaping the globalisation of migration in the future. Part of this globalisation is the dominance of South to South migration instead of South to North migration to European countries. The definition of what constitutes the South remains contentious because of the problems associated with its 'definition, distinctiveness, political construction and chronology' (Bakewell 2009: 2). In this study, the definition used by the United Nations (UN) which distinguishes between more or less developed regions is used. The less developed regions (i.e. the 'South') includes Africa, the Americas excluding North America, the Caribbean, Asia excluding Japan and Oceania except Australia and New Zealand (Jenny and Latanraj 2012: 2).

While south Asian migration is a worldwide phenomenon (Sarwal 2012; Haque 2005), South Africa has become an attractive option for many migrants. A range of non-nationals, both documented and undocumented have made South Africa their home. They come from Europe, North Africa (Algeria, Morocco, Egypt, Libya, and Sudan); some of the countries from the Southern African Development Community (SADC) region (Democratic Republic of Congo, Malawi, Mozambique, Zimbabwe); South Asia

(Bangladesh, India, Pakistan, Nepal) and China. The numbers have grown steadily and besides traditional forms of labour migration, others migrants are political and economic refugees, asylum seekers, migration for retirement, mobility in search of better or different lifestyles.

This migratory growth includes the ‘feminisation of migration’ where women are active agents in migration; research shows that women constitute 46 per cent of the refugee population in southern Africa (UNHCR 2013). The increase in international terrorism led to a tightening of national security (Castles 2007) reinforcing the ‘container theory’ of the nation state (Beck 2011; Faist 2000a). The container approach, used by migration scholars, conflates the nation state with the idea of society and views state borders as the boundaries of society; it disregards the contributions that migrants make to the host country. The drivers of migration have a direct bearing on how domestic, national, regional and international policies of sovereign states receive migrants.

Set against this backdrop of trends that characterise migration at the beginning of the twenty-first century, it is useful to consult the work of Mills et al. (1950) on Puerto Rican migration to New York. Since it emphasises the concept of a *community of migrants*, which they apply to the Puerto Ricans in this event, it links to an important aspect with which this thesis engages.

2.2 Considering the Other: The Puerto Rican Journey

The discussion in this section focuses on the book, *The Puerto Rican Journey*, New York’s Newest Migrants published in 1950 by C. Wright Mills, Clarence Senior and Rose Kohn Goldsen concerning migrants living in two major areas of New York (Spanish Harlem and Morrisania) during 1947 and 1948. It primarily deals with the ‘processes of arrival, issues of adaptation and community building’ of the Puerto Rican migrants (Denis-Rosario 2012: 114).

The academic contribution of the study by Mills et al. (1950) is important in the fields of migration, minority group relations and Latin American culture. The work shows how migrant groups initially faced contempt, competition and conflict, leading eventually to adaptation and, once assimilated, become active agents in the civic society of their host country (Mills et al. 1950: 81-83). They argued that ‘this pattern ... has been followed by all major immigrant groups since the first wave 300 years ago’ (Mills

et al. 1950: 83). Mills et al. however, failed to provide a conceptual definition of community; they assumed a normative conceptualisation of community and do not deconstruct the concept.

2.2.1 The Puerto Rican Journey to New York

The Puerto Rican Journey is premised on the uneven historic, economic and political relations between the United States and Latin American countries (Treviño 2011). In 1917 the island's inhabitants became US citizens (Denis-Rosario 2012: 114) and Puerto Ricans could thus enjoy unrestricted migration to the USA. Important pull factors of migration were economic factors, the cosmopolitan and global financial hub of New York and facilities such as schools, medical care and cultural advantages of living in New York. Push factors were increasing pressure on land and resources in Puerto Rico, poverty, declining education levels and increasing illegitimacy rates (Treviño 2011; Mills et al. 1950). On the island, the Puerto Ricans personified their Spanish heritage, but they also aspired to the continental view of America, by integrating English words and phrases into their Spanish conversation.

2.2.2 Kin and Kinship Networks

In Puerto Rican society, kinship was tightly knit and organised with power residing in the dominant male, while women were regarded as submissive and concerned with daily affairs of the home. Part of the Latin American heritage was the inclusion of extended family and even friends in the family unit. In New York, networks provided new migrants with information about relatives and former townsmen who assisted in finding accommodation and employment; in a sense they were already 'psychologically prepared' for the move to New York (Treviño 2011: 113). Multiple migrant families shared accommodation and lived under crowded and dilapidated conditions; members of the household pooled their earnings to cover expenses. Mills et al. (1950) observed that the newcomers were easy prey for exploitative landlords, including their own countrymen. Economic, educational, rural-urban, religious and vocational divisions marked the immigrant group further.

2.2.3 Barriers to Mobility

Class, race and gender were social categories that served as barriers against upward mobility for the Puerto Rican immigrants in New York. The sample in this migrant stream was predominantly women: young, single women, divorcees, widowed or those who had deserted their husbands. The race of the Puerto Rican migrant was also significant: white Puerto Ricans adjusted to the dominant white culture of New York and black Puerto Ricans blended with the African American community. The 'coloured' Puerto Ricans not only struggled to find a space to fit into but were rejected by white New Yorkers and African Americans; thus gender and race cleavages hampered the integration of migrants into life in New York City.

All of the migrants, male and female, black and white were however disadvantaged on entering the labour market, because of a lack of skills. The migrants moved into blue collar type work, which were very similar to industries found on the island (Mills et al. 1950: 66-68). An entry point for the migrants was service-related work in hotels and restaurants, while some opened up retail grocery outlets and small businesses. In time, men achieved some upward mobility, unlike the women who remain employed in semi-skilled work. Despite restrictions on occupation and mobility, the salaries earned were still double that of what the migrant would earn on the island. Gender and race discrimination was evident, men earned more than women, and white men earned more than black men did.

Puerto Rican migration differed substantially from other migrant groups who, on entering the USA, acquired language skills and adopted the customs of the new country, thus steadily improved their social position. Instead, the Puerto Rican migrants adopted a 'poverty of aspiration', meaning that very few achieved upward occupational mobility (Treviño 2011: 113). Mills et al. attributed this 'poverty of aspiration' to a lack of the Protestant work ethic, and the values and orientation of Latin American life that did not promote the ambitious pursuit of individual wealth. Thus Puerto Ricans were caught between two conflicting life worlds and cultures (Treviño 2011: 114), where their lack of aspiration, race, gender, lack of industrial training and low levels of education stymied their adaptation and integration into American society (Vélez 2005: 195).

2.2.4 Problems with Integration in New York City

The difficulty with integrating into American society was also attributed to the tempo of life and of community in New York. On the island, Puerto Ricans lived in an organised community; in New York, the immigrants were **without** a community, even within Puerto Rican strongholds; the family became fragmented and bordered on individualised units (Mills et al. 1950: 92). The fast-paced lifestyle in New York meant that the migrant worked longer hours, a longer working week, and had further to travel. In contrast to the memory of ‘communities in the sun’ which characterised the warm and slow pace of life in Puerto Rico, community in New York was made up of quick, hurried informal meetings on the street (Treviño 2011: 115).

Those who pushed at constraints and insularity of smaller communities now revelled in the freedom and opportunities this impersonal community present. The tension between autonomy on the one hand, and loneliness on the other, created a personal insecurity for the migrants as they gradually adjust to life in New York. The nucleus of the Puerto Rican family was affected most, where children were given less attention and men and women became more independent of each other. For the women, life in New York became an adventure, a place of liberty, compared to the submissive, polite and confined nature of her life back home. For the Puerto Rican migrant though, the new-found freedom could not replace the ‘psychic security and comfort’ left behind in the tight communities of Puerto Rico (Treviño 2011: 115).

2.2.5 An ‘Ambiguous and Ambivalent’ Identity

The assertion that Puerto Ricans in the US were not strictly Latin American; they were so influenced by American culture, they become “‘Puerto Rican American’” (Treviño 2011: 112). Judged by American standards, they were quite poor, but by island standards they were quite successful. The loss of security and comfort provided by community created what Treviño (2011: 112) referred to as an ‘ambiguous and ambivalent’ Puerto Rican identity, manifest in their marginal position in New York.

Compounding this ambivalent identity was the reception that awaited them; instead of a welcoming reception in New York, they are exposed to xenophobic sentiments and considered the outsider or an ‘othering’. The discourse describing the Puerto Rican migrants around 1947-1948 is similar to the characterisation of non-nationals in South

Africa post-1994. The Puerto Ricans were stigmatised as: carrying diseases, unemployable, criminals and dependent on the city's relief measures. As a result, they were viewed with fear and distrust (Mills et al. 1950: 86). The media and politicians were influential in swaying the public against the non-nationals in what is referred to as 'The Puerto Rican Problem' (Vélez 2005: 193).

These perceptions contribute to the development of an ambiguous and ambivalent identity and supports Mills et al. (1950) assertion that Puerto Ricans migrants are not united, instead their solidarity only extends to what Treviño (2011: 118) refers to as 'general slogans of national pride'. In place was a growing Spanish consciousness and development of a Latino identity towards which they aspire, based on commonality of language, that is Spanish, an 'anti-Yankee' sentiment which served as a form of resistance against assimilation, but also produced a 'Latino type of solidarity'. More importantly, this Latino identity allowed Puerto Ricans the opportunity to 'rise in their status as minority group members' (Treviño 2011: 118). The study of the Puerto Rican community in New York during 1947-1948 was very similar and remarkably relevant in the present era worldwide, especially if one considers the themes of community, migration and identity - key concepts central to this thesis.

In summary, while Mills et al. (1950) do not provide for a conceptual definition of community, they do illustrate how a community of Puerto Rican migrants adapted and assimilated, then became embedded within the wider social structures of their place of domicile. Furthermore, the Puerto Rican experience is relevant to the thinking of this work because it portends to how migrant communities in Fordsburg are (re)constituted and it interrogates the social and economic context of communities while probing the intersection of class, race, gender and identity. But perhaps more significantly, as Puerto Rican migrants in New York struggled against assimilating into wider American society, they developed a strong Latino identity, resulting in a Latino solidarity that elevates the Puerto Ricans upwards in the pecking order within minority groups in the city. This Latino solidarity developed as a resistance to being seen as different, or 'othered' by New Yorkers.

The tension surrounding assimilation in the study by Mills et al. (1950) leads to an ambiguous identity for Puerto Rican migrants. A brief explanation of the assimilation

theory is now provided and the section thereafter considers empirical literature within a transnational framework that is relevant to answering the questions of this thesis.

2.3 The Assimilation Debate

Briefly, assimilation theory, commonly referred to as the ‘melting pot’ theory, became prominent in the twentieth century in the United States. The Chicago School of Research asserts that the migrants have to forego their values, identity and culture and go through a process of acculturation to adopt the culture, values and norms of the destination country in order to fully assimilate. Immersion in the mainstream culture happens through the stages of ‘acculturation, structural assimilation, amalgamation and identification assimilation’ (Portes and Böröcz 1989: 615).

Essentially, assimilation theory posits a progressive adaptation to the receiving country and ignores the diversity that migrants bring (Portes and Böröcz 1989). Critics of the theory note that it fails to account for those minorities who do not assimilate, for example, many black groups, return migrants and the establishment and resilience of ethnic communities is at variance to assimilation theories. The segmented assimilation model identifies several paths for incorporation, that is, non-integration, remaining ethnic or becoming part of the underclass (Portes and Rumbaut 2001; Portes and Zhou 1993).

During the 1990s, the concept of transnationalism gained prominence in international migration studies (Portes 1997b; Basch et al. 1994). This approach argues that migrants retain various forms of attachments and remain active in their country of origin while becoming part of the country that received them. The discussion on transnationalism that follows reviews some of the empirical literature on transnational studies. (For a theoretical discussion and conceptualisation of transnational migration, refer to Chapter 3, Section 3.2.3).

2.4 A Transnational Lens

Basch et al. (1994: 22) define transnationalism as ‘a process by which migrants, through their daily life activities ... create social fields that cross national boundaries’. This essentially means that migrants cannot be studied only within the nation states perspective, but remain immersed in the socio-cultural, religious, economic and political

practices of the home and host country, which ensures that there is a constant circulation of goods, people, financial and social remittances. For Levitt (2010: 41) these social fields are ‘multi-layered and multi-sited’ and encompass broader ‘regional, national and global’ terrains wherein transnational activities are located.

For this study, the social field as defined by Levitt and Glick Schiller (2004: 6) as a ‘set of multiple interlocking networks of social relationships through which ideas, practices, and resources are unequally exchanged, organised and transformed’ is used. The concept of the social field is a good conceptual construct for analysing power relations that inhabits communities. In their study examining power relationships in trade unions in South Africa, Buhlungu and Tshoaedi (2012: 6-7) argue that levels of power shift across different groups or networks, depending on their ‘structural location’ and access to resources. Furthermore, power is ‘relational’ to the individuals’ and groups’ positions to each other. Within the context of this study, this relational power is fluid, subject to change, depending on the individual’s access to resources that can be defined for this study as skill, kin and capital. The levels of power within individuals and groups are examined in the context of the communities of this study in subsequent chapters.

However, the omission of the word ‘community’ in the definition of a social field is noticeable in many cases. My argument is that migrants come from a community and move towards a community with similar if not identical characteristics and, in most instances, retain ties with their home country while putting roots down in the receiving country. The perspective adopted in my study, is that community is a social field that migrants inhabit – this provides for a better explanation of how migrant communities are (re)constructed. Migrants do not exist in a proverbial vacuum, instead they create or re-create communities and structures in host societies, while engaging and being involved in multi-layered social fields. The social field of the receiving context affects these multi-layered social fields that include the reception of the host country, participation in economic, religious, political and community organisation and the immigration policy of the receiving country all of which have implications for how migrants view inclusion, identity and belonging.

This brings us to the discussion on how migrants retain and maintain their identity. It is important to emphasise that the international literature on migration often understates

the heterogeneity of the flow of international migrants and to recognise that migrant identities are fluid and dependent on social fields and the spaces they come to occupy.

2.4.1 In Search of an Identity

A transnational view affirms that people construct their identities based on their families, friends, ethnic groups, religion and traditions. Identities are thus seen as social constructs that are shaped by the people involved (Jenkins 2004: 4; Tajfel 1982). Both Castells (1998: 6) and Jenkins (2004: 4) agree that identifying oneself is construed through meaning which is obtained via interaction with others. Therefore, any notion that identity is a fixed entity needs to be quickly rescinded. The globalised world, characterised by increasing international migration, is referred to by Bauman (2001) as a 'liquid modernity' described by the constant flow of people, capital and information. Easthope (2009: 65) notes that because of the constant change and the need for flexibility, individuals can 'design their own identity', which I argue, can be a fluid, 'situational' identity.

For migrants, this fluidity is magnified because they are neither residents in their country of origin, nor fully accepted in the country of destination, they are thus in limbo, in a liminal space. Vertovec (2001: 573) states that transnationalism and identity need to be 'juxtaposed' simply because people's networks relate to their idea of common identity. This is usually the place of origin as transnational networks hinge on people sharing common forms of culture, places of origin and language. It has a direct bearing on how migrants 'construct, maintain and negotiate collective identities' (Vertovec 2001: 573), and I argue, also communities.

Researchers from various disciplines have tried to uncover the development of transnational communities and what impact this has on notions of identity and citizenship (Wang 2005). Transnational networks allow migrants to share some form of common identity based on the idea that they share a place of origin and cultural background. In a qualitative study about the social construction of identities in a community of Vietnamese service workers in Bangkok, Thailand, Nguyen et al. (2008) found that the more established diasporic Vietnamese community create a form of 'othering' because the workers are from rural areas, undocumented and with no official documents. This suggests the need for further research on the importance of identity, specifically how local and global forces shape it, and to examine the reasons for

maintaining transnational connections. Incentives to invest time and effort in doing this are essential.

Identities are fluid and may also overlap throughout a lifetime; culture and identity are constantly being reshaped given the diverse societies and communities we live in (Castles 2000: 12). Based on this reasoning, a migrant's class, caste, race, sexuality, ethnicity, nationality and gender changes according to their social location in space and time, thus the identity becomes highly mutable (Pessar and Mahler, 2003). Sassen (1998) talks of a 'portability of national identity' for migrants that afford them membership in multiple spaces, and, multiple identities. For Rutherford (1990) identity is viewed as 'dynamic' and for other scholars it is 'positional' (Gupta and Ferguson 1997) and 'hybrid' (Bhabha 1994).

The shift then from 'relatively stable identities rooted in place to hybrid identities' embodied by change and flux (Easthope 2009: 65) is important for this thesis, as I argue that attachment to place has a bearing on how migrants conceptualise their identity. While place is socially constructed it is also 'products of the society' (Massey 1995: 50), and is thus affected by the physical, social, economic and historical contexts within which it occurs.

Wang's (2005: 182) work on transnational communities challenges the common identity found in Taiwan, by introducing 'hybrid cultures and multiple identities' that lead to what he argues are the building blocks of cultural diversity. Adding to this view is Ojong's (2005) thesis on Ghanaian women in Durban, who changed their behaviour depending whom they interacted with. For example, in interaction with fellow Ghanaians, they replicated the behaviour of the home country; in interaction with members of the host society, they altered their behaviour to fit in with the host society. This shifting behaviour reflects adapting identities to suit the environment, and is more of a strategy for survival in an unfamiliar land.

These examples relate to Park's (2008) research on the shifting of Chinese identities in South Africa in which migrants tend to adopt an identity that is known and familiar, whether it is real or imagined, such as an ancestral identity in trying to resist negative societal categorisation as a minority group. In so doing, an alternative identity is created that combines "homeland" identity and the newer "host" markers.

South Africa has the largest concentration of Indian diaspora in the world (Radhakrishnan 2003: 2). According to Census 2011, South African Indians make up 1.3 million or 2.7 per cent of the country's population (Stats SA 2011). This figure does not include the migration of Indian nationals from the sub-continent post-1994. The term 'Indian' itself is contested; derived from the apartheid classification of people from India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka (Nyar 2012: 92). However, the current immigrant Indian population is drawn from further afield than only India, such as Bangladesh, Pakistan, Mauritius and Sri Lanka (Bhana and Brain 1990).

In a country with a black majority, the South African Indian identity remains a fractured and contested one. Landy et al. (2004) concur that while an 'Indian' identity is prevalent in Durban, it is splintered by religion, class and language. This is supported by Maharaj's (2013) view of the conflation between a Hindu and an Indian identity. A common misconception amongst South Africans is about the homogeneity of Indians, discounting that South African Indians are a heterogeneous group of North Indians, South Indians, Hindus, Muslims, Tamil, Telegu and Hindustanis (Nyar 2012: 96). It is worth noting that in the 2011 Census, religion as a category was omitted from the survey (Stats South Africa 2011). While Nyar's (2012) research on non-racialism in a post-apartheid South Africa reveal strong 'anti-Indian' sentiments, research on South African Indian traders at the Oriental Plaza (Rugunanan et al. 2012: 94) show that culture, religion and traditional values contribute to a combined South African Indian identity, inferring a hybrid identity. Thus, in general, studies on South African Indians reveal a fractured, heterogeneous group, still trying to find its sense of 'belonging' in a post-democratic South Africa.

The studies considered appear significant for examining how migrant communities either retain or create new hybrid cultures and identities in Fordsburg. As Wang (2005) and Park (2008) suggest a combination of 'homeland' and 'host' identities exists. Easthope's (2009) research is particularly significant for this study as it examines how migrants' identities and their attachment to place are conserved, reproduced or recreated, as I will consider in the case of Fordsburg. A range of social cultural practices of migrant communities is explored in the next section.

2.4.2 Family Patterns and Kinship in Migrant Communities

The transnational lens provides insight into the changes in kinship and family practices in migrants' lives. In studies on migration from the Caribbean to the USA, Basch et al. (1994: 79-84) find that the sharing of economic resources is organised along kinship lines. Basch (2001: 126) also establishes that kin forms the focal point of transnational social fields, similar to the Mills et al.'s (1950) study in which kinship was pivotal to communities in New York. In studies on migration and settlement of South Asians in the United Kingdom, Ballard (2001) acknowledges that the practice of reciprocity amongst kin facilitates and maintains 'trans-local networks of trust' and solidarity. This supports research by Massey et al. (1993) and more current research by McGrath (2010) who draw attention to the strong family and friendship networks that allow for and facilitate the growth of a migrant population and their networks. These networks pave the way for future migrants.

Migration also alters family patterns significantly. For example, Piper's (2008; 2010) research shows that the increase in Asian women migration results in transnationally split households where either one or both of the parents work abroad. Where women leave children behind, a case of 'transnational motherhood' emerges (Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila 1997). As wives or daughters assume the role of main breadwinner, this brings about a reversal of gender roles in the household (Piper 2008) with the male taking on household duties and caring of the children.

Basch et al. (1994) state that migrants invest energy in retaining links with the homeland because of social exclusion and the limits of integration in the destination country, a significant theme with which this thesis engages. In contrast, Levitt et al. (2003) assert that migrants enter into a social environment that is more accepting and tolerant of ethnic groups. Unlike in the past when migrants were forced to assimilate into the host country's cultural practices, today there is more of a recognition and acceptance of different cultural practices. Research by Park and Rugunanan (2010) on South Asian communities in Fordsburg reveals that migrants tend to 'blend seamlessly in' within already existing South African Indian communities. The theme of social exclusion together with Levitt et al. (2003) assertion that migrants enter into environments that are more socially accepting is important within the context of my

thesis, particularly as it considers the interrelationships between various migrant communities.

While Voigt-Graf's (2005) study makes a contribution to how a migrant's transnational experiences are rooted in 'multi-layered social fields', it is also critical of the over-concentration of transnational studies on Latin American and Caribbean migrants (see Levitt 2001b; Basch et al. 1994; Glick Schiller and Fouron 1999). Voigt-Graf (2005: 366) notes that few studies pay attention to the daily social arrangements that support transnational networks. An important focus of my study is the emphasis on the micro-level context of the social world of migrant communities within a transnational framework in South Africa. One aspect of the micro-level context concerns the religious practices of migrants in the host country.

2.4.3 The Role of Religion in Migrant Communities

Some immigration research tends to focus on economic aspects of migration perhaps at the expense of the socio-cultural aspects. The role of religion and its impact on the day-to-day lives of migrants is important given that religion is an 'important and primary marker of individual and group identity' (Williams 1998: 179). However, this important identity marker is under-researched in much of the immigration literature at the expense of economic considerations. Supporting this view, Van der Veer (2013: 63) argues that religion is not in retreat but instead, migration and globalisation has emboldened 'religious revitalisation' in urban settings. However, he notes that migrant communities have to navigate the religious practices of the country of origin and destination (Van der Veer 2001: 4), raising concerns about the tolerance and acceptance levels of host communities. Adding to this view, Levitt (2001c: 6) states that 'transnational religious practices also involve the transformation of identity, community, and ritual practices' which, I argue is significant for how migrants negotiate their religious identity in Fordsburg.

A number of studies consider the relationship between religious involvement and measures of social capital, for example, Wuthnow (2002); Levitt (2001c); and Vertovec (2001b). For Putnam (2000) religious involvement is an important source of social capital. Measured in terms of religious belief, belonging to a religious group and participation, South Africa is one of the most religious countries in the world (Garner 2000). Building on this view, Sadouni (2013: 45) notes that the arrival of many new

immigrants post-1994, accounts for a plurality and prominence of religious forms of practice in Johannesburg. Somalis in Johannesburg, for example, use their religious identity to create association and belonging to a group; a form of religious solidarity (Sadouni 2013), whereas Jinnah (2013) suggests that Somali migrants in Johannesburg tend to use religion as a strategy and I argue as a form of integration to gain access to the community and livelihoods. A number of mosques and other religious institutions in the Fordsburg area indicate a strong religious presence and this thesis examines the extent to which religion acts as a form of social capital and enable integration in the formation of a sense of community in Fordsburg.

2.4.4 The (In)Visibility of Gender in Transnational Migration Studies

The role of women as migrants largely went unheeded by academics and researchers in the twentieth century until Morokvasic (1984) pointed this out. With a distinctly male bias and focus, little attention is given to the women and families left behind (Boyd and Grieco 2003). As women became more visible in migrant research, they are typecast as 'passive' and appendages to their counterparts who are viewed in the traditional role as the head of household because they are males. That women are primary agents themselves is not acknowledged (Kofman 1999; Morokvasic 1984). The adage, 'feminisation of migration', provides impetus for more empirical and theoretical work in the field of gender and migration (Jinnah 2013; Lutz 2010; Piper 2010; Mahler and Pessar 2006; Morokvasic 1984).

Piper (2010) examines the visibility and invisibility of migrant women. A number of conceptual issues impact on the visibility of migrant women in official statistics. First, what are the geographic boundaries that define Asia, South to North and South to South? Second, as women are viewed as 'accompanying their spouses', they are not captured in official statistics as independent migrants. Third, migrant women find employment in labour markets labelled as 'feminised domains' in areas such as health care, domestic work, prostitution, entertainment and manufacturing (Lutz 2010; Piper 2010). The nature of this work, characterised by low wages, low status, minimal occupational mobility and security with little chance of collective organisation, is termed 'precarious work' (Ramirez and Hondagneu-Sotelo 2009; Kihato 2007; Cox and Watt 2002). By implication the visibility of women in these sectors of employment and the meaningful use of statistics is questionable.

Changing global labour conditions also affect male labour migration as employment prospects in both sending and receiving countries worsen. Research shows that women view out-migration as some form of personal and economic freedom, as an escape from familial and marriage responsibilities (Piper 2008; Dannecker 2007), from unwanted marriages and abusive spouses and relationships (Krummel 2012; Piper 2010; Kofman et al. 2000). Feminist theorists (Piper 2008; Kihato, 2007; Kofman 1999; Morokvasic 1984; Phizacklea 1983) redirected the lens of migration research which viewed women as victims of the 'multiple gendered dimensions' towards migrant women's agency and empowerment. This body of literature gives importance to agency by pinpointing the manner in which women make decisions and plan for their families' future well-being (Jinnah 2013; Kihato 2007; Anthias and Cederberg 2006: 5).

While South Asia is regarded as a labour exporting sub-region (Piper 2010), with the exception of Sri Lanka, women's migration is severely curtailed by government regulations. Sector and skill levels are significantly influenced; in India and Bangladesh, for instance, skilled women are allowed to migrate but constraints are imposed on certain sectors such as domestic workers. In their study, Dale et al. (2002) find that first generation Pakistani and Bangladeshi migrants to Britain, feel isolated because of their traditional clothing, lack of fluency in English and occupational qualifications.

Bélanger and Rahman's (2013) work on Bangladeshi women suggests that socio-cultural, religious and political factors are some of the reasons why so few women engage in labour migration. Their research shows that these stigmas prevail before and after migration, and that in countries such as Bangladesh, India, Pakistan, and Nepal, women's migration is restricted to 'protect women' (Bélanger and Rahman 2013: 356). Male labour migration, however, is seen as an economic strategy that is encouraged by these governments and is a direct result of the labour market demands of the destination countries. The presence of South Asian migrant females is under-researched in the South Africa context, particularly where African and South Asian women are concerned and my study seeks to fill this void.

2.4.5 Social Networks as a Source of Social Capital

Considerable attention has been given to migrant social networks. A body of work examines migrants' social networks as a source of social capital in South Africa (Nyström 2012; Gebre et al. 2011; Madhavan and Landau 2011; Jinnah 2006). Vertovec

(2002: 3) notes the duality of social networks: at a functional level to assist migrants to find work and accommodation; for the circulation of goods and services; and, at an emotional level to provide psychological support and information. A number of authors have added to the social network perspective (Vertovec and Cohen 1999; Portes 1995; Boyd 1989; Hannerz 1980). Granovetter (1973) makes the distinction between strong and weak ties, arguing that weak ties enable people to reach individuals beyond their immediate group whereas strong ties are more concerned with intimate social circles providing support. This allows them access to resources about work opportunities that may not be available to them via the strong ties provided by their immediate group. The power relations between members in a network may be unequal as well.

The evidence of social networks was a significant contributory factor for the establishment of new Bangladeshi communities in Rome. Knights' (1996) study on Bangladeshi immigrants in Italy reveals that it hosted about 300 Bangladeshis during 1989 despite no bilateral sovereign structures in place and few linguistic, historical, cultural, religious or geographic connections. This escalated rapidly to 10 000 mainly undocumented Bangladeshis driven by 'chain migration mechanisms' and influenced by social networks (Knights 1996: 105). Research on Congolese migrants in South Africa highlights that the refugee community strengthened its formal and informal social networks in order to protect itself from possible xenophobic attacks and social exclusion (Monche 2007; Amisi 2006; Nzinga-Losanga 2006). Social networks serve as a 'social net' against events such as illness, police arrest and even death (Amisi 2006: 26), and provides valuable information about migration routes and costs, accommodation and possible employment opportunities.

However, in the broader literature on social networks and social capital, undue attention is given to shared ethnicity and the migration experience. Implicit in this understanding of networks (migrant and ethnic), is the perception that the migrant is categorised as the 'other', argues Raghuram et al. (2010: 624), with little connection to or shared experience with nationals. Thus Raghuram et al. (2010: 626-7) identifies a gap in the existing literature on social networks and social capital in three respects. First, migrants and their experiences are seen as a distinct category from non-migrants; second the 'shared habitus' where migrants and non-migrants co-exist is ignored; and third, studies consider the two groups as separate entities, instead of seeing them 'relationally'.

Building on this view, Madhavan and Landau's (2011: 491) study on bridging and bonding capital in three African cities point out that there is an assumption in sociological literature on migration that infers that hosts and migrants 'represent two distinct, identifiable, and relatively cohesive communities' (Madhavan and Landau 2011: 491). They warn of preferencing citizenship as a distinct category in the face of widespread ethnic, religious and linguistic diversity among urban dwellers, and question the idea of a 'host community', arguing that urban environments have become so 'heterogeneous and fluid' that new arrivals account for the majority of residents (Madhavan and Landau 2011). This raises questions about what social capital can produce and whether we can even begin to talk of integration.

The view of social capital as a resource for the community is where this study seeks to make a contribution by explaining that African cities do have a significant number of domestic migrants, a growing urban population and a fluid host community. An analysis of the old immigrant (1890-1995) communities and new migrant communities that constitute Fordsburg, from a sociological perspective is considered in this thesis. Some of the published literature that turns the spotlight on Fordsburg does so only because of its close connection to the communities of Pageview, a highly quoted and noteworthy source 'Fietas-A Social History of Pageview: 1948-1988' by Carrim (1990). Arnold Benjamin (1979) devotes a chapter to Fietas in his book 'Lost Johannesburg', providing a romanticised image of Fietas. However, the literature to date falls short of a scholarly and sociological study of how communities of Fordsburg are constructed and sustained through a shared identity. Brink (2008) adds that a systemic history of the Indian community has yet to be conducted in Fordsburg.

In contrast to earlier accepted interpretations, I argue that Fordsburg has a recognised 'host' community comprising an established urban South African community and numerous ethnic migrant communities. To date much research has neglected using bonding and bridging capital concepts in urban settings in South Africa hence the thesis explores social connectivity within and between groups to demonstrate similarities and differences. The question of how best social capital, as an analytical construct, can be understood in transnationalism (Madhavan and Landau 2011: 492) is addressed by conceptualising social capital in a 'network of space'. These approaches are an attempt to fill the identified gaps in the literature. While Madhavan and Landau's work is necessary and invaluable, it raises significant issues. The void identified in the work of

Raghuram et al. (2010) and Madhavan and Landau (2011) is borne in mind in this research. The discussion continues with the role of labour in ethnic enclaves as the theme of the next section.

2.4.6 Labour within Ethnic Enclaves

One of the major arguments explaining why migrants lead transnational lives is because the nature of global capitalism drives this process (Portes 2001; Glick Schiller et al. 1992a). However, Voight-Graf (2005: 367) argues that this position is largely premised on the experiences of working class Latin American and Caribbean migrants in the USA who over time took to engaging in transnational ventures instead of entering work in the lower segments of the economy. Ramirez and Hondagneu-Sotelo (2009: 71) added that globalisation and economic restructuring, together with a decline in their manufacturing base speeded up the diversification of labour migration to developed nations. It was Sassen (1991) who drew attention to the global cities of London, New York, Los Angeles and Berlin, as ‘creating a bifurcated and segmented labour market (Ramirez and Hondagneu-Sotelo 2009: 71) resulting in the social polarisation between high-level and low-level service occupations (Cox and Watt 2002).

The Global North welcomes the migration of specific groups of skilled professionals including engineers, medical and IT workers as advantages where prospects offered by the labour markets exist. On the other hand, less skilled workers and unskilled workers, actively supported by their governments, migrate to the Global South in the hope of securing employment prospects and education rather than face ‘underemployment’ at home (Page and Mercer 2010: 103). Immigrant workers from a range of nationalities are engaged in low-level service occupations such as ‘cleaning, caring, tending, selling, fixing, serving and servicing’ normally in the employ of the more wealthy sections of society.

Anderson (2007: 5) found that immigrants in the United Kingdom (UK) are often found at the bottom end of the ‘deregulated labour market’ working in sectors such as hospitality, construction, sex work, agriculture and domestic work. The nature of this work entails low wages, insecure employment and obscure employment relations. The UK Home Office considers migrant workers who engage in ‘illegal’ work as a ‘flexible pool of labour’ where workers expose themselves to all forms of exploitation, at the same time undermining employment conditions (Anderson 2007: 5). Policy makers do

not welcome the migration of lower skilled workers from South to North, argues Castles (2003) as it gives rise to migrant networks and a ‘migration industry’ that facilitates the movement of unskilled workers.

Similarly, research by Holgate et al. (2012: 602) on Kurdish migrants indicates that many migrants tend to be employed in ‘ethnic enclaves’ of family and kin networks, where they encounter high levels of exploitation: poor working conditions, long hours of work, below minimum wages and insecure employment practices, often in an attempt to avoid formal documentation. Holgate et al. (2012: 63) refer to this area of work as a ‘grey economy in small retail and catering businesses’. A worker who is cited in this study (ibid) summarises his life in three words ‘working, eating and sleeping’.

The concept of immigrant ethnic enclaves was first introduced by Light (1972) and developed by Light and Bonacich (1988) ‘where immigrant co-ethnics constitute a singular commercial sphere of business owners, employees and customers’ (Ramirez and Hondagneu-Sotelo 2009: 75). Such space provides for a concentrated ethnic community replete with social capital and social networks which allow for entry-level access to employment and accommodation, especially for newly arriving migrants facing barriers of language fluency, employment credentials, job skills and visa legitimacy, and access to a labour market from which they might ordinarily be excluded. This enables the development of ethnic businesses that can compete in the broader economy (Light and Bonacich 1988; Portes and Bach 1985).

These research findings support work on migrant communities in South Africa that documents the tendency of migrants to access ethnic communities as a form of social support (Gebre et al. 2011; Madhavan and Landau 2011; Amisi 2006). The legacy of apartheid created fragmented and polarised communities such that many South Africans still continue living in ethnic enclaves (Bremner 2004). However, increasing levels of diversity have occurred since apartheid ended, attributable in part to the arrival of immigrants. In the light of this observation, Mohamed (2005) views Fordsburg as an ethnic enclave. While his study recognises the role of an ethnic enclave (singular) in urban regeneration, his research falls short in recognising the heterogeneity of diverse ethnic communities in Fordsburg, not only from South Asia, but also from across the African continent that contribute to the overall regeneration of Fordsburg. My study builds on the gap left by Mohamed (2005).

While I argue that many migrants tend to occupy the informal sector, it is the undocumented migrants who are most at risk and found to be in precarious jobs. Precarious work is characterised as work with low wages with little benefits, the absence of regulatory protection and a high degree of uncertainty regarding the continuity of employment (Fudge & Owens 2006), other aspects include, piece work, long hours of work and insecure work performed predominantly by female migrants, employed in risky and labour under harsh conditions (Kidder and Raworth 2004). Standing (2011: 10) defines the precariat as lacking seven forms of labour related security. These are associated with insecurity as far as the labour market, employment, a job, work, skill reproduction, income and representation are concerned.

The review of a range of studies shows the growth of semi-and unskilled workers migrating to the Global South in the search for employment, entering in low-level work and being employed in a 'deregulated labour market'. The formation of ethnic enclave economies opens doors for a 'grey economy' with long hours of work and low pay, often with little recourse to the law. An essential reason for migration is often to remit money back to the country of origin as soon as possible. The discussion that follows looks at the role of remittances in migrant communities.

2.4.7 The Dependence on Remittances

The opening of global markets and the resultant impact on socio-economic structures of countries contributes to the exponential growth in the movement of people internationally since the 1990s. This gives new impetus to the relationship between migration and development, and remittances are a dominant focal area of concern here (Ratha and Shaw 2007; De Haas 2007; Ratha 2003). Part of this rekindled interest is triggered by the sending countries involvement with remittances. However, scholars are still in disagreement about the relationship between migration and development (De Haas 2007; Levitt and Nyberg-Sørensen 2004; Vertovec 2001). According to the Migration and Development Brief 24 (2015) migrant remittances to developing countries was expected to reach US\$436 billion in 2014, with a moderate growth forecast for 2015 reaching an expected US\$440 billion.

The benefits accrued from remittances negate the lost revenue of human resources (Page and Mercer 2010: 102). Vertovec (2002) views remittances as 'an exemplary form of transnationalism,' while Tilly (2007: 5) characterises it as important not only for

individuals and families but national economies. While it is acknowledged that migration and remittances have the capacity to improve ‘well-being, stimulate economic growth and reduce poverty directly’ the effects on inequality remains dubious (De Haas 2007: iii). In view of this, international aid agencies and governments are trying to develop policies to tap into this substantial resource to channel it where it is most needed (Levitt and Lamba-Nieves 2011).

Migrants bring into the host country knowledge, skills, labour and in return, contribute back home in the form of remittances, investing in businesses back home, funding not only individuals but the community as well. In some cases, the sponsoring of remittances re-negotiates the ordering of hierarchies, gender relation, and impacts positively on infrastructural development. On a lesser note, remittances negatively influence local ‘labour markets, fuel price increases, create new status hierarchies and generate patterns of economic dependence’ (Vertovec 2001: 575). Levitt and Lamba-Nieves (2011) support the view that remittances create a dependency resulting in competition and conflict between opposing groups giving rise to increasing inequality. Levitt’s (2010) perspective on ‘social remittances’ is that migrants do not only remit money, instead export ideas and behaviours back to their sending communities.

Bangladesh is a migrant exporting country and B elanger and Rahman (2013) show that Bangladesh is highly dependent on remittances received from its workers overseas. Today, Bangladesh is regarded as a predominant supplier of semi-skilled, low skilled and unskilled workers in the international labour market. From micro-level studies undertaken in Pakistan and Bangladesh, Siddiqui (2003: i) documents that, about half the remittances are sent via official channels, the rest are through unofficial means, implying that the actual amounts could be much higher than officially recorded.

Migrant sending countries such as the Philippines, South Korea, Indonesia, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, India, Pakistan, China, Vietnam and Egypt have put policies in place to promote labour migration as part of a broader strategy to gain ‘foreign exchange, reduce unemployment and develop skills’ (Castles 2004; Massey 1999: 311; Hugo 1995). Migration to South Africa is viewed as a ‘survival strategy’ for those migrants whose families are dependent on the remittances they send (Bloch 2010: 234).

The official method for sending remittances is via the banks, travellers’ cheques, postal orders and account to account transfers. Unofficially, the hundi or money courier is one

of the most used methods of sending money. Hundi refers to the ‘unofficial channels of transfer’ (Siddiqui 2003: i). Established groups based in places such as London, New York, Dubai, Kuala Lumpur and Singapore perform these functions with partners based in Bangladesh (ibid). However, other covert means involve sending remittances with friends and relatives. Not only has international migration grown, but remittances as a formal income-generating concern have grown into a major ‘business’.

A 2009 report on circular migration and employment shows that South Africa is a ‘major remittance-sending’ country in the SADC region with remittances to Mozambique standing at R2.2 billion; Lesotho at R1.7 billion and Swaziland at R432 million, while other SADC countries together account for R1.5 billion (Núñez 2009: 17). More current figures show that in 2010, migrant mine workers remittances accounted for 60 per cent of Lesotho’s GDP (IOM 2010b). The Migration and Development Brief 24 (2015: 8) reports that remittance to South Asia increased by 4.5 per cent in 2014 with Bangladesh, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka benefitting the most, while in sub-Saharan Africa, remittances only increased by 2.2 per cent. In the region remittances also take place informally, as migrant workers travel home or send money home via friends or family members.

A brief sketch of trends in African international migration is provided next, and the last section of the chapter, looks at contemporary migration in South Africa.

2.5 African International Migration: Some Recent Trends

Africa itself has a long history of migration spanning centuries, and it is not only intra-continent, but inter-continental. Latest census figures reported by the World Bank indicate that international migrants accounted for 247 million in 2013, bypassing the previous estimate of 232 million. This figure is expected to exceed 250 million in 2015 (Migration and Development Brief 24 2015: 1). In 2013, the United Nations reported that of the 232 million international migrants in the world which accounts for 3.2 per cent of the world’s population; of this figure, 71 per cent are born in the Global South. In 2007, 20 per cent of all labour migrants around the world lived and worked in Africa (Peberdy and Crush 2007). The last quarter of the twentieth century witnessed a change in the direction, pace and nature of migrant populations with Asia, Africa and Latin America replacing Europe as the major area of origin (Arango 2000).

Africa, as a continent, is affected by a number of factors identified by Adepoju (2008: 5) as ‘globalisation, regional integration and the entry of multinational corporations in the quest for cheaper labour’. Conditions across the continent such as escalating population rates, unstable political economies, ethnic wars, poverty, environmental degradation and rising unemployment levels lead Adepoju (2004) to argue that rather than face such abject poverty, Africans are pushed off the land in search of better life elsewhere. These factors coupled with the view that African migration consists of diverse groups of migrants such as ‘intra-regional, undocumented, nomads, frontier workers, refugees and highly skilled professionals’ (Crush and Williams 2004; Adepoju 2000: 383) differentiate African international migration from other regions. While the northern countries receive skilled labour and undocumented migrants, it is the refugee flows that make their way towards sub-Saharan Africa.

In sub-Saharan Africa, Gauteng is the wealthiest province and Johannesburg still remains the economic and cultural hub, not only of South Africa but also in sub-Saharan Africa. It serves as an important portal for migration into southern Africa, providing close access to other metropolises such as Tshwane and Ekurhuleni in Gauteng and is within easy access of Botswana, Mozambique and Zimbabwe (Centre for Democratic Enterprise 2008). The discussion in the last section of this chapter shows how contemporary migration to South Africa is still largely bolstered in a framework of exclusion.

2.6 Contemporary Migration to South Africa

South Africa reinvented itself as democratic and non-racial country on 27 April 1994. With one of the most advanced constitutions in the world, with a strong emphasis on nation building, human rights, democracy and inclusivity, its application to all who live within its borders promotes exclusivity through the Immigration Act of 2002, contrary to the Act’s mandate of inclusivity. The state deploys its immigration policies to determine the points of entry and exit, to regulate and control inclusion and exclusion to the South Africa state. The movement of people between rural and urban areas was tightly controlled and regulated during apartheid (see Chapter 1). Peberdy (2009) provides a comprehensive account of South Africa’s immigration laws and the shifts that occurred as a national identity was constructed.

Peberdy (2009) contends that the immigration framework of South Africa's nation state from the twentieth century to the twenty-first is racist and exclusionary. My study seeks to examine the impact of this apparent exclusionary immigration policy on African and South Asian migrant communities in Fordsburg. In my thesis I consider the effect of the immigration policy and extent to which its features have a direct bearing on how migrant identities and communities are created in a post-apartheid South Africa.

2.6.1 Beginnings of Exclusion in South Africa

With the formation of the Union of South Africa in 1910 and the promulgation of the first Immigration Act in 1913, blacks, Indian and other 'non-white' immigrants were barred from immigrating to South Africa (Peberdy and Rogerson 2003). The Act includes independent white immigration, but was obsessed with the exclusion of immigrants other than whites. The 1913 Act remained South Africa's immigration legislation well after democracy, and was only replaced in 2002.

The pre-democratic South African state did not regard black South Africans as citizens and African immigrants were simply ignored, the state still wanted to retain the judicious use of cheap labour supplies to the mining and agricultural sectors. The state thus created a 'two-tier system' in the 1913 Immigrants Regulation Act that existed until the 2000s (Peberdy 2009: 49). From 1913 to 1986, Africans from the region could only enter South Africa as contract workers on temporary permits or 'illegally' as undocumented migrants, and this was sanctioned by the state (Crush et al. 2005; Maharaj 2004). Conditions for contract work provided the migrant with no recourse to claim residency, to change employers or bring family members with them (Peberdy 2009: 50). Nationals from Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland could enter and exit South Africa freely until 1963, but within South Africa's borders, they were treated to the same inequity as black South Africans (Crush and McDonald 2001).

The state at times tolerated irregular migration when there was a need and purpose for this type of labour. Yet in the 1980s it enforced stringent measures of arrest and deportation of African migrants (Crush and McDonald 2001) when it wished to bolster the image of white supremacist apartheid South Africa. This stance towards immigration is significant because I argue that a similar contradictory position is at play in Fordsburg today.

With the end of apartheid, there was a shift from labour migration to concerns with immigration and permanent migration in the 1990s. Posel (2003) reflects this shift in the emphasis of migration: firstly, the repealing of apartheid gave way to the movement of families from rural areas to urban centres and eliminated circular and temporary migration towards more permanent forms of settlement. Secondly, the shift was driven by the more pressing concerns with the country's outdated immigration policy. Forcing this shift was the media reports on the supposedly large influx of undocumented migrants with the intention of settling permanently (Posel 2003). The new immigration policy was widely contested, to deter 'documented and undocumented' migration, resulting in the state 'tak[ing] a draconian approach to border and heartland policing' (Peberdy 2009: 139). This has involved human right abuses against migrants and immigrants (Bloch 2010; Mawadza 2008).

2.6.2 Post-1994 Discourses of Exclusion

Fuelling this anti-immigrant sentiment, as some scholars suggest (Misago 2009, Neocosmos 2008; Crush and McDonald 2001; Maharaj and Rajkumar 1997) is the national discourse on immigration. In a survey conducted by the Southern African Migration Project (SAMP) in 1998, 87 per cent of South Africans were of the opinion that too many foreigners were being allowed into South Africa (Segale 2004: 50). Stereotyping, 'xenophobic and exclusionary discourses' cast foreign nationals as 'illegal aliens' (Maharaj and Rajkumar 1997: 267) who are accused of taking employment at lower wage levels, responsible for increasing crime rates and spreading disease (Haigh and Solomon 2008; Crush and Williams 2003; Posel 2003; Maharaj and Rajkumar 1997).

When the government and its policy-making tools produced the 1999 Draft White paper on international migration, immigration was not viewed as benefitting South Africa. Instead immigrants and migrants were viewed as a threat to the interests and economy of South Africans (Masondo 2004; Mattes et al. 2002). Just before its demise, the apartheid state consolidated all immigration legislation into one Act and passed the 1991 Aliens Control Act. The Act, considered a negative piece of legislation, was embedded in apartheid ideology (Crush and McDonald 2001) and remained, in effect, as South Africa's immigration framework until 2002.

Eight years into democracy, the 2002 Immigration Act, No. 13 was passed and amended in 2004. I concur with Peberdy's (2009: 139; 147) view that the new Act remains predominantly 'exclusionary' and is based on a 'strong national, protectionist and territorial vision'. The policy mostly affects African immigrants and migrants, documented and undocumented migrants (Peberdy 2009: 148). Another view of the post-1994 South African state's immigration policy describes it as inconsistent and ambiguous (De Villiers and Reitzes 1995). This demonstrates that the post-1994 state adopted a stringent immigration framework. These comments are relevant for this study, as the majority of migrants in Fordsburg are semi-skilled and unskilled workers; the Act effectively excludes them from permanent residence in South Africa. The Immigration Act No. 13 of 2002 (Government Gazette, 2002) 'criminalises undocumented migrants' and makes it possible for the 'arrest, detention and deportation' of people if they are assumed to be undocumented immigrants.

The Act facilitates the entry of skilled migrants and immigrants, students, tourists and other categories of permanent and temporary migrants (Polzer 2008). The Act specifically states 'no one in the unskilled and semi-skilled categories' would be accepted as an immigrant and employers have to make special recommendations why the positions could not be filled by South Africans or permanent citizens (Peberdy 2009: 148). However, new regulations to the Immigration Act passed on 26 May 2014, are considered 'harsh' (Ramjathan-Keogh 2014) and make it difficult not only for 'certain "undesirable" categories' (Segatti 2014) of non-nationals but even also for highly skilled immigrants to enter, making it difficult to obtain employment, study or even open business concerns in South Africa. The rhetoric of "managing" migrants' (Segatti 2014) will be counter-productive to South Africa in the short and long term but also from a human rights framework.

While emphasising the exclusionary features of the immigration policy, there have been attempts by the state to reflect on its discriminatory past and recognise human rights. To this end, South Africa adopted the Refugee Act of 1998, No. 130, implemented in 2000. After Germany and the US, South Africa has the largest number of asylum seekers, yet this figure dropped from 222 324 in 2009, to 70 010 in 2013 (Leonard 2014). The United Nations representative commended South Africa's asylum policy including its acceptance of the various conventions on refugees (Leonard 2014).

To avoid deportation, many migrants apply for asylum status to prolong their stay in South Africa and avoid repatriation. Once refugees have submitted their application for refugee status, they are regarded as asylum seekers, and pretty much left to their own devices. While South Africa does not have an encampment policy for refugees, the Refugees Act of 1998 guarantees freedom of movement and provides for the right to work and to access public health care and education services (Department of Home Affairs 1998). In view of the progressive nature of the 1998 Refugees Act and its commitment to protecting refugees, refugees still encounter forms of police harassment, discrimination and xenophobia (CoRMSA 2009; Landau and Jacobsen 2004; Madsen 2004).

The competition for limited employment opportunities, housing, physical space and access to social services are some of the reasons cited for the May 2008 xenophobia attacks in South Africa. Forms of exclusion are evident not only in the increase but also in the intensity of xenophobic attacks. Violent attacks on foreign nationals are intensifying in townships and informal settlements all across South Africa (Charman et al. 2011). The recent violence against specific groups of non-nationals in Soweto in January 2015, and then the progressive violence of the attacks in April 2015 bear testimony to this. Of more concern is a recent study by the Gauteng City-Region Observatory and several universities arguing that 35 per cent of township residents wish to see ‘all foreigners’ evicted (Business Day 2015: 10).

Some of the derogatory terms against migrants are ‘kwerekwere’⁶; similar categorisations by South African Indians against Indian and Pakistani immigrants are such as “Bloody Pakis”, “IPs” or “India Papa’s” (Joshi 2008: 13-15). This was comparable to the rhetoric of the pre-1994 state that referred to immigrants and migrants as ‘illegal aliens’, ‘aliens’ and ‘illegals’ (Peberdy 2009: 158). South Africans fail to distinguish between different categories of migrants, such as migrants, immigrants and refugees and the use of the word illegal, as opposed to ‘irregular’ or ‘undocumented’ that effectively criminalises migrants (Peberdy 2009: 158-9). The discourse of exclusion is not only related to language, but embraces a post-modernist

⁶ According to Warner and Finchilescu (2003: 38) “kwerekwere” is a derogatory term for foreigners referring to the unintelligible sounds of a foreign language’

discourse of the embodiment of the self. This is visible in the regular and increasing rate of arrest and detention of non-nationals on tenuous grounds such as physical appearance, inability to speak the right language or simply on the suspicion that people ‘look like an undocumented migrant’ (Nyar 2011; CoRMSA 2009; Madsen 2004; Lubkemann 2000).

It is well-documented that police perpetuate exclusionary sentiments in their actions by refusing to recognise work permits or refugee identity cards issued by the Department of Home Affairs (DHA); or subject undocumented migrants to unethical police practices in the form of extortion and payment of ‘protection money’ (Bloch 2010; Crush et al. 2005; Madsen 2004). Research by Park and Rugunanan (2010) in Fordsburg reveal similar forms of exclusionary practices and intimidation of South Asian migrants exercised by the police.

2.6.3 Understanding the ‘Politics of Fear’

One attempt to explain the May 2008 xenophobic attacks is that undocumented migrants become the scapegoats for the lack of service delivery, unemployment and other social problems in South Africa (Landau and Polzer 2008; Tshitereke 1999). Neocosmos (2008: 587), however, is critical of this view and suggests that xenophobia must be viewed from the lens of a ‘political discourse’ that needs to be understood as ‘the politics of fear’. Locating his argument within Frantz Fanon’s (1990) notion of nationalism, the ‘politics of fear’ has three components, ‘a state discourse of xenophobia, a discourse of South African exceptionalism and the politics of indigeneity’ (Neocosmos 2008: 587). Examples of the state’s discourse are given in Section 2.6.1 and 2.6.2.

With regard to the discourse on exceptionalism, Neocosmos (2008: 590) states that South Africans perceive themselves as apart from Africa, and their frame of reference tends to lean towards the United States and Europe. Stemming from this view, Africa is seen as the ‘other.’ Of concern, though, for Neocosmos (2008) is the South African discourse on Africa as ‘neo-colonialist’. This he largely attributes to the failure of the post-apartheid state to construct a nationalism embedded in Africa, instead it perpetuates and reinvents itself through ‘racial and national stereotypes (Neocosmos 2008: 591). The view that Africa is a threat to South Africa was raised by (Crush and McDonald 2001) and Mattes et al. (2002). Neocosmos (2008: 592) propagates that we

need to move beyond the politics of fear to a political practice of peace. The fear of others is quite a palpable fear, and Neocosmos's argument on xenophobia goes some way towards explaining migrants' and South Africans' views of each other. Moving beyond a 'politics of fear' requires dealing with the numbers game that is being played in South Africa about actual figures of migrants in the country.

2.6.4 'The Numbers Game'

Precise figures on the numbers of migrants in South Africa remain controversial. Whereas some statistics on documented migration are available, they do not include refugees and asylum seekers (Vawda 2010; Nevin 2008, Maharaj 2004). Trimikliniotis et al. (2008: 1325) purport that the 'numbers game' is played where the numbers of migrants is 'stigmatised' as a problem. Among the reasons for this are 'political expediency' (Nyamnjoh 2006: 30); and inaccurate, out-of-date, exaggerated figures (Trimikliniotis et al. 2008: 1326; CDE 2008). Moreover, data on migration into and within South Africa is misleading because of its methods of data collection and analysis (Polzer 2010a: 2). This includes and affects information on migrant employment in South Africa which has become 'fragmented' and lacking a comprehensive database on migrant employment activities (Polzer 2008: 2).

The authorised sources of information such as the 2001 national census indicate that there were 3 345 161 non-nationals in the country, while the 2007 Community Survey reveals that the number of non-nationals in Johannesburg was 13.2 per cent of the total population (Stats SA 2007). Compared to South Africa's 49 million citizens, non-national only account for 2.5 million (Segatti 2014). According to a CDE 2008 report, Zimbabweans and Mozambicans form the largest of groups of non-nationals, followed by Nigerians, Chinese and Malawians and, in smaller numbers, are Indians, Pakistanis and those from European countries. The lack of reliable figures fails to provide a complete picture of migrants in the county. This exacerbates exclusionary discourses by political organisations and perpetuates this politics of fear (Neocosmos 2008) particularly among disadvantaged communities.

2.6.5 Creating a Politics of Fear through Exclusion in Communities

In order to participate and become an active member of the community, migrants need resources and access to services. The discussion that follows highlights the problems migrants face with regard to access to resources and livelihoods.

The provision for documentation

Identity documents facilitate social inclusion by ensuring that migrants have the opportunity to find work and could avoid arrest or deportation. This requires liaising with the Department of Home Affairs (DHA), which has been characterised as corrupt, administratively incompetent and has inadequate systems with little integrity (Mawadza 2008; Landau et al. 2005; Madsen 2004; Maharaj 2004). The DHA holds the key to overseeing migrants' immigration status and the issuing of identity documents. Acknowledging that the DHA has human resource and administrative constraints, at the same time inefficiency fuels corruption and a breakdown of services. With no recourse to legitimate means of activity to survive, some migrants and asylum seekers eventually resort to forging documents (Mawadza 2008; Nduru 2005). This is a desperate measure adopted to attain some form of legitimacy and to make a living.

In search of housing

Research by the Forced Migration Studies Programme (FMSP) reveals that non-nationals experience serious problems of overcrowding, poor basic services in the form of water, electricity and refuse removal, xenophobia and exploitation by property owners and landlords. The 2009 Consortium for Refugees and Migrants in South Africa (CoRMSA) shows that rental agencies and landlords are unaware of the difference between asylum seekers, refugees and undocumented migrants, and invariably take advantage of migrants by demanding higher rentals. Although the Refugees Act No. 30 of 1998 and Chapter 2 of the South African Constitution allow refugees the right to housing, low cost housing is not as accessible for refugees (Dalton-Greyling 2008).

Migrants tend to reside in the inner city centre where there is opportunity to network, make a living and some measure of protection. In the Johannesburg inner city, areas such as Hillbrow, Bertrams, Berea and Yeoville (Landau 2006) have become prominent nodal points for networking and accessing resources. In order to overcome the high rentals charged, Zimbabwean migrants share accommodation or sublet their

accommodation. It has been reported that sometimes as many as ten or more migrants share a room to spread the high costs of rentals. Given their tenuous status as undocumented immigrants, they are unable to report incidences of exploitation by landlords (Mawadza 2008). Rugunanan and Smit (2011) and Landau et al. (2005) report similar findings.

In Gauteng, Indians, Bangladeshi and Pakistanis are prominent in Fordsburg and Mayfair, in Benoni on the East Rand, Lenasia to the south of Johannesburg and Laudium in Pretoria. These migrants reside in the former apartheid designated Indian townships because it facilitates integration into communities. However, anecdotal and media reports show an increase in the number of Bangladeshi and Pakistani migrants residing not only in the black townships of Gauteng, the Eastern Cape and other major urban areas of South Africa, but also in remote and rural settlements. Park and Rugunanan (2010: 4) argue that Asian migrants in South Africa tend to ‘fly under the radar of most migration and refugee groups’ in South Africa. Research on South Asian migrants in South Africa is meagre (Munshi 2013; Park and Rugunanan 2010; Joshi 2008; Jinnah 2006), overlooked by the focus on African migration into South Africa.

A choice of livelihoods

Vawda (2010) reports that migrants turn to the informal sector to secure livelihoods as many are unable to work in their chosen professions. This information is supported in the work of several scholars (Dalton-Greyling 2008; Mawadza 2008; Polzer and Landau 2008, Kihato 2007). Some of the informal activities migrants enter into are as car and security guards, street traders, in street hair salons as tailors. Other options for unskilled workers lie in the construction and retail sectors. A CDE report (2008: 3) sites other livelihood activities such as ‘artisans, miners, domestics and gardeners, shopkeepers and stallholders, in professional and technical activities and small manufacturing and crafts’. Vawda (2010: 6) points out that ‘the range of occupations ... is not a menu of options, but rather what is available for African migrants’. The networks in place and assistance provided by family and friends enhance the access to livelihoods.

Studies show that nationalities tend to focus on specific labour market segments. In Durban, Senegalese and Somalis (mainly Muslim) are street traders, Congolese, Burundian and Rwandans are car and security guards (Vawda 2010). Skilled Zimbabwean migrants work in the education sector in remote areas and undocumented

migrants work in the domestic, agricultural and construction sectors (Mawadza 2008). Thus it appears that, in general, nationalities tend to focus on certain trades with undocumented migrants working insecure, unsafe and poorly regulated areas of work, where cheap labour is required, characterised as ‘precarious work’ (discussed in Section 2.4.6). Research by the UNHCR confirms that many refugees are not employed because employers neither accept nor recognise their documentation (Rulashe 2009). The South African Qualifications Authority (SAQA) has to approve the qualifications of skilled migrants for their work permit applications and, in turn, South African employers are pressured to prove that no qualified South African is available to fill a particular position before hiring migrants. These are just some of the hurdles and forms of exclusion that migrants have to endure to access some form of livelihood in South Africa.

2.6.6 The Role of Civic Organisations

To counter the exclusion in communities, numerous social and civic non-governmental organisations offer some basic support for migrants, such as food and shelter, and or to steer migrants to job opportunities. From the perspective of community then, civic organisations have assumed the responsibility to assist non-nationals. Some examples are the Durban Ecumenical Centre, Jesuit Refugee Service (JRS), the Mennonite Refugee Project, the Japanese Voluntary Committee (JVC), South African Zakaat Fund, the Africa Muslim Agency, the International Dawa Movement and Islamic Propagation Centre (Vawda 2010). The Somali community is highly organised and have three organisations in place to serve the community; these are the Somali Association of South Africa (SASA), the Somali Community Board (SCB), and the Somali Community Forum (SCF) (Jinnah 2010).

Kalule-Sabiti et al. (2012) correctly maintains that the ‘coercive and exclusiveness’ of the post-apartheid immigration policy in South Africa, and its continuing discourses of exclusion, has resulted in African migrants withdrawing into their ethnic communities thus creating ethnic business associations, churches and support structures. I argue that this has undermined their integration into wider South African host communities. In delving into the politics of fear, how do we then move towards a ‘practice of peace?’

2.6.7 Moving Towards 'A Practice of Peace': Examining the Contribution of Migrants

The perception that non-nationals take jobs and appropriate South African places in the labour market is one of the views that fuel anti-immigrant violence. Ironically, research shows that skilled immigrants and migrants make a significant contribution in their fields of expertise in South African institutions where they are involved. They bring important skills, new ideas for economic growth and development and fill the gap left by the country's brain-drain (CDE 2008; 2010) and play a role in addressing the skills shortages and sectoral labour needs in specific areas of the economy (Polzer 2010a). Meintjies (1998: 20) strongly suggests that 'immigrants are ... net contributors, not parasites', adding that many pay taxes and through their entrepreneurship, make a positive contribution to South Africa. Mattes et al. (2002: 1-3) capture this view too and express the situation in this way:

Immigration is not viewed as a public policy tool that could benefit South Africa. Immigrants and migrants (even the most highly skilled) are more often stereotyped as a threat to the economic and social interests of South Africans... (there) is the misguided assumption that national and skills in-migration are incompatible.

In contrast to the view that migrants are here to appropriate jobs, a survey of inner city Johannesburg by the 2003 Witwatersrand (Wits)/Tufts University research study, found that non-nationals are likely to hire someone to work for them, and about 67 per cent of those hired by migrants were South Africans (Landau et al. 2005: 7).

The African Cities Project (ACP) study in 2008 conducted by the African Centre for Migration and Society (ACMS), found that 24.6 per cent of South Africans, and 26.1 per cent refugees were employed full time in either formal or informal work (Dalton-Greyling 2008: 21-23). The CDE (2008:4) survey of 302 foreigners in Johannesburg found that 12 per cent employed other people (half of whom were South Africans). More importantly, respondents in this study indicate that they are grateful for and welcome jobs that South Africans regard as inferior or underpaid. While some were self-employed and created jobs for South Africans, this evidence is in sharp contrast to the perception that non-nationals are here to 'steal' the jobs of South Africans. These studies are examples of cases that point to the contribution that non-nationals make to the South African economy and suggest they offer job opportunities for local people.

This discussion on the contribution migrants make to the adopted country is significant for this thesis as it serves to explain how migrant communities in Fordsburg create a pool of labour and opportunities and contribute to the wider economy. At a deeper level, it explores the interrelationships among groups of migrants and South African Indian traders, in a bounded spatial area, filling the gap where migration research may be falling short in South Africa. The contribution of South Asian migrant communities to South Africa is under-researched and this is where the focus of this thesis lies.

2.7 Conclusion

This chapter began with a review of the text on Puerto Rican migration to New York undertaken by Mills et al. (1950). The study by Mills et al. lays the groundwork for examining how new migrant groups in Fordsburg construct communities. A shortcoming of the work of Mills et al. is that, while it investigates Puerto Rican migration, it fails to explicitly conceptualise community.

A transnational approach is adopted for this thesis. Levitt (2010) develops the concept of social fields and I argue that, in the context of this study, migrant communities are social fields. A gap in the studies on kinship in transnational networks reveals that while an overt focus is given to macro-level factors, the micro-level and everyday life practices of migrants is underplayed. It is at this micro-level of engagement of daily life activities that this thesis wishes to engage. There are two significant areas of scholarship that transnational migration lag behind current debate. The first is the role of religion in transnational studies and the way in which religion influences how migrants integrate into society. The second area is how transnational migration is gendered and this study addresses this gap.

A significant number of studies document overviews of the lives of migrants in South Africa over the past decade. While most the literature focuses on both documented and undocumented migrants, the literature falls short on when considering how multiple migrant groups construct communities within a bounded space. The chapter concludes that the South Africa's government immigration policy remains exclusionary, while Peberdy (2009: 148) claims that this exclusion is largely directed at African immigrants and migrants, this study shows that migrants from South Asia are similarly affected.

The next chapter lays out the theoretical foundations for the thesis as a conceptual framework for communities. A review of international migration theories is presented, thereafter the social capital theory is engaged with and lastly, a discussion on how communities are constructed is provided.



CHAPTER 3

MIGRATION, SOCIAL CAPITAL AND COMMUNITIES: A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 Introduction

The concern of this thesis is the creation of migrant communities in Fordsburg and it embodies theories that serve as instruments to examine the tension between new migrants and established immigrants, which is expressed as inclusion and exclusion in the place where they live. I argue that official South African immigration policy is characteristically exclusionary (Chapter 2) and has a direct bearing on how migrant communities are treated in the country. Chapter 3 begins (Section 3.2) with a review of a theoretical framework of international migration. The study is located within the migration network theory because it focuses on the social networks developed by migrants and the micro-level structures that form the basis of communities. I recognise the considerable debate around transnationalism that appears in the literature. However, I concede that it is a way of thinking that best fits the manner in which migrant communities straddle two worlds.

In the third section of this chapter (Section 3.3), I deal with social capital theory, which I regard as an explanation of how migrants establish communities and connect. Some of the prevailing debates within the social capital approach are examined and I outline why it is an appropriate framework within which to locate the study. In particular, Putnam's framework of social capital, and the use of the concepts of bridging and bonding social capital, are adopted to explore how social and economic integration may be established and maintained among both South Africans and migrants living in Fordsburg.

Drawing from the literature, in Section 3.4 the model used as a framework to position how the concept 'community' is understood in this thesis is presented, and the debates around it are examined. This framework provides the structure for how the findings of this study are analysed and interpreted. However, first, the definitions of key migration terms as applicable to this work are clarified.

For this study, migration is defined as the voluntary or involuntary movement of people from one place to another, either within their own country or across borders. The South African constitution affords all people, both documented citizens and undocumented non-citizens,

basic rights to life, dignity, equality before the law, access to basic services such as education, health care and labour rights (Polzer 2010a). The 2002 Immigration Act (amended in 2004) controls the immigration of skilled migrants, students, tourists and categories of permanent and temporary migrants by issuing of permits. No permits are issued to job seekers. Since 2009, countries neighbouring South Africa have bi-lateral agreements enabling citizens to enter South Africa on a free visa for 30 days, which excludes the right to undertake paid work (Polzer 2010a: 4).

The term refugee is generally used indiscriminately in South Africa to refer to anyone who is a 'migrant, illegal migrant or asylum seeker' (Dalton-Greyling 2008: 4). Legally, each of these terms has a different legal conceptualisation: an economic migrant is one who moves for the purposes of employment or seeking a better life; illegal migrants, commonly known as undocumented migrants, enter a country without the necessary legal requirements for entry, make use of entry through a non-recognised border post, or use false documentation. An immigrant is someone who enters the country with the intention of making the host country their country of residence; while an illegal immigrant is a person who enters with the same intent without the necessary legal documentation and by not entering through a recognised border post.

An asylum seeker is a person who fled his country of origin and is seeking protection in South Africa as a refugee, but whose application is still under review. A refugee then, is someone who is granted asylum status and protection in terms of Section 24 of the Refugee Act No 130 of 1998. The person is afforded certain rights according to national, regional and international legislation. Rights governing refugees are spelt out in the 1951 United Nations Convention on refugees, the 1967 Protocol and the 1969 Convention of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU). South Africa has a policy of self-settlement and includes the right to work, right to access health care and education.

For the purposes of this study, I argue that migrants are involved in sustained social relations, ties and networks of social fields involving the movement of goods, services, ideas and people, and that associations exist across nation states, formally and informally. The network groups, circuits and communities revolve around flows of space and capital accumulation. The social fields are multi-layered and deconstructed along macro-, meso- and micro-levels of a community. The next section examines pertinent international migration theories relevant to this study.

3.2 International Migration Theory

Despite the pervasive nature of migration across history, the particular dynamics of contemporary migration require concerted attention, mainly because of fluid political and economic forces of globalisation. For this study, I consider theories that fall into groups as set out by Castles and Miller (2009: 20). The first focuses on the ‘determinants, processes and patterns of migration’ and the second considers how migrants integrate into society. This distinction is artificial as the study of migration is much more all-encompassing (Castles 2007). The determinist theories that I consider relevant are neo-classical theory, new economic approaches, dual labour market segment theory and the world systems theory. In the mixed or integrative set of approaches, I focus on the migration systems theory, migrant network analysis and the transnational perspective.

3.2.1 The Determinist Approaches

Ravenstein (1885) a geographer, proposed that the main driver for migration is based on economic considerations of higher wages or better work prospects, and his early analysis indicates a set of ‘push-pull’ factors that prompt migration. ‘Push factors’ force migrants from one region or country. Another set of factors ‘pull’ or entice them to another region or country. Push factors comprise war, political repression, famine, poverty and rapid population growth rates generally associated with in less developed countries; ‘pull’ factors could be better job prospects, improved standards of living and political freedom in more developed countries (Samers 2010).

Ravenstein’s laws of migration are the antecedents of the **neo-classical theory of migration**. The work of Lewis (1954), and Ranis and Fei (1961), investigate the relationship between the demand for labour in urban areas and the push/supply of labour from the rural areas, while Todaro’s analysis of rural-urban migration, in similar vein, is well-documented (Harris and Todaro 1970; Todaro 1969). The macro-neo-classical approach emphasises wage differentials, the movement of migrant workers from poorer countries to richer ones where the demand for labour is greater, the employment conditions between countries and the costs of migration. It stresses ‘income maximisation’ as the individual’s main decision to migrate (Massey et al. 1993: 432). The micro-neo-classical approach respects the ‘choice-making individual’, who migrates with the view of higher returns for their labour (Gold 2005: 258).

The main precept is that international migration is viewed as a ‘form of investment in human capital’ (Massey et al. 1993: 434). However, a person seeking to migrate needs to assess the

extent of human capital the individual possesses in the migration event will require, for example, travel expenses, accommodation, time spent searching for work, the cost of intangible cultural factors, such as learning a new language, and psychological ones (Massey et al. 1993). These are to be offset against improved benefits over time (Borjas 1990).

Critics of neo-classical theory argue that it is rarely the poorest of the poor who migrate: instead the push-pull model is simplistic, ahistorical and is unable to explain actual movements or forecast future ones (Samers 2010; Castles and Miller 2009; Sassen 1988). From a micro-perspective, the theory is limiting because it looks at individuals as ‘ahistorical’, as ‘rational economic actors’ responding to either real or intended earning differentials (Samers 2010: 111). It also fails to explain why certain groups of migrants choose one country over another, for example, most Indians migrate to the UK, Algerians to France and Turkish migrants prefer Germany (Castles and Miller 2009). In addition, it assumes that economic factors prompt the decision to migrate, with migrants having full knowledge about wages and available job opportunities in receiving countries. Other structural factors not unaccounted for are the receiving countries’ restrictions on migration and immigration laws, which migrants do not always take into account (Castles and Miller 2009: 23).

In light of these criticisms, neo-classical theory is clearly deficient in certain important areas when unravelling the complexity of the historical links to Fordsburg and South Africa and in particular, the lack of emphasis on family and community influences. Whilst acknowledging the important role of economic forces in the migration process, I am more convinced of the merit of de Haan’s (1999: 9) contention that ‘social and cultural institutions, embedded in local customs and ideologies’ drive migration. The history of Fordsburg as an early immigrant community established in 1888, tells a story of the rich social and cultural traditions that are deeply entrenched within the identity of this suburb. The fact that migrants are still attracted to Fordsburg today suggests that reasons for migrants choosing Fordsburg and perhaps even South Africa as a destination are far more complex than they seem on first inspection.

Given the shortcomings of neo-classical theory, the **new economics of labour migration** developed in the 1980s (Stark 1991; Taylor 1987). This theory proposes that the decision to migrate is not an isolated individual decision: instead it is a collective decision made by ‘families, the household or other larger units’ (Samers 2010: 63). Thus, migration is seen as a ‘family strategy’ to expand and diversify the family income as well as for investment

purposes in the family's economic activities (Arango 2000). Functioning as a family unit minimises the risk, allowing some members to migrate while the rest remain in the country of origin (Massey 1999; Goss and Lindquist 1995). Should conditions in the country of origin weaken, such as unemployment, loss of income or drought, then migrants can compensate by sending remittances to the country of origin. In this instance, the social group, not the individual is considered important (Massey 1999).

Neo-classical theory and the new economics approach share similarities in that their theory pivots around a 'supply side' of migration underscoring the factors that compel people to migrate. While neo-classical theory's emphasis is on wage maximisation, the new economics reflect a more comprehensive set of reasons to migrate, based on the collective (Castles and Miller 2009: 25). For Massey et al. (1993: 440) and Gold (2005) these are essentially micro-level decision models; the differences are in who takes the decision to migrate, the individual or household, the level of risk involved, the importance of remittances, the knowledge the individual has about the economic context and lastly, the extent to which the decision to migrate is 'socially contextualised'. Neglect of the new economics of migration theory is due to its overt concern with the individual's decision to migrate.

In contrast to this set of theories, **segmented labour market theory** is premised on the demands for labour in modern industrial societies (Massey et al. 1993). The economist, Piore (1979), the scholar most closely associated with the approach, argues that international migration is dictated by the polarity of the needs of modern industrial economies for both highly skilled and unskilled labour, resulting in primary and secondary labour markets. Stated differently, the pull factors in receiving countries are the drawing card for immigrants to the country. This is clearly the case for the Puerto Rican migrants where the economic allure of New York and pull of the big city was more powerful than the push from the island (Mills et al. 1950).

The primary market comprises citizens as workers (even professionals) in highly paid, stable jobs, with good working conditions, chances of promotion and social mobility, with a view to investment in human capital. On the opposing end, the secondary market is made up of workers in lowly paid and unstable jobs, under tenuous working conditions with little prospect of upward social mobility (Castles and Miller 2009; Massey et al. 1993). As employers begin to spend less effort on training and decent working conditions, migrants are the employees of choice in this sector, as they are easier to replace. Sassen (1991) shows, in her 'global city hypothesis', that a hub or core of highly paid workers are found in finance,

management and research, and on the other extreme, it is the poorly paid (mainly migrant) manual workers who attend to their needs (Castles and Miller 2009).

The segmented labour market theory is criticised for its focus on the needs of modern capitalist countries, whilst neglecting the countries of origin of the labour force; and for the lack of recognition of a greater range of the labour markets than just the two sectors, that is primary and secondary markets, provided in the theory (Samers 2010). Factors such as race, ethnicity and gender further segment the labour market resulting in ‘enclave economies’ (Portes and Bach 1985), and ‘niches for ethnic entrepreneurs’ (Light and Bonacich 1988). A further concern is the reliance on a vulnerable group of semi-skilled and easy to control workers such as undocumented migrants to feed the need created by the ‘structural demands’ of modern capitalism. This increases the risk of exploitation of border restriction policies resulting in ‘a black market for migrant labour, and opportunities for people smugglers and recruitment agents’ (Castles and Miller 2009: 25).

In an extension of the new economics approach, the neo-classical economists argue for ‘open borders’ and ‘freedom of migration’ hoping that it will lead to some form of equality of wages globally (Castles and Miller 2009: 24). The similarity across both the new economics approach and neo-classical theory is that both identify the presence of factors that induce people to cross borders, which would mean a focus on the delivery side of migration. One of the major structuralist approaches to migration is **world systems theory** (Wallerstein 1984) which views international migration as a result of market penetration across national boundaries.

Wallerstein observes the world as a single capitalist system, made up of nation states within regions that are incorporated into the world system (Samers 2010: 69). World system theorists argue that owners of capital and states from the core capitalist countries extend their reach into peripheral non-capitalist societies, to gain from the resources (land, materials, labour) and new consumer markets (Gold 2005; Massey et al. 1993). The permeation of multinational corporations into countries on the periphery results not only in an uprooting of rural economies, the dislocation of workers and families, migration to urban areas, fast-paced urbanisation and a rise in the numbers of informal markets (Castles and Miller 2009; Gold 2005), but also affects migration flows internationally (Massey et al. 1993). The world systems theory also calls attention to issues of power and domination between the countries situated in the core and those on the periphery, best captured by Massey et al. (1993: 447)

who state ‘the international flow of labour follows the international flow of goods and capital, but in the opposite direction’.

These determinist theories consider the factors that facilitate and determine patterns of migration and build on the shortcomings of each other. The neo-classical theory and world system perspective see migration as ‘structurally determined’ while neglecting human agency of the migrants, except for the micro neo-classical economic view that does consider this (Gold 2005: 258). The common fault line in all four approaches is its ‘concentration on a single level of analysis’ that is either macro or micro, downplaying the combination of factors and range of relationships that make up migration (Gold 2005: 258). Basch et al. (1994: 12) are even more critical of world systems theorists arguing that the reduction of ‘migration to labour migration and immigrants to workers’ negates the racial, ethnic and national identities that shape the migratory process. In supporting these views, I take this further and claim that world systems theory can neither account for the south to south migration that started emerging in the twenty-first century, nor for ‘self-initiated or spontaneous flows’ of migrants (Portes and Böröcz 1989). The integrative approaches are now examined as theories that consider the macro-and micro-factors and show how migration affects and alters both the sending and receiving countries of migrants.

3.2.2 The Integrative Approaches

The changing global dynamics in the latter part of the twentieth century resulted in more interdisciplinary approaches, such as the migration systems theory with its home in Geography and migration networks theory arising from sociological and anthropological approaches to best explain the rise in global migration. Massey et al. (1993: 448) draw attention to ‘independent causes’ or factors that arise during the migration process such as migrant networks, development of transnational movements and the ‘social meaning of work’.

The importance of the **migrant systems approach** gained prominence when Douglas Massey and his colleagues analysed Mexican migration to the US (Massey et al. 1987). The migration systems paradigm is described as ‘migration through the historically-rooted and network-based cultural, economic, political and social linkages between country of origin and destination’ (Samers 2010: 85). Simply put, it constitutes two or more countries that ‘exchange migrants with each other’ (Castles and Miller 2009: 27). The definition does not exclude regional migration such as relationships (Samers 2010), for example, between Europe

and its former colonies, or between southern African countries and South Africa, and between South East Asian countries.

Implicit in migration systems theory are prior linkages between the two countries, based on any number of factors such as ‘colonialism, political influences, trade, investment or cultural ties’ (Castles and Miller 2009: 27). The framework of the migration systems approach suggests that any migratory movement is the result of interaction between macro- and micro-structures. Macro-structures could include the global political economy and world markets, the relationships between states, and more importantly, the legislation governing immigration in both sending and receiving states. The micro-structures consist of social networks arising from the interactions of migrants to form a support network providing assistance to the migrants in a new environment. The intermediate structure linking the macro- and micro-level is the meso-level. In recent years, greater attention is being given to the meso-level as a ‘migration industry’ that consists of recruitment agents, lawyers, agents, and smugglers operating at this level (Mahmud 2013; Sandoval 2013; Harris 1996: 132-136).

The **migrant network approach** is defined by Massey et al. (2003: 264) as ‘sets of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants and non-migrants in origin and destination areas through ties of kinship, friendship and shared community origin’. These networks include family and friendship ties, or could be based on ‘common cultures and ethnicities’ (Samers 2010), all relying on mutual trust (Tilly 2007). The social networks provide the foundation for basic amenities such as food, accommodation and information about how to access jobs, religious organisations, and other important auxiliary services health services, recreational and emotional support (Massey et al. 1993; Boyd 1989). The networks are also regarded as being ‘spatially based’ (Gelderblom and Adams 2006: 227), linking at least two areas or more. This is significant as it keeps the migrant connected to the home village, and in this way provides the necessary support, should other members wish to migrate (Gelderblom and Adams 2006).

Thus, while new migrants have to bear the start-up costs and risks when migrating to a new country or region, subsequent migrants benefit from the social networks already in place. As migrants settle in the receiving country, it leads to the development of migrant communities, enhancing the networks in both the receiving and sending country, whilst imparting valuable resources for new groups; referred to as ‘social capital’ (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 119). These resources can be ‘personal relationships, family and household patterns, friendship and community ties, and mutual help in economic and social matters’ (Castles and Miller 2009:

28). More attention is paid to social capital in Section 3.3. However, Gelderblom and Adams (2006) assert that the movement of people is not only one way, but previous migrants also return home for a number of reasons, such as visiting family members and taking goods, money and resources back to their home country.

In assessing the relevance of the migrant network approach, Samers (2010: 114) re-evaluates the weighting of 'wage disparities between countries' and suggests instead that social networks developed by different migrant communities in the countries of origin and destination are considered more worthy than wage inequality. For Portes and Böröcz (1989) it is the 'social' aspect, the nature of human contact and agency that lead to sustained flows of migrants. In addition, the accentuation on migrant networks unveils just how 'networks transcend territories' allow early migrants to lower the cost and entry for future migrants. They thus draw attention to the porosity of countries' borders, a significant point for this study that is examined in Part 3 (Section 6.3) of the thesis.

Thus while networks are important for economic migrants, they also provide vital information for undocumented migrants, refugees and asylum seekers about place, destination and settlement and work opportunities or, as Gelderblom and Adams (2006: 228) describe, as 'relationships of reciprocal exchange'. I agree with Banerjee's (1983) view that the point of reciprocal exchange for migrants takes place when they wish to re-create similar forms of networks of support found in their home village to thus support the migration of home members. An important reason for wanting to retain ties is retirement, or in case, things do not work out in the host country, (such as unemployment or untenable xenophobic violence), at least they will have maintained ties with the homeland.

However, Banerjee (1983) suggests that this desire to help new migrants is more due to the lack of assimilation on the part of previous migrants in the destination area. While Gelderblom and Adams (2006) make passing reference to this point, I wish to foreground it as I assert that migrants in Fordsburg do not assimilate but rather tend to re-create and construct insular communities instead, while maintaining ties to the home country. Furthermore, I suggest that because the strength of global telecommunications has intensified the social linkages between home and destination countries, the need for assimilation is reduced. This is a significant observation for the overall discourse of this thesis claims that migration is becoming even more transnational than was ever anticipated.

Having outlined some of the critiques of traditional theories of migration, the next section (Section 3.2.3) provides a synopsis of the debates surrounding transnationalism and a framework to show in what ways transnational migration studies help or hinder my study. I acknowledge the criticisms of the approach and present a rationale and conceptualisation of the transnational approach that best suits this study.

3.2.3 Transnational Migration Studies

Transnational migration studies argue that the traditional theories of migration, which view the migrant as a singular entity, either as an emigrant or immigrant, with a preoccupation on countries of immigration (Faist et al. 2013), cannot account for the transnational habits of migrants. Various scholars show how migrants and their families continue to be part of their families' economic, socio-cultural and religious practices of the country of origin while also settling into those of their country of choice (Levitt 2001a; b; Faist 2000a; b; Portes et al. 1999; Basch et al. 1994; Glick Schiller et al. 1992a; b). Thus, in order to understand migrants' multiple attachments, these authors assert that migrants should be understood as being part of two interconnecting worlds, defined as 'processes by which immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement' (Basch et al. 1994: 6).

Levitt and Jaworsky (2007) provide a synopsis of the criticisms levelled against the early transnational studies: in particular, the use of terminology and lack of clarity with definitions and conceptual distinctions and 'theoretical ambiguity' (Guarnizo et al. 2003: 1212). Waldinger and Fitzgerald (2004) and Foner (1987) argue that transnationalism provide nothing new as migrants had always maintained contact with their country of origin.

To balance the view on transnationalism, Vertovec (2001: 576) suggests that similarities and dissimilarities in transnational studies should be clearer so that an assessment of theoretical advancements can be made; instead he argues that it would be better to construct a typology of transnationalisms and to list the factors that apply to each typology. In the growth of empirical studies on transnationalism, what is being lost is just how recent or 'new' transnational networks among migrants are. Furthermore, the historical perspective is being neglected. For Portes et al. (1999) transnational migration is only significant if a cohort of people engage in continued and regular social contact over time and not just the occasional or sporadic activity across national borders. This point is examined critically in this study (Chapter 11, Section 11.3) as I am convinced that Portes et al.'s view of sustained social

contact limits the understanding of the transnational practices of the migrants in Fordsburg.

Ongoing research and empirical studies address some of the criticisms raised. Recent studies emphasise that transnational migration occurs within ‘fluid social spaces’ that are constantly changing as migrants are ‘embedded’ in more than one place (Levitt and Jaworsky 2007; Pries 2005, Levitt and Glick Schiller 2004). More importantly, transnational theory compels researchers to view the sending and receiving countries as a ‘single entity of analysis’ (Levitt and Nyberg-Sørensen 2004). Exponents of the transnational approach demonstrate that migrants relate and connect with several nation states and/or communities and their habits result in the development of transnational communities (Levitt 2001a). Different forms of ‘social formations within a transnational social space’ (Faist 2000a) and the notion that the nation state was not the sovereign container of social life (Wimmer and Glick Schiller 2002) are also notions that require scholars to shift their lens from migration as a linear process to an all-encompassing process involving migration practices, host and home countries and all the social players in-between.

The Application of a Transnational Framework to this study

Despite acknowledging the concerns about transnationalism, I purport that a Transnational Framework is best suited to studying the five migrant communities and South African Indian traders as it concerns not only migrants who move into Fordsburg, but also takes the interrelationship between the local residents and its new inhabitants into account. As migrants move back and forth between home and host country important questions are raised about identity, belonging and integration into host communities. I propose that migrants re-create images of the home country within the locale of Fordsburg because the bounded space facilitates this and supports them. It is stated in this thesis that Fordsburg has always been a migrant community, but what is it about Fordsburg that draws diverse groups of migrants even today? The foundation of this thesis is to deconstruct the term ‘community’ in order to answer this question. It is thus necessary to ‘enter the analysis spatially’ as context here is particularly significant, not only in national context, but the ‘culture, history and geography’ (Levitt 2010: 42) of the forging of communities in Fordsburg becomes important.

The geopolitical and economic positioning of South Africa is significant for this study. The historical links to India and the early Indian immigrants to Johannesburg, and Fordsburg in particular, are important and extend these transnational connections to the Global South. As part of the economic centre of Africa, Johannesburg shares strong economic as well as

cultural links with African countries. While research on African migrants to South Africa is growing, there is a rich repertoire of migration literature within southern Africa to South Africa (see Chapter 2, Section 2.6), although research on Egyptian migration to South Africa is limited. Since this study focuses on ethnic communities, particularly from India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Egypt and Malawi, the diversity of communities that span across continents, sheds new light on transnational migration within the South African context, and in particular, attraction to a historical place, namely, Fordsburg. Hence a transnational lens creates an applicable framework for this study.

Faist et al. (2013: 2) defines transnationalism as consisting of three components:

- ‘Processes involving transnational ties and practices in various fields, including the cross-border transaction of goods, services, capital and ideas and movement of people;
- Transactions of migrants and other agents across borders result in social formations called ‘social spaces’ which include kinship groups, circuits and communities; and
- These cross-border transactions encompass a range of activities from travelling, exchanging goods and services, and sending and receiving remittances to communicating ideas back and forth’.

I build on these elements of the concept and add the following:

Migrants are involved in sustained social relations, ties and networks of social fields involving the movement of goods, services, ideas, people, associations, across nation states, formally and informally. The kinship groups, circuits and communities revolve around flows in space and capital accumulation. Community is thus defined as a social field, the fields are multi-layered and deconstructed along the macro-, meso- and micro-levels of a community.

An important aspect that this study examines is that of human agency within and among migrant communities in Fordsburg. I assert that it is not just economic migrants who filter through to Fordsburg, but instead, the typical migrant now is younger, scouting for opportunity, for mobility and better lifestyle prospects, perhaps even producing a transient population. While the connections to home remain implicit and many migrants choose not to assimilate, yet there are migrants that consider South Africa as their new home. The transnational theory’s emphasis on ‘common forms of identity’ and shared cultural and linguistic traits is examined further to see whether these common traits contribute to ethnic enclaves and forms of ethnic entrepreneurship in Fordsburg or not. While I acknowledge the

criticisms around the use of transnational theory in empirical research, this study adds positively to the extant body of literature.

From the discussion on the migration network framework it is seen to be well suited to understanding the micro-level interactions and informal social networks created by the transnational migrants as a resource to help them cope. Sociologically these informal networks are a repository of resources regarded as social capital. A more detailed discussion of social capital comes next before examining the concept of communities.

3.3 Social Capital Theory

The use of the term ‘social capital’ has become so influential that many authors have described it as a ‘cure-all’ (Smart 2008; Fine 1999; Portes 1998) for all the social ills in society. The concept has become extensively used by scholars, economists and politicians alike and across a range of disciplines such as Anthropology (Harriss 2001), Political Science (Tarrow 1996; Hall 1999), Development Studies (Fine 1999), Human Geography (Mohan and Mohan 2002) to World Bank policy reports (Schuller 2007; World Bank 2001) and national governments.

The main proponents of social capital theory are the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1980) and American sociologist James Coleman (1993a, 1993b) whose main concern is with ‘individuals or small groups as the unit of analysis’ (Portes 2000: 2). The work of Robert Putnam (2000) popularised the concept with his well-known study, *Bowling Alone*, that pushed the concept of social capital from the limits of social theory and Sociology to a much broader domain of interest.

3.3.1 A Conceptual Dilemma

While the literature on social capital as a concept reflects its growing use, proponents concede that the term is a misnomer and controversy surrounds its actual meaning and effects (Gelderblom 2014; Fine 2007; Schuller 2007; Bankstou and Zhou 2002; Portes 2000; Lin 1999). Some of the confusion, asserts Portes (1998a: 3), is that social capital involves an ‘application to different types of problems’ and the use of the term in ‘theories involving different units of analyses’ that covers anything from ‘a property of individuals and families to a feature of communities, cities and even nations’ is confusing.

Both Bourdieu (1980) and Coleman (1993a; 1993b) centred their construction of social capital on individuals or groups. According to Portes (2000: 2), Bourdieu’s application of

social capital is ‘instrumental ... people intentionally built their relations for the benefits they would bring later’. Coleman, uses rational choice theory, and is concerned with social capital as a source of social control (Smart 2008: 410). But it was Putnam’s popularisation of the concept as a solution to the problems of the world that is so appealing (Harriss 2001: 5). A brief discussion of the concept of social capital by the three main theorists follows. Although James Coleman is acknowledged, more attention is given to Bourdieu and Putnam’s theorisations that are significantly applicable to my work.

Pierre Bourdieu

Pierre Bourdieu, a French sociologist, is concerned with social class and the persistence of social inequality. Bourdieu (1986: 248) defines social capital as ‘the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition’. The basic idea centres on what benefits individuals or families can amass because of their relationships or ‘ties’ with others. The family is considered the main centre for the ‘accumulation and transmission’ of social capital. An important consideration for this study is Gelderblom’s (2014: 9) interpretation of Bourdieu’s (1998) view of the family as constituting a group ‘characterised by solidarity, and as a field, characterised by power differentials and conflict’.

Bourdieu (1986: 252) is largely influenced by Marxist Sociology and considers ‘economic capital at the root of all other types of capital,’ to the extent he is consumed with understanding how economic capital could be combined with other forms of capital (economic, cultural and symbolic) to reproduce inequality (Field 2003). He argues that inequality can be explained by the ‘production and reproduction of capital’ (Field 2003: 15) through different contexts of economic, political and cultural life. For Bourdieu, capital is accumulated labour, which takes a while to accrue, but both cultural and social capital should be seen as assets, as a result of accumulated labour (Field 2003: 15-16).

Bourdieu is interested in how power and inequalities are replicated in these social networks (Dwyer et al. 2006), such as upholding the social stratification system and giving legitimacy to the propagation of the dominant class. Bourdieu deals in detail with the interaction between money capital, social capital and cultural capital in his writings. Bourdieu’s major contribution is that forms of capital are ‘fungible’ (Portes 2000: 2), meaning that money capital, social capital and cultural capital can each be ‘traded for each other’. This implies that social capital cannot simply be acquired without some kind of prior resources and cultural

knowledge, which allow the individual to form relations with others. Field (2003) feels that Bourdieu's theory is open to many of the criticisms that also apply to Marxist theory he follows.

However, in the ensuing debate on the selected literature, these differences are lost to incorporating 'the symbolic and the cultural into the social'. In its place, the 'rational choice or individualistic foundations' of social capital, developed by the 'rational choice' sociologist, James Coleman, come into play (Fine 2007: 568).

James Coleman

James Coleman, an American sociologist and author of several prominent studies on educational achievement in American ghettos, proposes that social capital is not limited to elite groups in society, but can effect change in disadvantaged communities as well (Field 2003: 20). For Coleman, social capital is a resource that 'involves the expectation of reciprocity, and goes beyond any given individual to involve wider networks whose relationships are governed by a high degree of trust and shared values' (Field 2003: 20). Coleman's preoccupation with social capital arises from an interest in wanting to explain the relationship between social inequality and academic achievements at school (Field 2003).

Coleman sees social capital as 'a source of social control' and here he becomes increasingly involved with the breakdown of 'primordial' social ties that govern norms in society (Portes 2000: 2). He attributes the increased crime and insecurity on the streets of America to problems in American public schools arising from such happening. Coleman uses a two-pronged approach: one is the support of community ties that were still evident, and the second approach is to replace those primordial structures with structures bearing economic incentives (Portes 2000: 3).

However, many scholars have latched onto the 'community ties' notion that Coleman accentuates, and it is important for *individuals* (original emphasis) to make use of them (Portes 2000: 3). As the concept is popular in other disciplines as well, social capital become associated as a character trait of the community itself; such that benefits for the collective result in the form of 'reduced crime rates, lower official corruption and better governance' (Portes 2000: 3). This subtle transition of the concept from one of benefits to the individual and its escalation to an attribute of the community itself is developed further by Putnam (1995a: 1993).

The political scientist Robert Putnam (1993, 1995b) frames the idea of a ‘stock’ of social capital that ‘communities and even nations’ possess (Portes 2000: 3) from which future advantages will arise (Krishna 2000). An exception is that these stock resources, like capital, do not become depleted. According to Putnam, social capital is primarily a characteristic of ‘societies’ or ‘communities’ or the ‘property of a collective’ (Smart 2008: 411). However, according to Portes (2000: 3), the present confusion of the term has arisen because the evolution of the concept from an individual resource to a community or national resource has never been adequately theorised.

Putnam’s (1996: 56) earlier definition of social capital is captured as ‘features of social life – networks, norms and trust – that enable participants to act together more effectively to pursue shared objectives’. In a more refined definition of the term, Putnam refers to social capital as ‘connections among individuals – social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them’ (Putnam 2000: 19). However, the opinion of Glanville and Bienenstock (2009: 1511) is that Putnam is more concerned with trust and reciprocity and less so with resources for members in a social network and that micro-level studies of social capital have ignored reciprocity because of their definition of social capital (Glanville and Bienenstock 2009: 1513).

Central to Putnam’s (1993) work is the recognition that networks of civic engagement sustain norms of ‘generalised reciprocity’ suggesting reciprocity in actions. This will create flows of information about the ‘trustworthiness of individuals and groups’ that can develop (Mohan and Mohan 2002: 193). Social capital takes place when people socialise outside their own family and partake in civic engagement activities such as politics and voluntary work or even playing sport, resulting in valuable effects on both, an individual and the community at large. Examples at an individual level could be better social interaction, health, access to better employment opportunities, making it conducive for entrepreneurship. At a community level, it could be economic growth, such as the setting up ‘micro-credit schemes or making capital equipment available’ (Mohan and Mohan 2002: 193). Putnam is of the view that strong social networks will create a feeling of mutual obligation to each other, and furthermore, people will also act in a more moral way towards those with whom they are involved.

3.3.2 Bridging and Bonding Capital

Putnam elaborates on his own definition of social capital to include a distinction between ‘bridging’ and ‘bonding’ forms of capital. According to Field (2003: 32), bonding social capital is ‘reinforcing exclusive identities and maintaining homogeneity’ and bridging social capital as ‘bring[ing] together people across diverse social divisions’. For Putnam (2000: 23), bonding constituted a ‘kind of sociological superglue’ by reinforcing the networks within groups and displaying strong levels of ‘thick trust’ (Putnam 2000). This is similar to Wuthnow’s (2002: 670) view where he talks of bonding as a form of ‘interpersonal solidarity’ present within small groups and local communities.

I wish to draw attention to a point that Wuthnow (2002: 670) makes when he argues that some scholars (Portes and Landolt 1996; Skocpol and Fiorina 1999) propose that bridging capital is more important because it ‘promotes a sense of civic responsibility, overcomes divisiveness and insularity’. He adds further that bridging capital is more challenging to create and sustain, because it forces people to step outside the security of their social circle, and find ways of developing cooperation among diverse groups of people and communities. Bridging capital is more commonly concerned with ‘weak’ ties (Granovetter 1973); ‘thin trust’ (Steenkamp 2009) and is unfamiliar to the community (Gittel and Vidal 1998). Gelderblom (2014: 6) makes a significant point when he says that weak ties enable ‘new information’ leading to ‘opportunities for advancement’. This supports Putnam’s (2007) view which is considered relevant for this study in that programmes that build bridging capital, result in drawing people of different backgrounds together into associations and activities for ‘strengthening social cohesion’ (Madhavan and Landau 2011: 477).

3.3.3 A Critique of Social Capital

Portes (1998a) draws attention to the positive and negative aspects of social capital. Positive social capital is defined as ‘rule enforcement, bounded solidarity and enforceable trust and negative social capital with isolated networks ... [that] limit members freedom of action at the micro-level’ (Svenden 2006: 43) and possibly at a macro-level. Putnam (2000) is also aware of the negative side of social capital where ‘high levels of trust and solidarity’ could have the reverse effect such as the development of the mafia. In contrast, Smart (2008: 411) suggests thinking of social capital as a resource that has unlimited uses, and depending on its use, will determine whether it was good or bad. Instead of positive and negative social capital, Smart (2008: 411-412) proposes using Bourdieu’s distinction of social capital as

‘obligations between individuals’, symbolic capital as ‘broader civic obligations or one’s reputation for trustworthiness’ and cultural capital viewed as ‘knowledge of how networks can be used’. This approach is less disposed to confusion and uncertain inferences.

Smart (2008) is of the opinion that transnationalism questions any notion of a collective definition of social capital. He explains further by suggesting that excessive bonding capital can restrict growth by being insular and exclusionary, while the reverse, which was insufficient bonding capital, can have a negative effect for community cooperation (Smart 2008). Bonding within a group may be close-knit or loose, but this reveals little concerning its effects and even less about the power relations and exploitation that some members undergo. Schuller (2007: 15) makes an important distinction, arguing that distinguishing between bonding and bridging is *context dependent* (my emphasis). It is only by understanding the particular context within which social capital is ‘generated and applied’ that we can begin to understand what bonding and bridging capital is (Schuller 2007: 15). He adds that ‘this context dependency applies whether it is at the micro-level of a small social unit or the macro-level of a nation state’ (Schuller 2007: 16), and lastly, Schuller states that social capital may be ‘complementary or conflictual or both’. It is this conception that is important to this thesis.

Leonard (2004: 929) states that, in Putnam’s work, community is described as having ‘highly positive connotations [that] convey an image of helpful, friendly interactions between individuals’. Like community, social networks are also based on networks of inclusion and exclusion (Leonard 2004: 929). Although Putnam addresses this exclusion through bonding and bridging capital, Leonard (2004) argues that his analysis is flawed because bridging capital can be exclusionary. One of the main criticisms levelled at Putnam is that he assumed that dense social networks create trust, but in reality, they could also be more prone to distrust and enmity.

Whilst noting the negative criticisms of Putnam’s theory of social capital, Field (2003) does acknowledge the usefulness of the concept as it considers the relationship between the individual and social structure, drawing attention to the meso-level analysis of social structures that are ‘family, neighbourhood, voluntary associations and public institutions’ (Field 2003: 139). More importantly for Field (2003: 139), is the point that social capital needs to be appreciated as a ‘relational construct’ which provides access to resources for individuals, not only based on common cultural ties but also as having ‘internalised the shared values of the group’. Field (2003: 140) stresses that Putnam’s concept of social capital

accentuates the importance of relationships inferring ‘...a return to Durkheimian concerns with social solidarity’.

Although mindful of the complexity of debates surrounding the concept social capital, this study utilises Putnam’s framework in the construction of communities at a micro-level. It examines how ethnic migrant groups use their social capital resources within the context of Fordsburg, noting the extent to which social capital prevails and how bonding and bridging capital within and between ethnic communities plays itself out in the study area. Wuthnow’s (2002) concept of interpersonal solidarity is significant for this study as well as Gelderblom’s (2014: 5) recognition of the tension in bonding capital where similar people share close bonds. However, at the same time, similar people can have ties that are weak. In social capital theory, migrant’s social networks constitute the glue that provides migrants in new communities with vital social support and information.

Furthermore, where Putnam falls short with his focus on trust and reciprocity as integral to social capital while underplaying resources, I argue that resources are an important source of social capital for examining communities in Fordsburg. I support the views of Glanville and Bienenstock (2009: 1513) who point out that for this transfer of resources to take place which translate into ‘instrumental gains reveals that trust and or reciprocity’ must be present in networks. For this study, therefore, shared networks, trust, reciprocity and resources are important components of social capital. In addition, I consider Bourdieu’s (1986) reference to resources as forms of capital, financial, cultural, economic and social, as relevant.

A concern with the conception of social capital as a ‘collective attribute’ is the problem of defining community; is it a nation, state or province? (Smart 2008: 411). He further queries whether all the people living in the ‘selected entity’ is a community; what about those individuals who do not have full citizenship rights?

The next section defines how community is conceptualised in this study of communities in present-day Fordsburg.

3.4 Conceptualising Community

Returning briefly to the main issue of this thesis, which is concerned with the creation of a forged community as distinct from the common view that a migrant enters a place of choice, in this case Fordsburg, with the intention of being part of the community. I need to pause and reflect on what prompted me to call Fordsburg a community. In hindsight, I associated the use

of the word ‘community’ with a ‘warm’ feeling, a fuzziness of something familiar and known, of belonging.

As I begin to deconstruct the term ‘community’, I realise the difficulty in examining such a concept. There is no single definition that can adequately capture what a community is; it means different things to different people, consciously, unconsciously, and exists in the memory and nostalgia that it evokes. The early theorists (Marx, Durkheim and Weber) defined community as it emerged as an entity unfolding in the tensions of the developing industrial age. In the global era of compression of time and space (Harvey 1990), the classic notions of a bounded community are long past. Nevertheless, community also denotes a space or ‘place’ where we root ourselves, where we belong and it is this attachment to place that shapes our own personal identity in community.

Gusfield (1975) made the distinction between two major uses of the term community. The first is a ‘territorial and geographical’ view of community depicting a town, city or neighbourhood. The second is ‘relational’ where the ‘quality of character of human relationship without reference to location’ is noted (Gusfield 1975: xvi), such as professional or spiritual. For Durkheim (1964), community develops around interests and skills rather than locality in modern society; thus there is a tension between a territorial view, a location and something that is relational, for example, a community of scholars, policemen etc. The varied and multiple usages of the term have led to the ambiguous and complexity of the term’s application.

3.4.1 In Search of a Definition of Community

Bell and Newby (1971) reflect that the sociologists have been engaging with the concept of community for about two hundred years and yet a cogent definition remains elusive. In the mid-1950s, Hillery (1955) identified 94 separate definitions of the term. Most sociological definitions of community include the following three elements: geographic area, social interaction, and common ties. The only consensus is the view of community as a unit of social organisation (Hillery 1955). Adding to this, Poplin (1972: 1) observes that sociologists use the word community in three ways. First as a synonym where anything from a ‘prison, a minority group to a military establishment’ is referred to as a community, similar to the reference that is a unit of a range of social organisations. Second it is as a ‘moral or spiritual phenomenon’ where people are in search of community. Third, when they are bounded territorial units such as villages, towns, cities and metropolitan areas. Given the multiple uses

of the term, it appears that, at times, the term ‘community’ lacked theoretical rigour to clarify its meaning even in a particular context.

Nisbet (1960: 82) suggests that one of the elementary themes of the twentieth century is a ‘quest for community’ since modern era, in its increasing complexity, fails to provide a sense of security for individuals and, as Poplin (1972: 7) notes, prevailing conditions currently leave the individual feeling ‘alienated, frustrated and alone’. Savage (2008) also picks up on the demise of community as a theme in modern studies. He notes that this image of decline is already evident in the early social theory of Tönnies, and becomes more pronounced with contemporary globalisation theorists who warn of “‘placeless’ urban living” (Savage et al. 2005; Castells 1996). Savage (2008: 151) adds that this feeling is not relegated to academics only, but policy makers too seem to wish to ‘remake community’ with a yearning for the ‘old ways of neighbourhood life’.

Recent definitions include the view that communities constantly negotiate identity and definition of who belongs and what belongs to a community (Azzopardi 2011); the boundaries of a community are far more symbolic than physical, and indicate social distinctions and divisions (Twelvetrees 2002). For Cohen (1985), the consciousness of the community is found within the boundaries of the community that define people’s interaction within it. In trying to make sense of the complexity involved in defining the modern conception of community, it is important to revisit the classical definitions of community.

3.4.2 Classical Definitions of Community

Early Sociology focuses on the shift in society from the traditional to modernity (Delanty 2010), thus the study of community was at the centre of the growing discipline of Sociology. The foundational texts of Ferdinand Tönnies and Emile Durkheim developed the constructed type theories of community. Ferdinand Tönnies’s classic theoretical essay on *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* (Community and Society) depicts the shift from traditional communities to modern society for which he constructed a typology of community (see Table 2) by defining ‘*gemeinschaft* (community) as the youth and *gesellschaft* (society) as the adulthood of society’ (Tönnies 1957: xii). The fundamental building blocks of Tönnies systems are his ideal types of *gemeinschaft* and *gesellschaft* based primarily on natural will and rational will (Tönnies 1957: xii). Tönnies’ main premise was that ‘all social relationships are willed ... they exist only because individuals want them to exist’ (Poplin 1972: 115). The reasons for association vary and so do the circumstances.

Table 2: Tönnies Typological Construct of Community

<i>Gemeinschaft</i>	<i>Gesellschaft</i>
Common ways of life	Dissimilar ways of life
Common beliefs	Dissimilar beliefs
Concentrated ties and frequent interaction	Dispersed ties and infrequent interaction
Small numbers of people	Large numbers of people
Distance from centres of power	Proximity to centres of power
Familiarity	Rules to overcome distrust
Continuity	Temporary arrangements
Emotional bonds	Regulated competition

Tönnies (1957: 37-38) explains his conceptualisation of *gemeinschaft* as an ‘all intimate, private, exclusive living together’ or understanding it as ‘life in *gemeinschaft* (community)’. *Gesellschaft* (society) on the other hand, is public life, the world as it is. *Gemeinschaft* represents the family one is born into and lives with (Tönnies 1957: 38) but *gesellschaft* (society) represents broader society or even ‘a strange country’. Tönnies (1957: 38) makes a further distinction by saying that a *gemeinschaft* (community) could consist of the whole of mankind, but *gesellschaft*, is seen as merely the ‘co-existence of people independent of each other’. This is also exemplified when he argues that *gemeinschaft* (community) is old, whereas *gesellschaft* (society) is new, both in name and as a phenomenon. *Gemeinschaft* (community) is also seen as ‘lasting and genuine form of living together’ and is understood as a living organism, whereas *gesellschaft* (society) is considered ‘transitory and superficial’ and is seen as a ‘mechanical aggregate and artefact’ (Tönnies 1957: 39). For Tönnies, community is defined as being based on bonds of kinship and belonging which have been broken in modern society (Macfarlane 1977: 631). Tönnies typological constructs are based on a number of contrasting communal and associative relationships (Brint 2001: 3):

However, Brint’s critique of this typological approach is that the communal relationships do not necessarily add up, for example, common ways of life do not mean a lack of conflict or commonly held views, small numbers of people do not mean consensus. As a result, Tönnies approach opened the doors for confusion over defining community and researchers using the Tönnies tradition floundered between creating either an over-romanticised image or a demystified image of community thus subsequently failed to generate sufficient studies of scientific rigour (Brint 2001: 3).

Delanty (2010: 24) notes that Tönnies equates ‘community with tradition’, where society was made up of various social relations. Durkheim, on the hand was critical of Tönnies in reviewing *gemeinschaft und gesellschaft* in 1898 and he takes issue with the properties of *gesellschaft* (Delanty 2010: 24). While accepting Tönnies view that society develops from community, beyond that there is no difference between large groups or small ones for Durkheim. Further, Durkheim firmly rebuts the view held by Tönnies’ argument of ‘community as organic and society as mechanical’ (Delanty 2010: 25). In his major work, ‘The Division of Labour in Society’, Durkheim effectively ‘reverses’ Tönnies’ thesis, by stating that ‘in modernity organic forms of solidarity are emerging and replacing the mechanical forms of the past’ (Delanty 2010: 25). For Durkheim, civic forms of solidarity based on citizenship can reverse the impact of individualism on modern society (Delanty 2010).

Durkheim’s approach provides another substantive account of understanding communities. Like Tönnies, Durkheim also stresses how community relations ‘equip human beings with social support and moral sentiments’ (Brint 2001: 3). Durkheim’s conceptualisation differs substantially from that of Tönnies in that he sees community not as a structure but rather as a ‘set of variable properties of human interaction’ found in villages and in modern cities (Brint 2001: 3). Well-known examples of Durkheim’s disaggregated approach are found in ‘Suicide’ ([1897] 1951) and ‘The Elementary Forms of Religious Life’ ([1911] 1965). Durkheim could extricate ‘an element or process’ linked to communal relations and show its effect on the group.

Brint (2001: 3) comments that scholars who use the ‘disaggregated’ approach of Durkheim produce valuable scientific outputs and refers to the sociological work of Robert K Merton, Erving Goffman, Travis Hirschi, Rosabeth Moss Kanter, William Julius Wilson. For sociological analyses, Brint (2001: 3-4) identifies six significant *gemeinschaft*-like indicators: the four structural variables are dense and demanding social ties, social attachments to and involvements in institutions, ritual occasions and small group size. The cultural variables are perceptions of similarity regarding physical characteristics, expressive style, way of life, or historical experience of others and common beliefs in an idea system, a moral order, an institution or a group. While these properties may not be found in all communities, to focus on these properties is more significant than Tönnies’ concentration on context only. However, trying to understand communities from only the type construct (see Table 2) would be equally unsuccessful.

3.4.3 Contemporary Definitions of Community

Brint (2001) directs us to new conceptual frameworks that have replaced the waning interest in the Community Studies tradition. One of these conceptual frameworks, the framework of social network structures, considers ‘community’ as a ‘more stable long-term structure’ (Brint 2001: 7) and is considered relevant for this study. The framework designed for this study combines migration network theory, as motivated in Section 3.2.2, with the social capital construct to emphasise the connections between individuals and the instrumental benefits that members can accrue from their application.

Anderson’s (1991) study on *Imagined Communities* is about national identity rather than community, which he associates with an ‘imagined’ space rather than any form of concrete interaction or place. Anderson (1991) conceives society as being shaped by ‘cognitive and symbolic structures’ rather than actual ‘lived’ spaces and ‘forms of social intimacy’ (Delanty 2010: xii). Thus community remains imagined. Here I depart from Anderson’s (1991) notion as I argue that communities are not just imagined, but are concrete, physical locations that shape and, in turn, are shaped by the lives of migrants. While Anderson (1991) discusses community from the perspective of national identity, the macro-level, I examine communities at a micro-level, individuals in their living space in Fordsburg. But I acknowledge that community is at once ‘an ideal and real, an experience and an interpretation’, dependent all the time on the context (Delanty 2010: xii). This interpretation leads to the need for a definition of social space and from the work of Thomas Faist (2000 a, b; 1999: 4) comes this explicit description that social spaces are:

‘combinations of sustained social and symbolic ties, their contents, positions in networks and organizations, and networks of organizations that can be found in multiple states. These spaces denote dynamic social processes, not static notions of ties and positions. The reality of transnational social spaces indicates ... that migration and re-migration may not be definite, irrevocable and irreversible decisions - transnational lives in themselves may become a strategy of survival and betterment’.

I consider Faist’s definition of social space as relevant to this thesis and accept his argument that migration and re-migration are not definite, nor are they linear processes; that migrants do sometimes move on or return home; and that transnational lives may be a strategy of survival which is largely dependent on the social capital found in these social spaces. For Faist (1999: 8) each type of social space is characterised by a dominant mechanism of integration: ‘reciprocity in small groups, exchange in circuits and solidarity in communities’.

Guided by these discussions and approaches, the argument being developed in this chapter is that communities in Fordsburg can best be understood as follows: community is a social field, based on feelings of a common identity and a sense of belonging to a group. People are involved in common activities or beliefs and are bound together by relations of solidarity, loyalty, the strength of social relations and shared values. Communities are thus solid and fluid, symbolic and instrumental, real and imagined. This idea is now taken forward as the structure of a community is the theme of the next section.

3.4.4 The Foundational Blocks of Communities

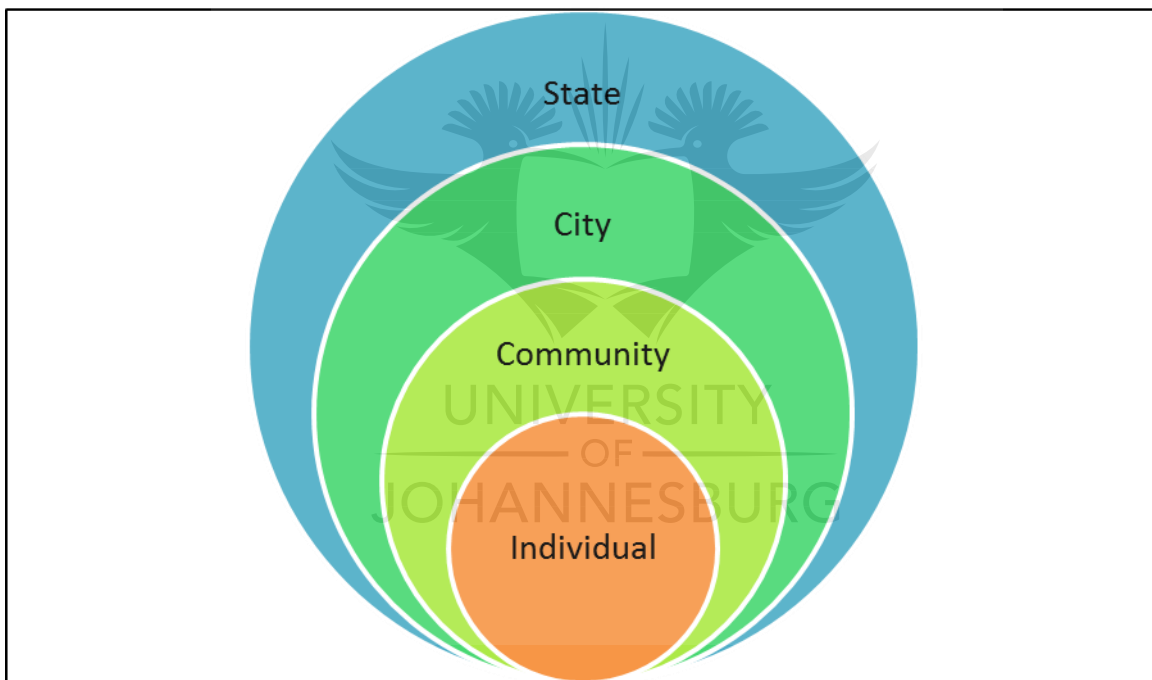
With the given definition of community adopted for this thesis as the point of departure, I draw upon Matarrita-Cascante and Brennan's (2012) views on constructing communities. Communities require a number of resources to function; these constitute the 'building blocks' or foundation blocks for a community (Matarrita-Cascante and Brennan 2012). One of the key sets of resources comprises human resources (Taylor 2007) from different stakeholder groups in the community such as families/residents (households), government, businesses (for profit) and the voluntary/non-profit sector (volunteer and grassroots) (Smith 1991, 1997). Within this matrix, stakeholders operate at different levels in the community and the aim is to contribute to the holistic development of the community. The issue of power varies across the different stakeholder groups in terms of types and levels of power.

A second key set of resources is the physical component of community, which includes the 'built and natural assets' of the community (William 2007) that give rise to the character of the community. This is further broken down into the components of functionality, aesthetic and symbolic reasons (Matarrita-Cascante and Brennan 2012: 295). Communities need to be functional to provide for a place to live, to work in with access to mobility and communication resources. Interspersed with these elements are recreational and leisure activities that form part of functional components of a community (Richards and Dalbey 2006). In terms of aesthetics, people want to live in a place that was pleasing to them (William 2007; Richards and Dalbey 2006) and it is within this space that people develop an affinity for and begin to identify with a community. Matarrita-Cascante and Brennan (2012) add that value is attached to physical and human resources that combine to produce economic resources.

However, a number of resources are necessary to make up community yet, at a psychological level, there must be some kind of connection or attachment that an individual feels. In this respect, we talk of a sense of community.

In Figure 2, I attempt to disaggregate Anderson’s ‘imagined community’ pictorially. The innermost circle represents the individual, the circle immediately following is the community of the individual; thereafter comes the city and the largest circle represents the state or nation. The state also represents the macro-structure of society, the community and city are the meso-structures, and the individual is the micro-layer of the conceptualised study. Migration studies fall into various categories, either looking at migration from a macro- perspective or looking at micro-level interactions between the migrants as individuals.

Figure 2: A model to conceptualise communities in Fordsburg



(Source: Researchers’ own construct)

I envisage drawing on the interrelationships spanning the micro-, meso- and macro-levels, which relate to the individual, the community and to the level of the state. I bring together a hybrid model (Table 3) to conceptualise Fordsburg as a constituted community at a meso-level by accommodating the key sets of ‘building blocks’ Matarrita-Cascante and Brennan (2012) use. First, is the concept that human resources comprise different stakeholders, the other people who are essential. The second block is physical resources that make Fordsburg functional so that residents are able to earn a living in a place with pleasing aesthetics. In such

a setting the groups have access to shopping facilities, religious spaces and are attracted to the symbolism of Fordsburg. The third building block is economic resources that ensure the livelihood of communities in Fordsburg. Thus, the building blocks as envisaged by Matarrita-Cascante and Brennan (2012) are indeed valuable and mutually inclusive and speak directly to the communities in Fordsburg.

Table 3: Hybrid Model of Communities in Fordsburg

Levels	At the level of	Foundation blocks for community (Matarrita-Cascante and Brennan 2012)	Factors of the foundation blocks	In relation to Fordsburg
Micro-level	Individual	Human resources See Chapter 6 and 7	Various stakeholder groups in community such as families/ residents (households)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Migrant communities • Groups in Fordsburg
Meso-level	Community	Economic resources See Chapter 8	Production of goods and services: local businesses	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Business enterprises – tailors, hairdressers, food outlets, clothing outlets, other industries
Meso-level	Community	Human resources See Chapter 9	Various stakeholder groups in community such as families/ residents (households), local government, and the voluntary/non-profit sector	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Education • Religious spaces • Crime • Local government • Voluntary association
Macro-level	State	Physical resources See Chapter 10	Functionality, aesthetic and symbolic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Symbolism and history of Fordsburg • Belonging to South Africa • Citizenship

(Source: adapted from Matarrita-Cascante and Brennan 2012)

3.5 Conclusion

The chapter began with a review of the international theories of migration presented as determinist approaches and integrationist approaches. While a number of the classic theories of migration are discussed, they fall short of explaining the complexity of the migratory process in the globalised world of today. The most appropriate framework for studying the migrant communities in Fordsburg, a phenomenon of south to south migration, was based on using a transnational lens and migration network theory. Whilst acknowledging the criticisms

of the transnational approach applied to migration, current research points to strong trends that support the development and the use of this approach to show that migrants are embedded in more than one place.

Social capital, and in particular, Putnam's (2000) distinction between bonding and bridging capital, was the second theoretical framework with which the study engaged to expose the role of ethnic enclaves. The extent of these two particular aspects of social capital could be used to explain the relationships within the five communities of migrants, and their relationship with South African traders in Fordsburg. In social capital theory, the role of migrants' social networks cannot be underplayed. It constitutes the foundation that provides migrants with vital social support and information in new contexts and communities. I propose that for this study a working definition based on shared networks, trust, reciprocity and resources allow ethnic migrant groups to construct communities in Fordsburg.

For the purposes of this study, I argue that Fordsburg hosts transnational communities with solidarity ties that transcend kinship ties. Drawing on Anderson's (1991) concept of an 'imagined community' and using the key building blocks of community suggested by Matarrita-Cascante and Brennan (2012), I structure the findings of this thesis along these lines and in the next chapter present the methods used for this study.



CHAPTER 4

CAPTURING THE VOICES OF FORDSBURG: A METHODOLOGICAL REFLECTION

4.1 Introduction

The study departs from dominant migration studies in that it considers multiple groups and examines the construction of community within a single bounded space. The main contribution of this study is having explored how communities are forged among various migrant groups in Fordsburg together with South African Indian traders to examine the complex interplay of power relations that affect the groups within the confines of their trading places and spaces of living. This is the tension that sets the groups apart in society, and creates boundaries between and amongst them. In addition, the study further contributes to the broader knowledge of migration research by addressing the flows of migrants from the Global South to South Africa, as opposed to the Global North.

Despite South Africa's racist and contentious past, current immigration policies perpetuate exclusion among non-nationals in South Africa, as substantiated in Chapter 2. Recent attacks on migrants during January to April 2015 bear testimony to this, hampering South Africa's social transformation agenda and the perception of a 'rainbow nation'. Castles (2012: 20) shows that the process of social transformation as reflected in the movement of young economically active migrants, an increase in female migration, financial and social remittances, is crucial for understanding migration flows to the Global South and must be contextualised within the migrant's multi-layered connections to the global world. The diverse migrant groups in Fordsburg, sometimes with few historical relations to South Africa, purport a deeper examination of the neo-liberal globalisation processes that feed this flow. To appreciate the migrants' views and experiences of life in Fordsburg and South Africa, it is important to understand the interpretation they attached to their daily interactions, from a historical, cultural and social perspective, accepting that 'multiple interacting factors' can act on and shape the migrant's experiences in Fordsburg (Henning et al. 2004: 21). A social constructivist research paradigm is best suited to study the various communities in Fordsburg.

4.2 A Social Constructivist view of Migrant Communities in Fordsburg

This study is based within a social constructivist research paradigm that other scholars (Creswell 2009; Henning et al. 2004; Neuman 2000; Crotty 1998) have found valuable too. Social constructivism stems from how meaning is created, how social members experience and understand their world (Creswell 2009), and is grounded in an ‘empathetic understanding’ or Weber’s notion of ‘Verstehen’ which looks at the everyday realities of people encapsulated within specific ‘historical settings’ (Neuman 2006: 87). Henning et al. (2004: 20) explain that the researcher looks at the ‘*way*’, that is how participants create meaning, and ‘*what*’ meanings the participants develop in order to examine their understanding of events (original emphasis).

In contrast to the positivist orientation of generalisable laws, observable reality and independent research, the social constructionist seeks to identify and describe the nature of social reality from the perspective of the participant. Where positivism is concerned with observation and measurement, the social constructionist considers the varied and multiple ‘socially constructed realities’ to interrogate the deeper associations that migrants make within their contexts (Wagner et al. 2012: 54).

Cresswell (2009: 8) captures the social constructionist view that reflects the position of this researcher as the following:

Social constructionist researchers often address the processes of interaction among individuals. They also focus on the specific contexts in which people live and work, in order to understand the historical and cultural settings of the participants. Researchers recognise that their own background shape their interpretation, and they position themselves in the research to acknowledge how their interpretation flows from their personal, cultural and historical experiences. The researcher’s intent is to make sense of (or interpret) the meanings others have about the world.

One of the main assumptions of the social constructionist paradigm is the view that participants actively construct their social reality. The nature of social reality is fluid, designed and redesigned by human interaction (hence social constructionism) denoting that people have significant agency here, they have the freedom to make choices and develop meaning from the choices they make. Making the choice to migrate to South Africa is not only for economic reasons, but reveals a diverse set of reasons.

Cresswell (2009: 8) notes that the goal of the research is to ‘rely’ quite heavily on the participants’ understanding of the situation being studied; introducing bias is something one needs to guard against. The question of bias, the recognition of personal values and reflexivity is discussed in Section 4.7. The interpretive paradigm is not overly concerned with ‘broadly applicable laws’ but instead endeavours to produce ‘thick’ descriptions that stress a deeper understanding of the phenomena under study (Henning et al. 2004: 21).

What comes to the fore is that knowledge is subjective, constructed within a social context, wherein the researcher attempts to make sense of and understand the embedded context of the lived world of the participants. The study has already outlined the importance of the social context of Fordsburg from a historical perspective (Chapter 1). The social context and location of Fordsburg is instrumental in the forging of immigrant and migrant communities and to understand this social context, a qualitative research design is best suited for this research study.

4.3 A Qualitative Enquiry: Studying Fordsburg *in situ*

The *in situ* study of Fordsburg is modelled along the anthropological research by Svenden (2006). Svenden’s study examines the relationship between local people and newcomers in a marginal and rural Danish municipality, Ravnsborg, Denmark, and how bridging/bonding social capital is built *in situ*. Like Ravnsborg, previous studies on Fordsburg indicated subtle tensions between the migrant communities and South Africans (Rugunanan et al. 2012; Park and Rugunanan 2010). When I first reviewed Svenden’s study, there were immediate similarities to Fordsburg, and this provided the trigger for a practical framework to conduct a similar study of migrant and local communities in Fordsburg. In particular, I was drawn to understand how social capital, broadly defined as ‘co-operative networks based on regular, personal contact and trust’, (Svenden 2006: 39) developed amongst the two groups.

Svenden’s (2006) qualitative study focused on examining inclusionary and exclusionary dynamics between the two communities. An important finding of his research was the ‘costs’ stemming from the in-fighting between the two groups. To fully understand these costs, Svenden (2006: 41) motivates for a qualitative methodology, using unstructured interviews. In adopting this approach, his study contributed to a neglected and often overlooked area of social capital research which has long been the domain of economists and political scientists who tend to rely on quantitative methods of study.

Svenden (2006: 42) captures the significance of a qualitative study of social capital by stating that:

A micro-level study like the present - focusing on an actual *in situ* building of types of social capital, inseparably related to concrete discourses, social classifications, and identities in specific time-space contexts - has important implications for integration policies, in Denmark and elsewhere, involving the integration of social as well as ethnic groups.

Svenden motivates that sociological and anthropological studies should be using more qualitative methodologies to investigate both the positive and negative side of social capital. He adds further that ‘findings at micro levels can help highlight, and interact with key results at the meso and macro levels’ (Svenden 2006: 43). He notes that insufficient attention is given to studies that use a bridging/bonding approach where the two sides of capital are considered. This is similar to Madhavan and Landau’s (2011: 474) recommendation that ‘new tools and concepts’ are required within a South African context to establish how migrants in urban settings find ways to access social capital.

My research is based on a micro-level study of five migrant communities and South African Indians traders, their views on how bonding and bridging capital contributes to the forging of community in Fordsburg. Svenden (2006) adds that a qualitative methodology allows for a more extensive exploration of the ‘positive and negative’ side of social capital (Portes 1998), an area that is under-researched, and which could inform and influence policy at a meso-and macro-level.

Qualitative methodology provides a ‘source of well-grounded, rich descriptions’ concerning the complexity of human interactions (Miles et al. 2014: 4). Further, a qualitative methodology allows one to document a chronological flow of events, and to simultaneously interrogate the consequences of those events as they unfold, thereby arriving at explanations for the events (Miles et al. 2014: 4). In order to understand the experiences of the five migrant communities and South African Indians in Fordsburg, a qualitative approach allowed me to observe the setting in which the migrants interacted, with the intent of understanding how they made sense of the communities in which they are located. Through a qualitative approach, I was able to understand the choice of Fordsburg as a location; the significance of the role of religion; the access to places of worship; and what the close nexus to places of living and work meant to migrants. The complex interplay of these factors produced different enunciations about the forging of communities. I was convinced that a qualitative approach

was the most appropriate method to study the micro-level interaction of migrants and South Africans in Fordsburg.

4.4 Fordsburg as a Case Study

Early anthropological and sociological research using case studies can be traced back to Bronislaw Malinowski's (1884-1942) and Federick le Play's (1806-82) studies which informed the traditions of the Chicago School of Social Research (Platt 1992). Malinowski focuses attention on the 'village', for Le Play, the family unit is important, while the Chicago School uses the 'city' as a microcosm of the difficulties of society (May 2011: 221). Case study research is not without controversy. Primary among these concerns is the 'relationship between its purpose' and therefore use in social research contextualised within the theoretical frameworks of enquiry, that is positivism, constructivism and a critical framework (May 2011: 220). The central tenet in all these approaches is to offer 'an accurate reflection of the knowable social world' (May 2011: 221). A critique of these early studies is the assumption that societies are homogenous and a case study should reflect the broader society or be seen through the lens of generalisation (Stake 2005: 444). Flyvbjerg (2006) addresses some common misunderstandings of case study research and defends the role and necessity for case studies, while Yin (2009) demonstrates a systematic approach to conducting case studies.

Yin (2009: 8) identifies three factors that guide the choice for using a case study as a research method: "how" and "why" questions, the amount of control the researcher has over events and lastly, a phenomenon taking place 'within a real life context'. Yin argues that these three factors differentiate case study research from other social science research. Furthermore, case studies can be exploratory, descriptive and explanatory. I consider this as an explanatory case study as the question deals with 'operational links' (Yin 2009: 9) that is traced from a historical perspective and provides a contemporary analysis of new migrant communities. For Creswell (2007: 73), case studies are viewed as a 'type of design' and 'a product of the enquiry'; while Stake (1988: 255) considers it as a 'bounded system'. Case studies therefore could include 'individuals, groups, organisations, and movements, events or geographic units' (Neuman 2006: 40). The focus of this research is on individuals within these communities who serve to direct the boundaries of this study (Yin 2009; Henning et al. 2004: 32; 41).

Yin's (2009) three factors apply directly to the main research question of this study: "How are identities and communities constituted and reconstituted in immigrant and migrant communities in Fordsburg?"

The main research question is examined further within the context of the following sub-questions:

- 1) How are identities preserved and which identities are preserved?
- 2) What role do family relationships, religion and remittances play in the integration of migrant communities in Fordsburg?
- 3) What role do social networks play on entry into the host country in terms of economic and social integration?
- 4) What role does social capital play in establishing and maintaining social and economic integration?
- 5) What does it mean to belong to a community, to an ethnic or religious group?

The choice of using a case study for this research is appropriate because Fordsburg's origin as a migrant community provides the historical context. The main research question of the study asks "how" migrant communities reconstruct communities in Fordsburg. Moreover, it is also the preferred method in the case of Fordsburg as the study examines contemporary events where relevant behaviours cannot be altered. While this case study uses some techniques typical of research in History, it includes interviews about current circumstances and direct observation in the field.

Case study research provides for 'extremely rich, detailed and in-depth information' (Berg 2004: 251). For this study, 82 semi-structured in-depth interviews with individuals, representatives of organisations and local government officials were conducted; this excludes informal interviews with some individuals. The study also comprises documents, photographs, artefacts, direct and participant observation techniques as a means to triangulate inferences. Yin (2009: 2) encourages the use of multiple sources of evidence with data to 'converge in a triangulating fashion'. While the breadth of these sources of evidence adds to the richness (Yin 2009; Berg 2004) of case study research, these, however, also became the challenge of the study in that the real life context together with the emerging themes had to be contained (see Section 4.6).

4.5 About the Research Site

At the very beginning of this thesis, I introduced my attachment to Fordsburg as my birthplace. Under the current reflections section, I ponder on the transition that Fordsburg is undergoing, supported by my observations and engagement in previous research projects within this research site. The justification for the research site was contextualised in Chapter 1, but it is worth emphasising that a historical and a sociological study of how communities in the early twentieth century were formed in Fordsburg, has yet to be conducted. This led me to probe my current interest in Fordsburg further. First, to understand why, after one hundred and twenty seven years, migrant communities are still attracted to Fordsburg; and second, given the diverse communities in this limited space, how do migrant communities engage, assimilate or simply co-exist with each other? Thus the role of social capital is an important underpinning of how communities are constructed and sustain themselves.

4.5.1 Accessing the Research Site

Accessing the research site did not pose a challenge as I was already familiar with the surroundings of Fordsburg; I had conducted research at the Oriental Plaza in 2008 and in Fordsburg in 2010. Being a South African Indian and Hindu female eased my access into the communities of Fordsburg. However, as a researcher, other layers of social tension such as gender, race and caste became conspicuous. Accessing migrant communities, that are predominantly male and the lack of fluency and knowledge of the South Asian and North African languages, put me at a slight disadvantage. However, I drew upon my historical association of the area and Gujarati language skills to gain sufficient access to key individuals, who in turn suggested prospective participants who assisted me in gaining a foothold in the communities I wanted to access. Sánchez-Ayala (2012: 120) relates a similar scenario and shares that using her positionality and identity as a Puerto Rican researching Puerto Rican migration to Orlando, USA ‘removed many obstacles’ during her research.

I have yet another close association with Fordsburg and the Oriental Plaza in particular. After graduating and struggling to find employment, I was eventually employed for a one-year period to manage a retail store at the Oriental Plaza to oversee much older and longer-serving black female employees. Class and race privileged me in my first ‘real world’ employment, but my activist background at university did not adequately prepare me for the exploitation of the black employees whom I had to supervise. I was privy to trading and labour practices of

the employers at the Oriental Plaza, but while I was slightly advantaged above black employees, as an employee, I was exploited in terms of long working hours and poor wages. This experience provided me with insight into the relationship between the South African Indian traders and new migrant communities, which would benefit my research some years later (Rugunanan et al. 2012; Park and Rugunanan 2010). At the stage of my employment in 1991, non-national traders did not operate at the Plaza, but a few young Pakistani men, in the employ of South African Indian traders were visible, provided a source of cheap, exploitable labour.

On receiving permission from the University of Johannesburg Ethics Committee to conduct this study, I started observing Fordsburg more intently. I walked the streets, browsed through retail outlets, visited the flea market and sampled the cuisine at many food outlets. I chatted informally to people and thus became a familiar sight in the community. On one of these occasions, Shabir, a car guard, observing my sketching of the layout of the street, approached me and started a conversation. Thus began an important association. Using a second lens through the eyes and perception of Shabir, I was able to put some distance from and a fresh perspective to Fordsburg. Shabir gave me a lay-man's view and suggested to whom I should talk. Shabir, in essence, 'lives and breathes the culture' (Neuman 2006: 411) of Fordsburg, and at times became my constant companion and allowed me a privileged view into his life, as an actor on the fringes of Fordsburg.

These stories, together with an extensive geographical mapping of the research site, annotating the historical landmarks against the contemporary landscape of Fordsburg (provided in Chapter 5) form the cornerstone of this work. Today, Fordsburg represents a mosaic of migrant communities from geographically diverse areas such as North and East Africa, southern Africa and South Asia, in some cases, with no geographical proximity to or historical connections with South Africa. Next I discuss the research methods used to study these communities in Fordsburg.

4.5.2 A Choice of Communities

Miles et al. (2014: 31) state that qualitative researchers work on a *small* (their emphasis) sample of people 'nested in their context and studied in-depth'. Initially, three prominent groups in Fordsburg were the intended subjects of this study. These were Bangladeshi, Pakistani and Indian nationals. Since the study was about the construction of communities,

this disposition to communities from South Asia brought a skewed perspective to the study. The study subsequently included members from the African continent, specifically the Egyptian and Moroccan community, which constitute a substantial presence in Fordsburg.

Access to the Moroccan community was difficult given that they were mainly men, language issues posed a substantial barrier, and the community was tightly-knit. I decided instead, to focus attention on the Malawian community because some informal contact had already been established during my observations and walkabouts in Fordsburg. I detected further, that African migrants were preferred employees to local black South Africans, and it was this tension that I explored in the study. I gained access to a Malawian participant and interviewed him, and a research assistant interviewed the rest (ten Malawian participants). I conducted the majority of the interviews, 71 out of 81 for this study.

The choice of a research assistant is important. In this study, the South African research assistant had lived in India for three years and has considerable access to the Bangladeshi community in Lenasia. The assistant was able to offer valuable insight and access to contacts in the migrant trading networks; and assisted with the verification of information and language translation. I trained the research assistant in interviewing techniques, and she shadowed me when I interviewed participants for a study on migration of Chinese and Indian women. Thus I was confident in her ability to conduct interviews. All interviews, including my own, were recorded electronically, carefully listened to, transcribed and transcripts were verified. Furthermore, I conducted follow-up visits to clarify issues where necessary.

4.5.3 Setting the Boundaries for the Study

Sampling in qualitative research sometimes pulls the researcher in opposing directions, and this can be overcome by firstly setting the ‘boundaries to define your case’ and secondly, by developing a ‘conceptual frame’ to guide the study (Miles et al. 2014: 31). The conceptual framework for this study (provided in Chapter 3, Section 3.3), is briefly referred to here to explain the sampling boundary for the study. To understand how communities are forged in Fordsburg, the constructs: economic resources, human resources and physical resources, identified by Matarrita-Cascante and Brennan (2012) were used. Economic resources involve the production of goods and services and, in terms of the study, I interviewed various migrant traders and South African traders. Human resources are defined as various stakeholders in the community, such as residents, local government and the voluntary/non-profit sector.

For this study, I interviewed members of five migrant communities: Bangladeshi, Indian, Pakistani, Egyptian and Malawian migrants and the sixth group comprised South African Indian traders. The sample included skilled and unskilled migrants, refugees and asylum seekers working and living in Fordsburg. Additionally, two members of the local government organisations, three educational institutions in Fordsburg and three voluntary associations as well were identified to be part of the sample. A third member of the local government could not be accessed, despite repeated attempts to contact him. Physical resources are defined as functional, aesthetic and symbolic (Matarrita-Cascante and Brennan 2012). For this study, I defined physical resources as access to shopping and trade facilities, this became functional resources, religious space was viewed as an aesthetic resource and history was defined as a symbolic resource. (For more detail see Chapter 3, Table 3). Thus my conceptual framework provides a clear boundary for the groups researched.

Table 4: List of Sample Interviewees

Groups	No. of Interviews
Bangladeshi	10
Egyptian	6
Indian	10
Malawian	10
Pakistani	9
Oriental Plaza traders only	7
School Principals	3
Voluntary Associations	3
Local government representatives	2
Key informants	11
Other South African Indian traders	8
Informal	2
Total Number of Interviews	81

Purposive and snowball sampling methods were the main forms of sampling used in this study. Purposive sampling is used when the researcher selects subjects to ensure that certain types of individuals with expert knowledge or cases with ‘a specific purpose’ is chosen (Neuman 2006: 268). Here, the purposive sampling method was considered the most appropriate method, as I needed to interview specific people in specific sectors of the community. The proliferation of hairdressers, tailoring outlets and clothing shops selling

traditional Islamic clothing were selected as a first level of research material collection. The intention of the study was not to generalise, but rather to provide a descriptive analysis of the study under review. Table 4 provides details of the groups sampled along with the sample size for each of these with whom informal and formal in-depth interviews were conducted.

4.6 Gathering the Research Material

In qualitative research, a researcher who collects documents, observes behaviour, and conducts interviews, is regarded as a 'key instrument' (Creswell 2009, Henning et al. 2004). An interview guide was developed and used to collect information for this study (see Appendix 1). The guide was further adjusted to accommodate the different groups in Table 4, and took into account the nature of the group, as well as ensuring that the sub-themes of the study, namely, role of migrants, social networks, feelings towards migrants, understanding of the concept 'community' and the notion of belonging, were covered.

Case study research prescribes that observing the participants is necessary in the research gathering exercise, especially if a community is being observed (Yin 2009). The research material for this study was gathered using direct and participant observation, and semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted with key informants and other research participants. The choice of the combination of these data collection methods allowed me to gain information about how these individuals construct and experience their own realities, in terms of the role of family, remittances, the part religion plays, the nature and type of work they do and the place of leisure and burial practices.

4.6.1 Direct Observation

Yin (2009) notes that observations include formal and casual data collection events. As such, I began exploratory observations and mapping the research site from September 2010. As part of my direct observation, I observed sidewalk activities, the Fordsburg Square, the condition of living quarters and work spaces, such as hair salons and tailoring shops. The use of photographs communicate important 'characteristics' to those on the outside (Yin 2009). Details of this direct observation is presented in Chapter 5, where the activities and interactions of the everyday realities of communities in Fordsburg are examined. Neuman (2006: 398) points out that 'most field research data' comes in the form of field notes. As a protocol for recording observational data, I used a journal to record both descriptive notes of

the physical setting or events, and reflective notes detailing my feelings, impressions and perceptions. Some of the reflective notes are presented in Chapter 5. Electronic recordings were an important means to capture the impressions and observations as soon as possible after the events.

4.6.2 Participant Observation

Participant observation, in contrast to direct observation, allows one to undertake a number of roles within the case study situation (Yin 2009). Thus, in trying to understand why there are so many hairdressers all in one area, I entered an outlet to satisfy my curiosity only to find that besides hairdressing, I was also able receive beauty treatments at the same time. In other outlets, I had various beauty treatments done, allowing me to observe the behaviour, level of skill, use of language and general engagement with the customer. Through contact like this I could develop assumptions about how people interacted with one another in this space, and even informally. The nature of interaction was cordial and one of mutual respect. I remember an elderly customer pulling Basheer's (June 2011, interview) head down, tenderly pecking him on the cheek and calling him her son, or the engaging manner in which the Egyptian traders addressed the specific needs of their customers.

As I became a familiar sight, I was allowed to sit in some hairdressing salons to observe the interactions of the migrant traders and their customers. An eatery near the Fordsburg Square, popular with both non-nationals and South Africans, was another observation point. The diversity, range of people and sounds of different languages presented a good vantage point to observe and interact with people. Informal contact with residents led to more formal and in-depth interviews. I also attended the Fietas Festival which took place in September 2011. The festival included the screening of movies, reading of poetry and speeches all recounting the heyday of Fietas (Pageview) during the 1950s and 1960s, and, brought home the profound sense of community that residents of Fietas and Fordsburg experienced. At this occasion, I was fortunate to meet two key personalities, Mr Goolam, a well-known member of the Fordsburg community, businessman and part-time poet, who provided me with significant historical insight into Fordsburg. The other was Mr Fakir Hassan, a well-known journalist and radio personality.

4.6.3 Interviews with Key Informants

In addition to participant observation, key informants, who had specialised knowledge and information, were interviewed. The length of interviews lasted from 90 to 180 minutes and took place at their place of work in Fordsburg or a place of the informant's choosing. In some cases, a follow-up interview to clarify information was undertaken. Key informants also helped with verifying information, were able to put me in touch with other potential participants, and drew my attention to particular issues that I could examine further. The information provided by the key informants was used to complement the gaps left by the silences during migrant interviews.

Purposive sampling was used to identify key informants who provided substantial and unique information. This group consisted of 11 individuals. Neuman (2006: 411) identifies a key informant as someone who is 'totally familiar with the culture' and 'witness to significant events'. All of these characteristics applied to my key informants. The first, Maalik, a South African, had lived in Fordsburg for twenty-five years, provided me with astute insight into the Pakistani migrants in Fordsburg. He was able to verify a number of the pertinent themes that arose in the interviews. Saffar, a Pakistani, considers himself as a humanitarian activist and played an instrumental role in the flea market at the Fordsburg Square. I met Saffar, during a heritage walk of Fordsburg in 2011, during which he addressed the tour group about the flea market.

Hanif, a Moroccan, also a migrant activist, shed light into the role and nature of the growing Arab community in Fordsburg. I encountered James as he concluded his meeting with the car guards on the street. He assisted me with information about the nature of car guard activities in Fordsburg. Mikhail's father is an Egyptian and his mother is Indian, but he is a South African citizen. He furnished me with insight about why Egyptians choose Fordsburg and South Africa. In a way, I was thus able to verify the answers of the Egyptian traders against those of Mikhail. He also assisted with the interpretation of responses and questions from Arabic to English.

Mr Goolam, whom I had met at the Fordsburg Festival, offered extensive personal information on the history of Fordsburg during the period from 1960 to the 1980s, and continuously sent me correspondence voicing his personal insights of Fordsburg and a possible list of contacts. Mr Patel, Mr Nana and Mr Singh also granted me glimpses of

Fordsburg's history under apartheid and its general impact on communities in South Africa. Messrs Abrahams and Yassien shared information on Pageview and drew my attention to a seedier side of Fordsburg. Each of the key informants played distinct community roles and had unique information that they could offer. It should be noted that only information relevant to the study is reflected in this thesis.

Snowball sampling phase was done during the period May 2011 to December 2012 and then from July 2013 to February 2014. Snowball sampling occurs when researchers are concerned with 'an interconnected network of people or organisations' (Neuman 2006: 222). I was able to access a network of people, a form of chain referral sampling, initially from informal conversations and from the suggestions of the key informants. An important note is that each person does not directly know or interact with the subject but are connected via a 'web of linkages' (Neuman 2006: 223).

4.6.4 Interviews with Research Participants

Svenden's (2006) use of an unstructured approach suited his study, as it was exploratory. I employed a semi-structured approach because specific themes had been identified to answer the research questions (stated in Section 4.4). One of the benefits of qualitative research is that it allows for fluidity, to construct the interview as it flows, guided by the themes identified by the researcher. In-depth interviews were undertaken among the five migrant groups indicated earlier. The sixth group consisted of South African Indian traders in the Fordsburg area. The interviews lasted from 45 to 90 minutes. All the interviews were digitally recorded and individually transcribed. The use of in-depth interviews facilitated free-flowing conversation, as I needed to build trust with the migrant participants.

Trust, an important element in qualitative research, had to be negotiated amongst the migrant participants. In some cases, trust was easily established, particularly amongst migrant women, in other cases, it developed slowly. To create trust, interviews should begin with 'neutral and non-threatening questions' (Svenden 2006: 44). Some participants interviewed with ease, but at times, the concerns of the participants had to be addressed upfront. Participants invariably questioned how the information would be used and for what reason. At the start of each interview, the nature of the interview, the point of the study and its requirements were explained and a verbal agreement of confidentiality was obtained. As most of the research participants were from a vulnerable population group, extra care was taken to inform the

participants about the nature of the research and explain its purpose, since signed consent forms were not mandatory to protect the participants.

The key primary criterion for choosing individuals for interviews, in terms of this study, is that they traded in Fordsburg. Residing in Fordsburg is not a determining criterion, but all the migrant groups, except the Egyptians, live in and around of Fordsburg. I purposively selected various hairdressers and tailoring outlets, informed the owners of the business about my research and requested permission to conduct interviews at an appropriate time. In most cases, I was allowed to conduct the interviews at the time requested as they were not very busy then. The interviews were held at the place of work; it was also where that participants felt most comfortable about being interviewed. The added advantage of this is that it allowed me to directly observe the participant in a familiar environment where they are used to conducting their activity, and this offered additional insights.

After this first round of interviews, women were largely invisible in Fordsburg and consequently as research participants. Thereafter, a conscious attempt to search for female migrants was made to record their views. During the period, May 2011 to February 2014, a total of 75 interviews were conducted. The seven interviews with the Oriental Plaza traders were part of a study undertaken in a separate project on traders at the Oriental Plaza during 2008-9 (Rugunanan et al. 2012).

All interviews were conducted in English with some of the Indian participants lapsing into Gujarati at times, particularly the young Indian women, who were not fully conversant in English. This did not pose a problem, as I have a working knowledge of Gujarati. However, as English is a second language for the majority of the participants, questions had to be phrased in a manner that could be understood by the participants. Phrases such as ‘community’ and ‘belonging’ had to be explained so that the participants understood the concept and, at times alternative phrases had to be used or examples given to make the meaning of the words clear.

Profile of Interviewed Participants

A detailed demographic profile of the interviewed participants (82) is available as Appendix 2 so a brief overview of the participants follows.

For this study, ten male Bangladeshi participants were interviewed; I was unable to locate any Bangladeshi females to interview in Fordsburg. The ages of the men ranged from 26 to 43 years; two were informal traders; one was a spaza shop trader; while seven were tailors. At the time of the interviews, their length of stay in South Africa ranged from three to nine years. Eight were Muslim and two were Hindus. Three of the participants were married to black South African women, thus qualifying them for temporary residence visas. Seven of the participants had asylum status. Most of the participants had a secondary school qualification with one having a post-school qualification.

Amongst the Pakistanis, nine participants were interviewed. The youngest was 20 years old and the oldest 43. Three were tailors, three were hairdressers, one was a barber, one was a beauty therapist, one owned a grocery shop, and one was an entertainer. Their length of stay in South Africa ranged from one year to 17 years. All were Muslim, seven were married and three were single, eight were men and two were female. Three participants had completed their equivalent of a South African matric schooling qualification, while three has post matric qualifications.

For the ten Indian nationals, six women and four men were interviewed. Their ages ranged from 21 to 47 years and length of residence from 1-18 years. Seven participants were employed as beauty therapists, one was a manager of hair dressing and beauty therapy salon, one was a salesman and the one was a barber. Six were Muslim and four were Hindus. Seven of the Indian participants had post-matriculation qualifications, particularly Bachelor's degrees.

My initial aim was to sample ten participants from each migrant group, the Egyptian group were difficult to access and thus six participants and one key informant were interviewed. This was deemed sample specific and no further interviews were sought. Their ages ranged from early twenties to mid-thirties. They were all employed in the same retail trade of selling traditional Islamic clothing. One of the participants was married to a South African woman. The length of stay in South Africa ranged from three months to nine years. Four had secondary school passes, while one had an accounting degree and one had a teaching diploma.

Ten Malawians were interviewed, nine male and one female. Their ages ranged from 27 to 38 years. Six were single and five of the men were married. The length of stay in South Africa

ranged from one year to four years. Migrant traders from South Asia employed all the participants. Seven of the participants were Muslim and four were Christian. The participants had completed some form of secondary schooling ranging from Form 2 to Form 4.

Twenty five South African participants were interviewed, these included key participants, traders at the Oriental Plaza and around Fordsburg, three were representatives of the schools in the area, and two were representatives of local government structures. Seven of these respondents were female. Of these, six were Hindu and nineteen were Muslim.

4.6.5 Additional Sources of Evidence

Yin (2009) states that in case study research, six sources of evidence are highly recommended. These are documentation, archival records, interviews, direct observation, participant observation and physical artefacts (Yin 2009: 101). The list is inclusive of films, photographs, videotapes, “street ethnography” and life histories. For this study, I accessed archival records at the University of Johannesburg, the National South African Data Archive (SADA) and Museum Afrika who proved helpful in furnishing me with historical information and photographs dating back to 1886. At the time of my visit to the latter, an exhibition on early Johannesburg and Gandhi’s Satyagraha Movement was underway. This offered me considerable historical information, artefacts and photographs.

In terms of documentation, I have a list of e-mail correspondence, personal documents such as notes from key informants, written reports of events, progress reports, secondary sources as in the case of formal studies undertaken on Fordsburg, books, journal articles, magazines, newspaper clippings, as well as a weekly community newspaper. Other forms of media such as television and Twitter, also kept me informed of events in Fordsburg. An on-line network site called Fordsburg.com created to record the history of past inhabitants of Fordsburg and serves as a community on-line forum was also used as a source of information. I also took a number of photographs of Fordsburg, which capture the field of study and, in many instances, they illustrate how migrants have transformed the space (see Chapter 5).

The advantage of the use of documentation and archival material was that I was able to corroborate the usefulness and accuracy of other documents and books on how early immigrant communities were established in Fordsburg. Through a combination of these methods, I was able to triangulate the research material. Yin (2009) notes three principles for the collection of research material: first the multiple sources of evidence; second, creating a

case study database; and third, maintaining a chain of evidence. He argues further that a major strength of case studies is the use of multiple sources of evidence. This enables the researcher to address an extensive range of historical and contemporary issues allowing for a process of triangulation and corroboration of the research material (Yin 2009).

The use of a variety of sources of evidence in this study means that ‘construct validity’ took place. An electronic case study database for interviews, observations and document analysis was created. Electronic files of digital recordings of personal observations, supervision sessions and digital recordings of methodology training courses undertaken were recorded. The database includes photographs taken from the period 2011 to 2014. Case study documents, including secondary desktop information are saved as hard copies. Lastly, in order to increase the trustworthiness of the study, a chain of evidence is applied to allow for corroboration. The iterative process contributes to the credibility of case studies being developed.

4.7 Analysing the Research Material

The conceptualisation of communities (Chapter 3, Section 3.3), from the micro- to the macro-level, provides a useful framework in which to organise the thesis. I nested Matarrita-Cascante and Brennan’s (2012) model of human, economic and physical resources (see Section 4.5.3) across the three levels. Each of the resulting levels, in relation to the relevant sub-questions of the study, is evaluated and discussed in this thesis. By developing this ‘conceptual framework’ I was able to navigate the territory under investigation against ‘key factors, variable and constructs’ (Miles et al. 2014: 20), that could be used to describe the construction of community.

The initial difficulty I experienced was how best to present the results; I scanned the research material first, as suggested by Yin (2009), to make sense of the information. The large volume of research material proved difficult to contextualise. I then went back to my original intention of structuring communities in Fordsburg along the micro-, meso- and macro-levels using the conceptual framework. Using this structure, I was able to organise the research material thematically, allowing for what Geertz (1973) calls the development of a rich and ‘thick description’ of the case study.

The analysis of the research material went much deeper than that. The process of analysing research material is an iterative process that requires ongoing reflection, asking probing questions and engaging in memorandum writing throughout the study (Creswell 2009; Miles et al. 2014). Researchers are advised to engage in analysis whilst collecting the research material; this process must be concurrent to allow for preliminary analysis, interpretation and the writing of reports (Miles et al. 2014; Creswell 2009). As I collected the research material, I transcribed the interviews. The use of this procedure permitted reflection, sorting and the arrangement of information. Moreover, gaps in the information collection process could be identified and themes across the different groups could be easily cross-referenced.

Codes can be described as ‘labels that assign symbolic meaning to the descriptive or inferential information’ accumulated during the study (Miles et al. 2014: 71). Saldaña (2013) talks of First Cycle and Second Cycle coding. In First Cycle coding, codes are allocated to chunks of the research material, ranging from a word, to a number of paragraphs or even an entire page. In this study, descriptive and in-vivo coding was used. Descriptive codes are labels in the form of a word or short phrase as assigned to the research material. In-vivo codes are words or short phrases emerging from the participants own narratives that capture the voices of the participants.

While First Cycle coding summarises or organises research material into segments identified by codes, a Second Cycle, known as pattern codes, groups the summaries into ‘smaller number of categories, themes or constructs’ (Miles et al. 2014: 86). Pattern codes aim to condense the research material chunks from the First Cycle into more meaningful units of analysis (Miles et al. 2014: 86). Pattern codes involve four, interrelated ‘summaries’: ‘categories or themes, causes/explanations, relationships among people, and theoretical constructs’ (Miles et al. 2014: 87). Furthermore, the pattern codes can be used in different ways, depending on the needs of the study, such as narrative description, matrix display and network display (Miles et al. 2014).

I utilised the ‘Role-Ordered Matrix’ model as outlined by Miles et al. (2014) where Microsoft Excel spreadsheets are used to sort the research material, including codes, for analytic purposes. A role-ordered matrix group organises the summarised data into an easily readable format, by looking at the ‘relationship dynamics’ of the participants (Miles et al. 2014: 91, 162). The researcher can view the research material both horizontally and vertically to observe similarities, differences and for verification purposes. It also highlights differences

between the roles (Miles et al. 2014). For example, I applied this technique to the group of traders, within and between the different migrant groups.

The use of colour to code responses allowed me to move within worksheets to compare and contrast the research material, both vertically and horizontally. It was necessary for the construction of themes from the categories, forming the ‘basis of an argument’ for the thesis (Henning et al. 2004: 107). In deconstructing the research material, the emerging themes were linked to information recorded during the observations and the field notes made. Thus the research material collected during my participant and direct observation, secondary documents and field notes all contributed to telling the larger story about migrant communities in Fordsburg. Moreover, it served to corroborate issues raised during the interviews and to fill the gaps left by the participants.

However, as a researcher, I needed to balance the role of the researcher and the researched. Early in this study, I relate my attachment to the research study and, especially the research site. Burawoy (1998: 4) captures this dilemma when he states that ‘as social scientists we are thrown off balance by our presence in the world we study’. In trying to find this balance, I was guided by Burawoy’s (1998: 5) view that ‘we thematise our participation in the world we study ... by rooting ourselves in the theory that guides our dialogue with participants’. As a Indian female, and of Hindu faith, I draw upon the social constructivist paradigm to best understand the intersecting layers of race, class and gender contradictions that pervade Fordsburg. These layers of contradiction can be best understood by engaging in a ‘reflexive’ model of science (Burawoy 1998: 5). In contrast to the positivist approach, where the researcher is disconnected from the world being studied, a reflexive method allows for engagement in the research field, to pause and reflect, to deliberate on the subjective encounters and examine how it affects the researcher and research process.

4.8 Balancing the Role of the Researcher

In trying to balance both my reflexivity and scientific rigour, I examine the ‘insider’ versus ‘outsider’ debate (Sánchez-Ayala 2012; Corbin Dwyer and Buckle 2009; Rabe 2003). While there is a preference for the insider’s ability to access meaningful information; the outsider can just as successfully add a different and yet more telling insight (cf. Corbin Dwyer and Buckle 2009; Rabe 2003).

To establish whether I am an insider or outsider, I make known my early memories of Fordsburg at the outset of the thesis. This is a tenuous connection forged indirectly in the memory and nostalgia of my family. This is particularly evident from my experience of attending the Fietas (Pageview) Festival in 2011. The large number of people that attended and the emotions that were expressed, led to introspection about the power of memory and the significance of community in Fietas (Pageview), and its close association with Fordsburg. During the period 1950 to 1976, the community of Fordsburg and Fietas (Pageview) shared strong solidarity against the white apartheid government that cements this memory and the consolidation of social cohesion.

I entered the community and announced my presence as a researcher, effectively as an outsider. I was aware that my gender, race, ethnicity and caste would influence the research process. I was not concerned with caste personally, but surprised when some of the Hindu nationals probed this. I consider caste as a system of endemic inequality, creating bounded and closed communities. By probing my caste, would I be afforded more or less information? Would they refuse to speak to me, if they learnt I was of a higher or lower caste? In this respect, I experienced a subtle shift in power from being the researcher to being the researched. As much as I was the researcher, I was also the researched. I agree with Rose (1985: 77) that there is no such thing as neutrality, but there is a recognition of one's bias. Rose (1985) cautions researchers to be vigilant about how they use their power within this space. Critiquing the role of researchers, Angrosino (2005: 734) states that researchers need to develop 'a greater consciousness of situational identities' especially in relation to their relative power. The post-modern approach calls for a better understanding of the researcher's gender, class, ethnicity, and I add caste, as part of the broader interpretation of the narrative. My status as a researcher gives me the right to deflect questions, and redirect the focus of the enquiry to less non-threatening questions, but at the same time cognisant of the power differentials between the researcher and the researched.

Being South African, Hindu and a female, with a childhood connection, eased my entry and acceptance into Fordsburg considerably. I drew on the awareness of my grandfather's business, our place of residence and the familiarity of the context that both the non-nationals and South African traders need to gain entry to the space Fordsburg occupies. Corbin Dwyer and Buckle (2009: 58) refer to this benefit as 'acceptance'. It privileged me to a level of openness with the participants. This is, however, not without its own problems.

While I state my negotiated access into the study area, this also creates complications. As a South African citizen and a female, asylum seekers attempted to proposition me to become complicit in their gain for South African citizenship. For the South African traders, I was assumed to be part of the insider group with the traders, while the migrants were made out to be the ‘other’ or outsiders. In this respect, South Africans assumed that I shared similar views as those of the South African traders who were critical of migrants. At times, I withdrew from the fieldwork in order to reflect objectively about the field of the research and resolve how best to interpret this contradiction. This led me to reflexively engage with my own questions about identity and community.

On reflecting on the role of the insider and the outsider, Corbin Dwyer and Buckle’s (2009: 60) premise of ‘the space between’ is intriguing as it confronts this dichotomy of insider versus outsider status in research. To present these concepts and roles as either/or, or one or the other, is detracting and overly simplistic (Corbin Dwyer and Buckle 2009). These are not neatly boxed categories that one assigns to oneself; instead human nature is, by its very essence, multi-layered, fluid and dynamic. So, the natural disposition of the researcher is the insider, but on many occasions I found little distinction between this, the outsider and the space in-between. Thus I operated on a continuum, a concept Rabe (2003) puts forward. As Corbin Dwyer and Buckle (2009: 60) note, holding membership to a group does not mean you agree to everything within that group, similarly so, by not being a member of the group does not mean complete difference. Thus by acknowledging the ways we are different requires us in the same breath to acknowledge the ways we are similar – it is this space, the origin of space between, that allows for the ‘position of both insider and outsider’ (Corbin Dwyer and Buckle 2009: 60).

Similar to the position of insider and outsider, occupying the space between is fraught with complexity. There are times we will stray closer to the insider view or the outsider perspective, but as researchers, and here I support Corbin Dwyer and Buckle’s (2009: 61) view that, as researchers we can only ‘ever occupy the space between’. But Burawoy’s (1998: 5) view is that we ‘root ourselves in the theory that guides our dialogue with participants’ and this is always at the back of my mind, as I constantly search for examples and incidents relating to the theoretical framework of bonding and bridging capital. Thus the space between seemed a worthy space in which to engage in my research.

From my observations, I sensed an intangible sense of ‘safety’ among the migrants; this perception emerged from the ease with which the migrants spoke, their lack of fear and the calmness with which they engage in their daily activities. I attribute this to a sense of place, the unique space of Fordsburg. Sánchez-Ayala (2012) says that in order to appreciate the context of migrants, an understanding of place and space is imperative. Place ‘is a site of meanings’ (Sánchez-Ayala 2012: 121), people attach ‘social meanings’ to it - Fordsburg is a unique place, and it is this space that ‘protects’ migrants.

Within this space, I was struck by the openness, warmth and hospitality of the participants. I was always offered something to drink and, on a few occasions, I was even invited to lunch or dinner. However, once the initial pleasantries wore off, and the interview progressed, slight reservations emerged. The Pakistanis, while pleasant, were suspicious and appeared reserved. The Bangladeshis are also reserved by nature and it was difficult to get the participants to reveal too much. However, as trust was established, conversation became easier. The Malawians were humble, but willing participants.

With the Indian national participants, I found young female participants in their early twenties had migrated to South Africa as dependents; for them it has been difficult to settle in. The Egyptians were persuasive; and this led me to question their answers. Initially, a dyad interview eventually became a group interview as other curious Egyptians wandered over to enquire what we were doing especially as I was writing notes. Three of the Egyptian outlets were situated in close proximity, and it was clear to see that the three were friends.

In hindsight, my experience during this period of data gathering made me even more aware of an issue that perplexed me throughout the course of my research. Why did the non-nationals only hire other non-nationals to work in their outlets? Why did they not choose local South Africans to work in their outlets? And besides, I sensed a disregard, for black South Africans, bordering on racism that almost relegated them to a lower status in society. Where and how did this level of racism come to be amongst these new migrant communities? How did this pecking order emerge amongst the migrant groups? These and many other questions continued to push the limits of this study.

While Burawoy (1998: 5) argues that the extended case study method applies reflexive science to ethnography, I apply it to a case study of Fordsburg in order to ‘extract the general from the unique, to move from ‘micro’ to the ‘macro’ and to connect the present to the past in

anticipation of the future', building on my theoretical framework of migration network theory and social capital to guide the process. Thus, in examining the individual stories, I am able to move to broader generalisations of the different groups and then make generalisations on a theoretical level across groups in such a way that the focus goes beyond individual ethnic groups to a much broader interpretation of social cohesion, solidarity and community.

4.9 Limitations of the Study

One of the limitations of the study was not being able to access additional women in the study, particularly from the Bangladeshi, Egyptian and Malawian groups. While the women in the study did show their agency, a larger group of women would have offered a broader range of issues to consider that challenged traditional gender views of migration.

As already stated, Fordsburg is a diverse suburb, the role of the Chinese and marginal groups have not been considered in this study. However, their story needs to be recorded in future research. A shortcoming of the research and area of future study is the relationship between Hindus and Muslims in Fordsburg. The majority of the sample was Muslim participants, but the study hinted at subtle tensions between established South African Hindu and Muslim residents. The overt Muslim identity seemingly produced a receding Hindu presence in the area. Further research needs to explore this contradiction.

One of the aims of the study was to interview representatives of the local government holding office at the time of the study. At the outset of the research, a councilor from the African National Congress (ANC) was interviewed. After the 2011 elections, the ANC lost the Ward to the Democratic Alliance (DA). Attempts to set up interviews with the first DA councilor did not materialise, as the councilor resigned shortly thereafter. The second DA councilor was also not available and subsequently defected to the ANC shortly before the elections in 2014, (Section 9.6).

Flyvberg (2006) criticises the view that case study research is not generalisable. He contends that it depends on the nature of the case and the manner in which it is chosen. Given the lack of research on South Asian migrant communities in South Africa, as pointed out in this study, I argue that the findings of this case study can well provide a foundation upon which further additional research can augment the knowledge base of migration studies in the context of community studies.

4.10 Ethical Considerations

One of the main ethical concerns of conducting research lies in the balance between the ‘pursuit of scientific research’ and considering ‘the rights of those being studied’ or other members in this study (Neuman 2006: 129). While due attention must be given to the advancement of knowledge and the benefits the study might bring, it needs to be weighed against the costs to the participants, in this study, the threat of documented and undocumented status of an individual, deportation and an increase in xenophobic attacks.

At the commencement of each interview, I explained the purpose and nature of the study to my participant. Given the vulnerability of the migrant population and the fact that some of the participants are currently living in South Africa without legal documentation, I asked each participant to verbally consent to participating in the study, in this way adhering to the dignity of and respect for all the participants. They all agreed to participate freely, except for one participant who withdrew mid-way through the interview. He felt that I was asking for information that was too sensitive.

Throughout the study, pseudonyms were used and confidentiality for the migrant participants was covered. In some cases, like the principals of the three schools in Fordsburg, this was difficult to disguise and permission was granted by some key informants to use their names. In the case of photographs, where possible, permission was always requested, if it included current members of the public. It must be noted that all the participants decided to participate in this study voluntarily, and compensation was neither expected nor requested.

4.11 Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the methodological framework and design for this study. I adopt a social constructivist perspective to understand the subjective interplay of race, class, gender and caste in migrant communities in Fordsburg, which has been elaborated upon in the thesis. A qualitative framework of enquiry was best suited for a case study on Fordsburg. It is acknowledged that the participants actively constructed meaning based on their cultural backgrounds, and through the use of in-depth interviews an attempt was made to understand the meanings that participants attach to their daily life interactions and in the construction of community.

The next chapter presents the first of five chapters that examine the empirical findings of the study. While Chapter 1 presented a historical overview of immigrant communities in Fordsburg, Chapter 5 reflects a present-day view of how new migrant communities have inserted their style and signature on Fordsburg.



PART 3: FINDINGS

Part 3 presents the empirical findings of the thesis and comprises Chapters 5 to 10. In these chapters the second part of the research question, namely, how migrant communities have re-constituted themselves in Fordsburg is explored.

This part of the thesis also attempts to describe how communities are constructed in Fordsburg. The findings are examined within Matarrita-Cascante and Brennan's (2012) framework that circumscribes the building blocks of community (See Chapter 3, Section 3.4). This part of the thesis begins with Chapter 5 that provides the reader with a macro- overview of contemporary Fordsburg. It then describes ways in which change is taking place and how new migrant communities have reconfigured space and place.

In Chapters 6 and 7 the context of the individual is the focus and, at this micro-level, the routes undertaken by migrants to journey to South Africa and the reasons for choosing South Africa are documented. At this level, the role of family relationships, remittances and social networks that facilitate integration into South Africa are explored. At an analytical level, the chapters aim to understand the dense transnational ties to the countries of origin and destination.

Chapters 8 and 9 reflect on the findings at the meso-level of analysis. In Chapter 8, the trading activities of the migrants are dealt with and, in Chapter 9, discussion centres on the building blocks of a community in terms of education, religion, crime, forms of leisure and local government.

Chapter 10 focuses on the macro-level of a community in relation to the feelings of belonging to South Africa. It relates the memories of Fordsburg residents and records how the community responds to the repression of apartheid, the building of cohesiveness and belonging. With time, as one community passes on, the era of another begins. The views of migrants and their long term association with Fordsburg are explored.

CHAPTER 5

CONTEMPORARY FORDSBURG – A MAPPING OF THE AREA

5.1 Introduction

The first of the findings chapters presents an overview of present-day Fordsburg; its layout shows the old and new, the historic and contemporary, in juxtaposition. Since the inception of this research in 2010, I began to observe Fordsburg intently. With a critical lens I recorded, documented and photographed everyday life in Fordsburg. I spoke informally to people, both South Africans and migrants to understand their views. On the basis of these informal conversations, I then conducted formal interviews with willing participants to uncover aspects relevant to thesis.

In this chapter, I first present some background on Shabir, who introduced me to modern Fordsburg, and provided meaningful insight about the people and spaces there. Thereafter, I traced my walkabout, starting from the ‘tunnel of remembrance’ and ending in Carr Street. This journey is tracked alongside a map presented in Section 5.3 upon which I document people, places, historical landmarks, sights and flavours. Next, the different communities are discussed by considering the demographic profile and a mapping of cultures in the area. The conclusion provides a sociological view of how new migrant communities are forging in Fordsburg.

5.2 “What is Written for the Day”

Shabir⁷, (September 2011, interview) a car guard⁸ and car washer, has a long-standing association with Fordsburg. My first chance encounter with Shabir occurred when walking the streets trying to orientate myself. I stopped at the corner of Gillies Street and Mint Road. As I began sketching the layout of the street, Shabir approached with a smile and a curious look. Shabir was short, probably in his forties; he looked far too thin, perhaps an indication of a difficult life. He spoke with good clear English. I informed Shabir that I was undertaking a

⁷ Pseudonyms are used to refer to participants

⁸ Car guards are informal parking attendants, employed in the informal sector. Bernstein (2003: 3) notes that refugees and asylum seekers comprise a large portion of car guarding population

study of Fordsburg. I was intrigued by his views and insight into the inner workings of the area, the changes brought about by the migrants and his long experience in the area. Thus began our association.

Shabir's earliest memory was of moving to Riverlea⁹, his family was one of the first to move there. Orphaned when he was eight years old, his aunt and uncle took him and his four siblings into their home. Although they received grants to look after the five children, Shabir remembers that they were not well cared for. He left school when he was 16 and began working. Shabir was 19 years old when he first moved to Fordsburg. Retrenched in 1989, he returned to Riverlea where he fell in with the wrong crowd. A turning point came when he witnessed the gruesome and brutal deaths of six people in gang-related violence; a close friend introduced him to Islam and he became a Muslim. He now rents a room in Pageview.

Shabir lives off the street, surviving on the day's takings. On a quiet day, he makes R80 to R90 (US\$ 7 to US\$ 8) a day in his area at the corner of Mint and Gillies Streets. His takings have fallen as the number of car guards has increased. He says philosophically, "God will provide for me. I make do with what is written for the day" (Shabir, September 2011, interview). I made a concerted effort to re-connect with Shabir whenever I went to Fordsburg. It is through Shabir's eyes that I reflect on Fordsburg and its actors in the discussion that follows. With his help, I managed to embed myself in the community.

Shabir proved to be a valuable source of information. There were times when I drove up and down the streets, either alone or with Shabir, observing the intermingling of buildings, some dilapidated and some new. This tension characterises Fordsburg all the time, a suburb seeming to re-construct itself as it strives to seize the opportunity offered by the diversity of nationalities residing there. Shabir pointed out interesting facts about Fordsburg and its inhabitants, and identified key role players and property owners. He was both an insider and an outsider in the community; Shabir's long association with Fordsburg grants him insider status. At times during our walks, many local Muslims would acknowledge Shabir as a fellow Muslim and briefly stop to chat; they always seemed curious about our relationship. Because of his religion, Shabir plays an integral role in the lives of the people in Fordsburg, but his race and class relegate him to the fringes of society, an outsider. While I do not document and

⁹ An area set aside for coloured people in the 1970s

account for the footprint of black South Africans in Fordsburg in this study, as individuals and a group, their story is compelling and needs to be told in future research. Shabir's voice is but one of many whose stories in Fordsburg remains untold.

5.3 Mapping Fordsburg

Fordsburg, like many of the early suburbs around Johannesburg, is steeped in the history of the gold industry. One of these suburbs is Pageview (Chapter 1, Section 1.4). In this section, I describe the sights and sounds of Fordsburg captured on foot. The journey reveals the layout of Fordsburg and shows how migrants imposed their unique style and characteristics.

5.3.1 A Tunnel of Remembrance and Beyond into Fordsburg

In order to link the past to the present, and Pageview to Fordsburg, our journey begins symbolically at the Tunnel of Remembrance (see Point A on Figure 5.1). The artwork on the tunnel wall depicts the lives of the people who lived in Pageview during the 1950s and 1960s. The art symbolises a community forged out of necessity and survival against apartheid; it captures the sense of community and the deep connections that people of diverse groups felt about each other and Pageview. In the middle of the wall, a caption reads 'Memories of Fordsburg and Fietas (Pageview)' (City of Johannesburg b: 2010):

The artwork stretches under two railway bridges, running for 126 metres on each side of the road. The art is a mix of flat steel images bolted on to the walls, smooth concrete pictures laid on to the walls, and others painted on the brickwork. People, buildings, pigeons and wallpaper designs make up the mosaic of images that reflect aspects of life in Fietas. The total surface area is 1 538 square metres, and 17 different colours were used. It took two years to complete the R800 000 project. The mural was a collaborative effort, commissioned by the Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA) and overseen by commissioning agent The Trinity Session, 26'10 South Architects and Feizel Mamdoo, a former resident of Fietas. Bie Venter was the project co-ordinator. The Fordsburg, Pageview and Vrededorp communities were extensively consulted.

The plaque reads:

The subway serves not only as a physical link between the suburbs and the city, but also symbolically echoes the links between areas elsewhere in Johannesburg and South Africa similarly torn apart and left isolated by apartheid.

The areas of Pageview, Vrededorp, Mayfair and Newtown lie nested alongside Fordsburg such that it is quite difficult to delineate the boundaries. From the Tunnel of Remembrance, a right turn takes you into Mint Road, the heart of Fordsburg. Parallel to Mint Road is Crown

Road. At the northern end of Crown Road, is one of the housing developments of Johannesburg Housing Company (JHC) called Tribunal Gardens (Point C), which has become a popular migrant settlement. Shabir remarked that these flats were previously occupied by South African professionals such as doctors, lawyers and policemen, now, “as soon as there is a space open, foreigners tend to move into the flats” (Shabir, September 2011, interview). On this particular occasion, I saw a group of young women walk down the street and enter Tribunal Gardens. From their traditional style of dress that characterise migrant women, these were possibly female Pakistanis. Migrant women, particularly Pakistani and Bangladeshi women, generally do not walk alone, but rather in the company of a male or as a group of women.

Along Crown Road, many of the renovated buildings have been turned into modern accommodation. Almost every second flat has a satellite dish. Similarly, a newly renovated business concern sells plumbing and hardware supplies. I remember reading about the re-launch of Fordsburg Contractors (Point D) in the local neighbourhood newspaper, ‘Fordsburg Today’; the building is modern and beautiful, almost out of place in the suburb. We paused on Dolly Rathebe Street, amid the activity in the street, observing that Ocean Basket, a local franchise specialising in seafood, is a hive of activity in preparation for lunchtime clientele. Most of the restaurants become very busy over lunchtime and parking becomes a major problem throughout Fordsburg. On the other hand, the lack of parking facilities has provided work for countless unemployed people, particularly South African black men who work as car guards on the streets.



Figure 5.1: Aerial Photograph of Fordsburg (bordered in red) and adjoining suburbs (in yellow) of Newtown, Burghersdorp, Pageview, Mayfair, City West and Westgate. The locations of the sites discussed in Section 5.3 are shown (in green). (Source: Google Earth, accessed 24 May 2015; Scale 1:8000)

One of the migrant-owned hairdressers advertises themselves as follows:

Attendance Salim and Aslam trading hours: Mon-Fri – 9am-8pm; Fri 9am-12am and 2pm-9pm; Sat-Sun 9am-9pm'. The services offered include ladies: eye brows; full face threading, upper lips, facials. Gents: haircut and wash, shaving, face massage, steam shave, threading, facials, head and body massage, hair colour, highlights, hair treatment'(personal field notes; 2011).

I think 'What an innovative way to advertise your service'. From discussions with various traders, I am quite sure that not many of the local South African hairdressers offer this range of services, and for a comparably small fee. Shabir, says with a smile in his voice, "You know these people; wherever they see a gap, they make business" (Shabir, September 2011, interview). A South African trader says similarly, "you know I must tell you, with these guys, they don't need a gap to creep in they **create** a gap" (Dilip, March 2011, interview). A number of South African traders and even Egyptian migrants hold similar views.

The Paan Shop

Immediately to the right of the hairdresser, is an outlet selling paan (betelnut leaves) and cellphone accessories. The outlet interests me as it is the width of a narrow passage squeezed in-between two other shops. Migrant traders have changed the nature and character of trading by innovatively using space to set up their trade. This is highlighted by the mobile units of the paan vendors and 'Tea Shop' (Section 5.3.4) which are prime examples of the entrepreneurship and innovativeness of migrants.

The mobile paan vendors, (see Figure 5.2) reminiscent of India, almost absent a few years ago, are now found on every street corner. Their product is a green betelnut leaf filled with a paste of spices, then folded into a triangle. Chewing these leaves is akin to chewing bubble-gum and habitual smoking of cigarettes. Betelnut leaves apparently aid digestion and it is almost considered customary to consume after a meal. After chewing on the leaves, the masticated leaves are than spat out leaving the characteristic and unsightly red sputum stains on the floors, walls and street (Figure 5.3). In India, governments have put up 'No Spitting' signs to control this practice. The significance of the paan vendor in Fordsburg however, is that a cultural 'artefact' has been brought from 'back home', from India or Pakistan, a memory of home.

We stopped to chat with Mansoor who willingly shared his story with us. His journey to South Africa, resonated with the participants of this study.

Mansoor, a 26-year-old Bangladeshi, who owns one of these mobile units, related his journey to South Africa. He paid an agent ~US\$ 6700¹⁰ to facilitate his trip; half of the money was a down payment in Bangladesh and the balance was paid in South Africa, at the end of the journey. The fees covered hotel expenses and sometimes travel expenses. The entire journey lasted about 3 months. An agent organised his visa to Uganda. Mansoor travelled from Bangladesh to India, from India to Dubai and then to Uganda. From Uganda he crossed the border overland to Tanzania, travelled to Mozambique and then into South Africa.

During his journey, he and one of his fellow travellers contracted malaria in Mozambique. His fellow traveller subsequently died and his body was left behind in Mozambique. Mansoor says that he left Bangladesh because of “money issues”. Other Bangladeshis, who use the excuse of “political problems” are lying, “it’s just a money issue”, adding further that “all countries have political problems”. He concedes that it is easier to get one’s papers if you claim your country has political problems. Figure 5.2 shows the mobile unit; I note the range of items being sold, paan, tobacco, sweets and chocolates, analgesics to airtime for cellphones. Many of his loyal customers buy on account from him and settle their accounts on time (Mansoor, February 2014, interview).

Figure 5.3 is an example of a paan spitting spot. Note the red colouring on the ground. These leave unsightly, permanent stains on the walls and floors.

A ‘No Spitting’ sign is also evident in residential accommodation inhabited predominantly by migrants (see Figure 5.4).

Parallel to Crown Road, is Park Drive which officially separates Fordsburg and Mayfair. At the corner of Park Drive and Dolly Rathebe is Fordsburg Primary School. The school is a modern and has a well-kept structure (Figure 5.5). The profile of the school has changed considerably since 1990; the pupils used to be mainly white but are now “mostly blacks” (Shabir), and multi-national, providing access to pupils from Somalia, Zimbabwe, Malawi, Uganda, Ivory Coast, Ethiopia, Nigeria and South Africa (Shabir, September 2011, interview; Mr Essack, October 2013, interview).

¹⁰ Assumed exchange rate is ZAR 12.00 to US\$1 (approximate exchange rate in Apr 2015 is ZAR11.98:US\$1)



Figure 5.2: Mobile paan (beetlenut) vendor



Figure 5.3: Paan spitting spot



Figure 5.4: 'No Spitting' notice



Figure 5.5: Fordsburg Primary School

(Source: Researchers' own photographs)

Directly across the road from the school is a large panel beating enterprise. Moving along Park Drive in a southerly direction, there is a mix of modern flats and old businesses. The layout of the area appears haphazard, without apparent conscious design or planning. Park Drive serves as the boundary between Fordsburg and Mayfair.

Further along, Main Reef Road (shown as R41 on the map) is the Fordsburg Clinic. Along this road, are larger commercial businesses and warehouses that border Fordsburg.

The southernmost part of Fordsburg comprises primarily big factories, large retail outlets such as Makro and more recently the Chinese shopping mall called “Dragon City” (Point F). As Mr Ismail, a past ANC councillor observes, “Now you have the Chinese community coming in, you have the China malls and the China City on the outskirts of Fordsburg. At the moment you have the Indian community, the African community in one section and you have the Chinese community who are running their businesses” (Mr Ismail, May 2011, interview). Along Nursery Road there are large commercial properties, mainly Chinese businesses, in the form of distribution warehouses.

In the south-eastern part of Fordsburg there is a mix of empty buildings and residences. Here there is little order to the layout of the streets, residential homes and businesses. One thing that prevails here and also throughout Fordsburg are the huge trees lining the streets; some are blue gum trees planted in the early twentieth century. I remember arriving very early one morning and seeing homeless people sleeping in a huddled mass next to walls. When the hustle and bustle of daily life takes over, these homeless individuals seem to disappear into the day and reappear at night again to set up a transient space.

One of the busiest thoroughfares in Fordsburg is the R24. This main road has now been renamed after Albertina Sisulu, an African National Congress (ANC) veteran. This is an arterial road connecting Fordsburg to downtown Johannesburg in the east and to Mayfair in the west. The activity along Albertina Sisulu Road, Mint Road and Fordsburg Square (Point G) is a constant barrage of cars and people, constant flows of movement of people and traffic. In the central part of Fordsburg, on the corner of Albertina Sisulu Road and Mint Road is the well-known Fordsburg flea market. In the past, this area was the original Fordsburg Market Square, a historical site related to the 1922 miners’ strike (see Chapter 1, Section 1.2.5).

5.3.2 The Fordsburg Square

The small building on the corner of Mint and Albertina Sisulu Road, is a public lavatory. On 9 March 2013, a plaque on one of the walls was unveiled by the Johannesburg City Heritage Council in remembrance of the 1922 miners' strike (see Figure 5.6).

I watched an intrepid entrepreneur who sat on a chair outside the lavatory selling toilet paper to people, oblivious to the historical significance of this site.

In the period leading up to the 1990s, the Square had become neglected and derelict. In 1990, the Square began to be revived through the efforts of certain South African Indian businessmen who saw the potential the site had for business. By then, "All the hobos would converge on the Square at night and sleep. So it was known as Hobo Park. It was a totally run down and ramshackle place and the council said, no, this used to be a vibrant public square and it needs to be given back to the people" (Dilip, March 2011, interview). At the same time, the local municipality wanted to preserve its historical character as this was a public space, and therefore restricted how the area could be changed. One of the stipulations was that "nothing with solid foundations could be built here" (Dilip, March 2011, interview).

The idea of a flea market was proposed, but did not succeed at first. To draw people to the Square, a restaurant conforming to the requirements of the National Monuments Council was constructed. The restaurant resembles a Victorian steam train; the main section has a counter for orders and a cash register; the décor is red and black, and the fixtures and fittings are consistent with the style at the turn of the twentieth century.

5.3.3 The Fordsburg Flea Market

The flea market (Figure 5.7) started in the early 1990s, initially trade was difficult and slow. From about the year 1998 onwards, with the growing influx of migrants into Fordsburg, the flea market became a social space for the community at large. The area soon gained popularity with the South African Indians and the carnival-like atmosphere became a trendy weekend attraction. This impetus saw the flea market become commercially viable operating from Friday evenings through to Sundays. I recollect the excitement of the Square when we undertook a walking tour organised by a heritage tour company in 2011:



Figure 5.6: Plaque commemorating the Battle of Fordsburg Square



Figure 5.7: Fordsburg Flea Market



Figure 5.8: “The Tea Shop”

(Source: Researchers’ own photographs)



Figure 5.9: “The Tea Shop” – view from inside

It was just 3 p.m. The sun was shining and the streets were alive with noise, people chatting. Traders were selling a variety of wares from Bollywood DVDs to fresh vegetables. Hawkers were selling fresh coconuts, religious clothing and sumptuous Indian sweetmeats, with the aromatic sizzling of chicken tikka and sheesh kebabs filling the air. Clothing and shoes of any type, colour and size could be found. A mixture of sounds reverberated through the air from popular Bollywood songs to religious Islamic songs to popular hip hop and English music (personal field notes, 2011).

The face and culture of the flea market has changed. The original traders of the Fordsburg flea market were a mixture of South African Indians, Indian nationals and Pakistanis; this has changed to ‘Asians, Arabs, Somalis, and Chinese nationals’ (Stones 2011, n.p) As an indication of the earnestness for business by migrants, the chairman of the Square was a Pakistani national for a period (See Chapter 8, Section 8.4). The migrant traders have cast their own character by painting their stalls in bright colours such as pink and green, similar to local market squares in India or Pakistan. The flea market operated only on Saturdays and Sundays and is now recognised as the first night flea market in southern Africa.

More recently, the traders start setting up their stalls much earlier than the established practice of Fridays. The Tandoori owner starts plying his trade from 11:00 to capture the early lunchtime crowd during the week. In 2008, as part of the build-up to the 2010 World Cup, the Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA) spent R9 million (US\$ 0.75 million) to upgrade the Square. By 2013, little aesthetic value was visible and the Square had become derelict and littered. The steel structure detracts from the associated historical significance of the area. This is very different to stipulations of the National Monument Council who wanted to preserve the heritage of the Fordsburg Square.

5.3.4 The ‘Tea Shop’

The ‘Tea Shop’ (see Figures 5.8 to 5.10) is situated on the Square. Khaled, the owner, a Bangladeshi, has been in South Africa for nine years. For the first three years he worked in a supermarket, but took ownership of the unit from his uncle six years ago. Khaled sources his ingredients from a wholesaler in downtown Johannesburg.

Khaled makes between R200-R300 (US\$ 16 and US\$ 25) per day selling various kinds of tea, coffee and hot chocolate. He works seven days a week – from 9:00. to 20:30 on weekdays, and from 9:30 to 22:00 or even later on weekends. Khaled has a black South African wife, and they rent a flat in Mayfair for US\$ 100 a month. His clientele comprises mostly local South African Indians, Pakistanis, Bangladeshis and Indian nationals.



Figure 5.10: The kitchen and preparation area of “The Tea Shop”



Figure 5. 11: The Orient Hotel

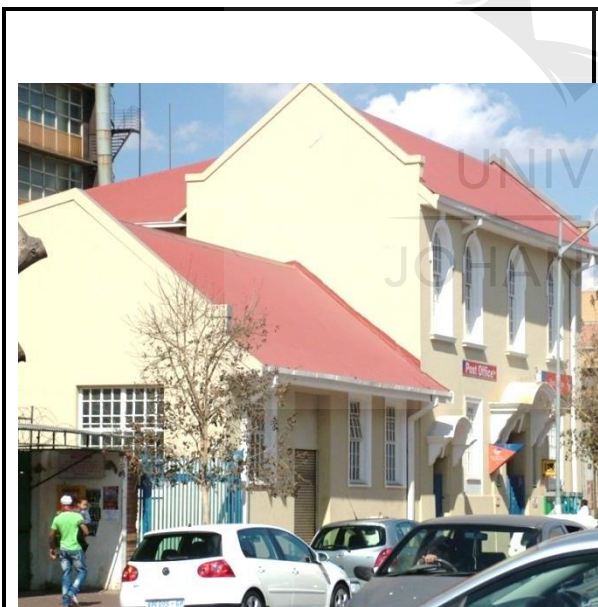


Figure 5.12: The Fordsburg Post Office



Figure 5.13: Apartments on Mint Road

(Source: Researchers' own photographs)

At night he locks up his stall with all its contents, putting his trust in the security guards protecting the Square. Khaled, a warm and friendly person, willingly shared his story. On a more recent visit during June 2014, I noted that Khaled's unit was missing, only to find that it has been stolen (Khaled, February 2014, interview). He was quite devastated with this loss.

5.3.5 Places of Interest

Adjacent to the Square, on Central Road, are two significant historical landmarks. The first is the Orient Hotel (see Figure 5.11) [Point H]. The hotel is a heritage site and is over 100 years old. Besides local South Africans, clients at Orient Hotel range from Pakistanis, Indians, Bangladeshis, Spanish, Chinese and nationals from African countries. Evident are business people and tourists who visit throughout the year, accounting for the popularity of Fordsburg as a tourist and business area (personal field notes, 2014).

On the next block, the second historical landmark is the Post Office (see Figure 5.12). Originally a police station, it was severely damaged by shelling during the Miners' Strike of 1922 and reduced to almost rubble [see Appendix 4]. The reconstructed building now serves as a bustling hive of activity as Fordsburg's Post Office [Point I].

Fordsburg is perhaps best-known because of the Oriental Plaza (see Chapter 1, Section 1.5). The Plaza was popular for its fabric outlets, haberdashery, a shoe haven, brassware and saris, in keeping with its 'Oriental' image. White Afrikaner women used to come from far and wide to secure bargains from the Indian traders. The current look and feel of the Oriental Plaza is very different to that before 2000. There is an oversupply of migrant outlets specialising in leather goods, cellular and mobile phone accessories. Duplicated Chinese-owned outlets are overstretched selling the same styles of clothing. Today, South Africans from all walks of life, together with buyers and shoppers from neighbouring countries flock to the Plaza.

The area surrounding the Oriental Plaza provides an interesting combination of businesses and residential spaces. The architecture and location in the area is an interesting blend of old and new, historical and modern. Old communities blend with new communities, derelict streets with newly renovated residential flats, decay with regeneration. This duality of old and new is always there. Across the road from the Oriental Plaza, on Bree Street, is the Johannesburg Muslim School (JMS). The property, originally built in 1938 belongs to the Central Islamic Trust. Directly alongside the JMS, are new residential premises in the form of duplex houses built in 2000 by the JHC. The first of the JHC developments was Carr

Gardens, and the second phase, Tribunal Gardens, was completed in 2002. A third phase was completed in February 2014. Tribunal Gardens and Carr Gardens are initiatives of the JHC programme towards regeneration and renewal in the Fordsburg area. The Carr Gardens complex is security-regulated and its resident varies from Pakistan, Bangladesh, Indian nationals to African migrants. Noteworthy, is that Carr Gardens has incorporated the historic 1922 police station within its structure. The JHC preserved the old police station by converting the offices to residential units. The inner courtyard is a children's crèche and playground (Johannesburg Housing Company 2007).

Bordering the Plaza, just off Malherbe Road, is Newtown and Burghersdorp adjacent to it. A historical landmark in Newtown, the Hamidia Mosque (Point J) lies just on the outskirts of Fordsburg. The mosque with its shiny minarets and palm trees is in the midst of derelict buildings and filthy streets. Across the road from the mosque, is a memorial of a cast iron pot, representative of Gandhi leading the burning of passes in August 1908 (see Chapter 1, Section 1.2.6). Presently, the mosque remains a popular site for both migrants and South African Muslims worshippers.

So a picture emerges of a unique space where history is still preserved and new developments are found amid the old structures - making Fordsburg a blend of the old and new. Migrant communities have also enforced their own spaces in Fordsburg. The next section explores the different layers of the communities in Fordsburg.

5.4 Identifying the Different Layers of Community

Akin to the European migrants coming to Fordsburg in the 1890s, contemporary Fordsburg is home to a diverse group of migrants. Fordsburg is an important node for new migrants: to access work opportunities, trade information, meet and socialise with migrants from the same country. From interviewee Hanif (in March 2011 and July 2013), the home countries of the migrants are seen to span the African continent from south to north (Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Malawi, Democratic Republic of Congo, Rwanda, Somalia, Eritrea, Sudan, Egypt, Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco) and Asia from west to east (Yemen, Jordan, Palestine, Syria Turkey, Pakistan India, Bangladesh). While not all migrants live in Fordsburg, a number trade and work there.

5.4.1 Demographic Profile

According to South African Census 2011 (Frith 2011) Fordsburg has a population of 2 350 people in 646 households, in an area of 0.55 square kilometres. Census data indicates that there are 1 297 males and 1 053 females (55% male; 45% female). Half of the population (n = 1175; 50%) is classified as 'India/Asian'; there are 1 086 (46.20%) black African residents; the remaining 3.79% (n = 89) consists of coloured, 'other' and white persons. The most widely spoken first language is English, accounting for 43.56% (n = 1 008) of the population; 15.13% (n = 350) of the population speak isiZulu as their first language; 'other' accounted for 19.06% (n = 441). These figures need to be treated with caution, as it is difficult to establish exactly how many Bangladeshis, Pakistanis, Indians and African nationals live in Fordsburg.

Zubeida, a Pakistani, enthused "Fordsburg is small Pakistan ... mini Pakistan"; although some of the Pakistani people, stay further afield in Gauteng, and on weekends they come to Fordsburg, 'because they want to see Pakistanis face [to see]... Indian and Pakistani faces' (Zubeida, September 2013, interview). The significance of this statement is, in its simplicity, that they want to see people of similar nationalities, a reminder of home.

Accommodation

A significant number of the migrants live in the high-rise buildings (see Figure 5.13). The Malawians rent a bed-space or subdivisions in a room, and individuals pay as much as R600 (US\$ 50) in monthly rent. Both local and non-national businessmen saw the need for accommodation in the area and took advantage of this gap to develop the area, and so a number of refurbished and new high-rise apartment blocks have been built. Shabir informed me of two prominent men who collectively own most of the buildings in Fordsburg. The building in Figure 5.13 is owned by one of them and is mostly occupied by Pakistanis (Shabir, September 2011, interview). The other owner, a Pakistani, according to Shabir, "owns half of Fordsburg". He also built Fordsburg Towers, a hotel catering to mainly non-nationals and tourists (Figure 5.14).

From my observations, the majority of Bangladeshis, Indian and Pakistanis nationals reside in Carr Gardens, Tribunal Flats and other apartments located in Fordsburg. In the last ten years, a number of lodges have been set up by non-national businessmen, to provide accommodation for their staff and for a growing number of tourists, who are predominantly

Muslims tourists coming to buy goods in Johannesburg. One of the hotels, Alcazaba advertises itself as a '4-star rated Muslim hotel'. This is quite a significant identity statement, not only alluding to religious exclusivity, but also to access to halaal food and prayer facilities in the area, one of the main reasons for the growth of Muslim migrants. Already existing infrastructure such as religious places of worship and retail outlets selling ethnic foods and clothing is thus an important consideration for visitors and migrants alike.

The Men in Fordsburg

A number of peculiarities exist in the way dress reveals original nationalities. The Pakistani men tend to move around in groups. They always wear jeans or other long pants. The younger cohort wears t-shirts and colourful shirts. It is rare to see non-nationals in short pants, but quite common among local South African Indians. The older group wear pants and lounge shirts hanging out over their pants. Characteristically they wear what is known in Hindi as *champsals* (sandals).

The Bangladeshi men dress similarly to the Pakistanis. They tend to be shorter in stature, darker in skin tone, and appear more reserved, even shy. The Egyptian men, on the other hand, are tall, slender, of fairer complexion. Their narratives are infused with pride for their country; they are charming and willing to engage quickly with customers or locals. The Malawians appear respectful and were always neatly dressed. Malawians emphasise that their culture taught them respect – something, they say that South Africans lack. Some say that they are taunted because they are respectful, and are perceived as 'stupid', because of their reserved nature.

Amongst the migrant groups a younger male group, from the ages of 17 to 30, usually unmarried, often enter South Africa undocumented, via Mozambique or Lesotho, facilitated by networks to gain entry into South Africa. The educational background is similar to a matriculation equivalent or, in some cases, lower. Although there appears to be a level of tolerance between the different groups of migrants, the groups tend to keep to themselves; they prefer to employ people from within their own groups and to support each other, confirming the existence of supportive networks.

Where are the Women?

Compared to observations I made in the early stages of the research, female migrants are now more prominent in trading activities. I have observed female migrants from Pakistan and India in Fordsburg, but they tend to operate in the shadows of the more dominant male figures. I did not meet any Bangladeshi female migrants. There is a small cohort of married female Indian nationals who leave their husbands and young children and come to South Africa in the hope of making money to support their families. The Pakistani women are mainly wives of Pakistani men who have been in South Africa for a number of years. The Egyptians assert that the role and place of Egyptian women is to look after the home, their men and their children.

The female migrants are more easily discernible by their attire and are always in traditional Indian or Pakistani apparel. Their facial appearance and mannerisms are distinct from those of South Africans and this tends to characterise them as migrant women. Instances occur where young Indian women who are Hindu have married Pakistani Muslim men; this inter-religious marriage is usually frowned upon. The older Indian women appear to have done professional beauty therapy courses and have years of experience, whereas the younger Indian females are relatively inexperienced, claim to have qualifications and learn the trade as they are employed in the salons. Women, who are housewives, are only seen in the evenings with their husbands, either shopping or eating at preferred migrant-owned outlets.

5.4.2 Cultural Mapping of Fordsburg

Culture and religion are the binding factors that cement a community and are firmly entrenched in Fordsburg. An overt hegemonic Islamic culture is pervasive and is the main attraction for Muslim migrants. For instance, loud Islamic religious music can be heard coming from some outlets. Other outlets, predominantly Egyptian ones, only sell traditional Muslim garb. Many businesses observe the Muslim practice of not conducting business on Fridays from 12:00 to 14:00. None of the Muslim owned food establishments sell alcohol. “The lack of alcohol is one of Fordsburg’s attractions”, says Abdeslam Habib-allah Ahmed, chairman of the Migrant Community Board’ (Stones 2011: n.p). There are only two outlets that sell Hindu religious artefacts and prayer goods and these are situated around the hub demarcated by Crown, Mint and Central Roads.



Figure 5.13: Mint Road and Fordsburg Towers Hotel (in the background)



Figure 5.14: Range of savouries in a bakery owned by a South African



Figure 5.15: Alfresco dining – preparation for the evening feast

(Source: Researchers' own photographs)



Figure 5.16: Inside of a shop selling sweetmeats'

'Food, Glorious Food'

Food is an integral part of any community and a social construct that shapes and identifies communities. While bringing people together, it also sets them apart. Mint, Central and Crown Roads are lined with ethnic restaurants, offering fare from India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and North India, as well as serving Cantonese and Chinese cuisine. There is a Turkish restaurant and even a Portuguese halaal restaurant. Most of these restaurants were established by migrants to cater specifically for fellow migrants, but also capitalise on a niche market for ethnic cuisine. Interspersed with these ethnic restaurants are locally owned franchises such as Debonnairs Pizza, Kentucky Fried Chicken, Scooters Pizza, and Ocean Basket¹¹. There used to be only one completely vegetarian outlet (some Hindus are staunch vegetarians), now under new management, offers a wider range of food, obviously trying to capitalise on a bigger market share associated with a growing population. Clearly the area is an amalgam of ethnic and contemporary eating places catering for different tastes and different groups of people.

The rhythm of life in Fordsburg seems to be dictated by food – the main streets around the Square come to life from 10:30 onwards to prepare for the lunchtime crowd. The process repeats itself in the evenings. During the Muslim holy month of Ramadan, most of Fordsburg synchronises itself with the tides of the religious practice. The Muslim outlets open their businesses a bit later in the morning to compensate for the early morning prayers; sometimes junior staff will open the outlets so that their owners can come to work later. Businesses (non-food outlets) also tend to close earlier than normal, to accommodate the practice of breaking the fast at a specific time. Restaurants prepare extra food, including trays of sweet treats and savouries. Tables are lined up outside the restaurants, piled high with delicacies, catering for working people rushing home to break their fast (see Figures 5.14 and 5.15). This, in particular, is a practice that the migrant-owned restaurants have introduced into Fordsburg.

The 'Sweetmeat' Shop

People not only flock to Fordsburg for the wide-ranging ethnic cuisines, but the fragrant and

¹¹ These are popular fast-food franchise outlets frequented mainly by local South Africans. Ocean Basket is a sit down restaurant specialising in seafood.

tantalising sweetmeats are also just as much of an attraction (see Figures 5.16 and 5.17). The growth of this industry and the range of freshly made sweetmeats is quite phenomenal.

It is not only the diversity of food that is unusual, but also the practice of restaurants and other food outlets that flow out towards the street and prepare food on the pavements, a feature that has been introduced by the non-nationals adding to Fordsburg's uniqueness. It reminds one of the streets and markets in Mumbai or Dubai.

Clothing and Culture

Clothing outlets sell traditional clothing brought in from India, Dubai and Egypt (see Figure 5.18). The numbers of these outlets has grown since 2000, and are owned by non-national traders. This has generated animosity between them and the local South African traders who also sell traditional Indian clothing. Competition has actually led to the closure of some well-known stores. The Indian Trade Fairs are partly responsible for the decline in locally owned stores. The numerous tailoring outlets sew and alter ladies' outfits making it convenient for clients needing this service.

Towards the end of the fasting month of Ramadan, Fordsburg is busier than usual over the weekends, with families looking for new outfits to wear on Eid-ul-Fitr, the auspicious day that marks the ending of Ramadan. At both Eid-ul-Fitr and the Hindu festival of Diwali, it is customary to celebrate with new attire. Similarly to traditional wear, one finds outlets that cater for a modern and more exclusive and sophisticated market. Such outlets tend to be owned by local South Africans. There appears to be a tension between tradition and modernity, especially where tradition leans towards conservative modes of dress.

Religious Spaces

The role of religion is a very important aspect of communal life in Fordsburg and lends itself to an 'Indian' feel. Fordsburg, however, has several mosques and churches (see Chapter 1, Section 1.2.4) and religion and religious practices are points for community development and cohesion. Fordsburg is thus ideal for migrants because of their access to religious spaces. Conspicuous by its absence is a Hindu temple. The intersection of different nationalities and religions in the same spaces raises important questions about the degree of (or lack of) co-operation and commonality among the different groups.



Figure 5.17: Preparing 'sweetmeats' on the pavement on a Saturday morning



Figure 5.18: Clothing outlet selling traditional Islamic attire



Figure 5.19: The entertainment areas in the Fordsburg Pool Hall

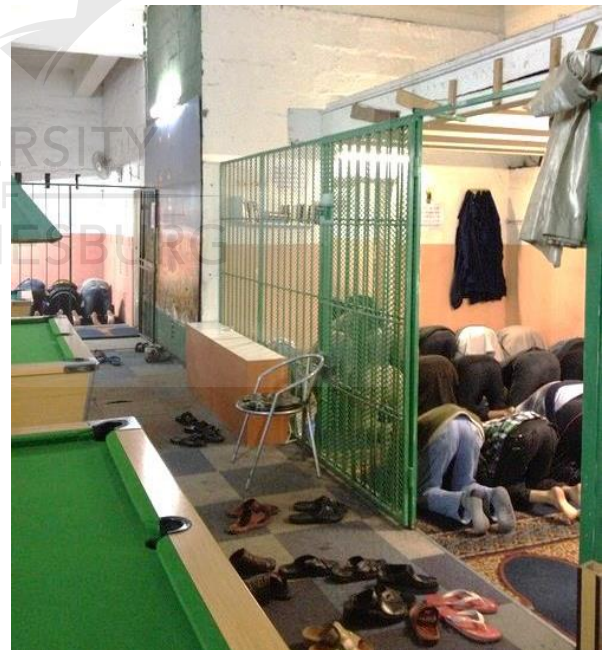


Figure 5.20: The prayer areas in the Fordsburg Pool Hall Mussallah

(Source: Figures 5.17 & 5. 18 Researchers' own photographs; Figures 5.19 & 5.20: Bulbulia 2012).

For Hindus, a community hall on the border of Fordsburg and Mayfair, acts as a temple of worship. In 1936, a Lebanese Church, which initially served as a Dutch Reformed Church, is currently being used as a mosque by a Muslim-based organisation from Pakistan, the Dawaat Group (personal field notes, 2011). Although the outward structure has not changed, Muslims use the inside of the Church as a prayer space.

Fordsburg Pool Hall Musallah

The Fordsburg Pool Hall (Figures 5.19 and 5.20) was brought to my attention when trying to understand how migrants use various spaces to perform religious worship (Bulbulia 2012). The pool hall is found in an opaque passage next to the Milky Lane at the Fordsburg Square. The facility, there for a long time now, serves as a refuge against the hustle and bustle of Fordsburg. The facility was renovated by a Pakistani gentleman and boasts a pool hall, together with a jamaat khana (a place where one performs prayers and a space for religious instruction). The re-configured space encompasses both a place of leisure and a safe space to engage in religious worship. The pool hall is open for most hours of the day and night, where both young and old men, hone their skills in pool, snooker and tatabox (foosball or table football). Due respect is given to times of prayer, such that all activity grinds to a halt, and is respected by both Muslim and non-Muslims alike. Women have been catered for as their facilities are behind a curtain. The duality of this shared recreational and religious space binds the migrants together.

The innovative use of space is highlighted in Figures 5.19 to 5.21 that show an entertainment area that re-invents itself as a space for religious worship.

5.4.3 The Economic Layer

There are many different types of traders and trading activities but the commercial hub for migrant traders s described in this thesis is circumscribed by Crown Road, Albertina Sisulu Street, Lillian Avenue and Bree Street.

Traders and Trading in Fordsburg

The trading activities of migrants comprise hair and beauty salons, tailoring establishments, confectionary outlets, ethnic restaurants, cellphones and accessories, homeware stores and grocery outlets that specialise in groceries found predominantly in the countries of origin (see Figure 5.22).

South African hair salons are generally run by professional hairdressers, so too with the beauty salons, which are staffed solely by qualified beauticians. However, in Fordsburg migrants offer both trades in one outlet, an example of multiple offerings of a product in one space, offering multiple uses of spaces for trading, and sometimes multiple uses of skills. Most practitioners are not qualified as professionals and many have very little experience.

The migrant traders have utilised every nook and cranny for some kind of retail trade. Similar to the tiny paan and cellular telephone mobile units, I have observed outlets where three or four tailors work in a small space (Figure 5.24). Sometimes an outlet will have a group of tailors sitting on one side of the room, with a wall and a small passage dividing them from the next shop, more likely a grocery store. This appears to be a deliberate separation of space to increase the potential and segmentation of trade.

Some Pakistani hairdressers offer hairdressing services for males only, showing that gender distinction exists among the hairdressers, perhaps relating to patriarchy, religious practices and client needs. While I observed the multiple uses of space, I also noticed its overuse. On every block there are three or four hairdressers and four to five ethnic restaurants, interspersed with multi-national enterprises like Wimpy and KFC franchises owned by local people. Competition is rife and, as a visitor to the area, one is spoilt for choice. From Fridays to Sundays the migrant-owned outlets operate for longer than 12 hours. Various accounts from a range of people consulted and endorsed by personal observation, show that all the outlets are extremely busy, possibly bolstered by centrality to Johannesburg, but also because of the variety and availability of goods at lower prices than those of South Africa retailers.

There are several discernible trends among the different groups of traders. Based on ethnicity and shared networks, the groups have secured various niche markets for trading. This is discussed in detail in Chapter 8. While the Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Egyptian and Indian traders own and establish themselves in Fordsburg, the Malawians do not own or operate any enterprises. Together with their counterparts from Africa, they provide labour for the traders, as Shabir pointed out during one of our walks, “Black people mainly work for ‘these people’” (Shabir, September 2011, interview).



Figure 5.21: Fordsburg Pool Hall – Lecture at the Jamaat Khana



Figure 5.22: Migrant-owned grocery outlet stacked with wares from the country of origin



Figure 5.23: Bangladeshi tailor outlet (permission obtained)



Figure 5.24: Typical queues for a Feeding Scheme held on a Thursday

(Source: Figure 5.21: Bulbulia 2012; Figures 5.22; 5.23; 5.24: Researchers' own photographs)

At play are clear class, racial and gender distinctions that emerge from this study. When I was mapping the area with Shabir, we observed a Thai massage place with massage therapists from Thailand. Whilst attempting a conversation with one of the Thai massage therapists, a South African, Thandi, a cleaner at the outlet spoke up on behalf of the therapist, as language was an issue. Thandi is a domestic worker at the owner's house and performs this task at the massage rooms on a Thursday as part of her duties. She had this to say:

Can you believe it she [her Thai boss] comes here and she is my boss here. Just imagine it. They tell us here what to do [implying South Africa] Just imagine it. I am working here today; tomorrow I go and work at the house. I know the law from here. Monday to Saturday 8:00 a.m. – 4:00 p.m. then I am leaving. It is the law. If it is from 9:00 a.m. to 10:00 p.m. at night, then the money must also come out (Thandi, September, 2012, informal interview).

Thandi was indignant that she was answerable to an employer from Thailand, while living in the country of her birth. She refused to work longer than is allowed according to the country's labour regulations, and she insisted on being paid for working overtime.

People on the Fringes

Thursday is 'beggars' day' and is a day for charity. On Thursday's streams of pensioners and beggars pass through the streets of Fordsburg, stopping at each outlet, looking for alms. Some of the beggars are disabled and some are supported physically by their friends. In the Muslim religion, as in other religions, it is very important to give alms to the poor. The beggars display some agency, by knocking loudly to draw attention to themselves. I remember a group who were slightly inebriated, protested very loudly when the owners of a particular outlet refused to give them something.

More recently, one of the Pakistani hairdressing outlets has started providing food for the poor on Thursdays. Streams of people gather from midday to receive a plate of hot food. Beggars and the destitute come from areas as far away as Kliptown and Soweto. A woman from Soweto claimed that she comes specifically for this free meal and is then concerned about her taxi fare back home. She asked me for a job, and maintained that most of the people in the queue were too lazy to work and relied on free meals. Some black women were dressed in Muslim attire and others dressed fairly neatly in western clothes (see Figure 5.24). Food is provided without question, to anyone who stands in the line.

5.5 Conclusion

The chapter mapped contemporary Fordsburg. It reflected on the spatial layout of the suburb and revealed how the social spaces are used by South Africans and migrants, and noted too that migrant traders have re-used spaces in inventive ways. The initial chance encounter with Shabir proved to be significant, despite my assertion of being both an insider and outsider. He allowed me to see and encounter Fordsburg in ways that only a resident of the community would.

The demographics of Fordsburg, although outdated, reveal that the nature of the suburb is still 'Indian'. However, the figures must be treated with a measure of scepticism, as they do not indicate the breakdown of migrant national groups clearly. Migrants, clearly discernible by their attire and mannerisms are pervasive, and impart a mainly Muslim cultural identity to Fordsburg. Former migrants now own significant real estate that provides accommodation for migrants and tourists.

An overall impression of Fordsburg is one of a congested conglomeration of business, residential, shopping and leisure spaces squeezed into a small suburb that cannot cope spatially. Among historic and contemporary structures are rundown buildings and rubbish-lined streets. Historic places still exist but there appears to be tension with modernist practices of trade and a need for accommodation. The Fordsburg Square's significance appears to be lost between the contesting claims of ownership by the South Africa traders, migrants and the local council. The flea market perhaps still epitomises the strong business and entrepreneurship work ethic characteristic of the area, and there is evidence of migrants contributing to the economic revival of Fordsburg.

A pervasive theme in this study is the belief that South Africa is a country with good economic opportunities, borne out by the forms of entrepreneurship the migrants display. While some migrants engage in survivalist forms of livelihoods, at the low end of globalisation also discernible are formal, structured well-resourced economic hubs, in the form of multiple hairdressers, tailors and ethnic restaurants. It is therefore in the area of trade that the impact migrants have made is decisive. Groceries and food production reflect the needs of the migrant community.

The Muslim identity is ubiquitous as revealed in the practices of trade, religion and cultural spaces. The Muslim culture is a strong attraction for Muslim migrants. Other cultural groups are present but are in the minority. Characteristically, food and clothing reflect the nature of migrants, but at the same time feed into a growing consumerist market for the South Africa community.

The Fordsburg community is diverse and multi-national, and is an enclave of migrant communities that provides some security, comfort, and familiarity for its inhabitants. For many, the area is self-sufficient and self-contained to the extent, that the people there may not find it necessary to leave the area at all. Multiple identities intersect within these spaces. We observe that within these geographical spaces, cultural spaces are being reproduced to reinforce identity, community and solidarity. But which communities are being reinforced here – a South African community or enclaves of the transnational communities?

The younger generation, both male and female, use the migration experience as an opportunity to travel and to perhaps learn about their vocation. For them Fordsburg and even South Africa may not be their final destination. For the older generation, it is about starting all over in another country to improve their lives, and perhaps, that of their families, including relocating them to South Africa. There emerges a constant tension, a dynamic that is at play in the forging of communities in Fordsburg. The purpose of this chapter suggests themes that are explored in more detail in Chapters 6 through 10.

CHAPTER 6

MIGRANT JOURNEYS: REASONS AND ROUTES TO SOUTH AFRICA

6.1 Introduction

Chapter 6 is the second of five chapters documenting the findings of this research. The focus in this thesis concerns how diverse migrant communities are constituted and integrate in Fordsburg. The first part of this chapter examines the participants' reasons for coming to South Africa, and to Fordsburg, in particular. Some of the reasons include the existence of family networks, political and economic problems in the country of origin and in some cases the dream for a better life.

The second part of the chapter describes the details of the journeys undertaken by the participants, the networks of agents and family connections, and transactional costs inherent in this high-risk journey. Their journeys to South Africa, however, caught me somewhat off-guard. While I was aware of the growth in undocumented migration, smuggling networks and human trafficking (Rugunanan 2009) the scale and intensity of these dense, operational networks stretching across continents, revealed in the narratives of the participants, show a high and unexpected level of sophistication.

The format of the chapter highlights patterns of similarities and differences in the journeys and experiences, allowing the voices of the participants to lead the discussion, while at the same time trying to distil the narratives for the reader.

6.2 Reasons for Coming to South Africa

Post-1994, the relative political stability and economic prosperity drew migrants from across the African continent, and beyond to South Africa. This theme features strongly in the narratives of the participants. Some of the push factors for leaving the country of origin are political and economic problems; whereas the freedom and ease of practising one's religion; and the potential to create personal wealth in South Africa are strong pull factors.

6.2.1 Why South Africa?

With the transition to democracy in 1994, South Africa, unlike most countries after democratisation, had the advantage of a functional and sound economic infrastructure, a situation that applied mostly markedly to Johannesburg, its long standing core economic area. Migrants soon realised that the chance that formally marginalised communities would now have to begin to play a far bigger role in shaping the economy within the context of a new political dispensation, could be an opportunity from which they could benefit. The progressive legislative environment and indebtedness to countries that had provided refuge to apartheid refugees were other strong motives on which migrants could capitalise. With a full sense of the economic importance of South Africa, migrants saw the country as a symbol of opportunity and hope, reinforcing their perception of it as economic pulse of Africa. To those who are marginalised or displaced in their own countries, the political stability and economic prosperity of the country presented a beacon for success and multi-faceted reward (see Chapter 8, Section 8.2).

When the question was posed to Ashraf, a Malawian, about why he liked South Africa, he pointedly answered “[there is] too much money [here]. Money is power. Sometime you got a problem, after you go to Malawi you just take money and send it, [if] someone [has] a problem, [the] problem is finished” (Ashraf, January 2014, interview). He added that there is very little money (probably inferring work) in Malawi.

Irfaan, a thirty-seven-year old Indian national, says that it is easy to make money in South Africa. He explains “[In] South Africa, you know life is easy here; because you know people make money here nicely, not like in India”. He adds that in India, while there is work, people make very little money (Irfaan, June 2011, interview). Zena, an Indian national, shares Irfaan’s view when she says that in South Africa it is easy to find a job and to make money (Zena, October 2012, interview). This view and perception that it is “easy” to make money and “easy” to find work in South Africa had me pondering about the high unemployment rate in South Africa and why South Africans do not share the migrants’ sentiments. There thus had to be deeper reasons for their attraction to South Africa in general and Fordsburg, in particular.

6.2.2 A Network of Resources

All the Pakistani, Indian and Malawian participants had some prior knowledge of South Africa, largely through friends, family or spouses. The long historical association between India and South Africa, and India and Pakistan provides a platform for particularly generational networks. From the Pakistani and Malawian participants it was clear that there was tendency for older brothers, after establishing themselves to invite younger brothers and other extended kin to migrate, thus facilitating chain migration practices. Evidence that has emerged show that migrants retain connections with their homelands, and maintain transnational linkages. Of greater significance is that family networks encouraged the movement of the young, able males to become a source of labour for the family network in South Africa.

Munif, a forty-three-year old Pakistani, who arrived in 1996, knew about South Africa through his friend, whose father was in show business and had travelled to South Africa frequently. It was through this network that Munif came to South Africa. Ridwaan, whose elder brother arrived in South Africa, in 1995, was contacted to come to South Africa in 1997. Similarly so with Basheer who was twenty-one-years old when his uncle encouraged him to come and assist with his business. At the time of this interview, his uncle had been in South Africa for twelve years. Taahir, was seventeen when he first came to South Africa and his two brothers had been working in South Africa since 2000 and 2003 respectively.

It was important to note that not all migrants come in with access to resources. Moiz, an Egyptian, reports that he came in legally with a business visa. His cousin was already here and organised him a job at a supermarket in Germiston. He adds, however, that “you know if you come immediately, come to people you know, it’s easy to get job. If you have no one [and know] nobody, [you] will suffer for two or three months to get a job” (Moiz, September 2011, interview). Narratives by Saffar (May 2011, interview) and Hanif (March 2011, interview) and comments from the Malawians, admit to initially facing difficulty with the prevalence of crime and setting up of informal businesses as migrants when coming to Johannesburg.

6.2.3 Problems in the Home Country

One of the main reasons for migrating is political instability in the home country, particularly amongst Pakistani and Bangladeshi participants. Although this may very well be the case, it

may also be the standard response to justify their refugee or asylum status. Pakistanis, in particular, refer to ethnic and political tensions in their country. The economic consequences of poor governance that drain the economy, and corruption, in particular, continue to drive marginalisation, unemployment and poverty.

Ismail, an Indian national, points to tensions between Muslims and Hindus as one of the reasons for leaving India. Sajeet, a Bangladeshi national of Hindu faith, also alludes to this tension in the predominantly Muslim state of Bangladesh (Sajeet, September 2011, interview). The suggestion that their primary reason for leaving is religious intolerance clearly comes from the minority groups in these countries.

For the Bangladeshi participants, political and economic problems in the home country are the main push factors. Sajeet, who has been in South Africa for eight years, comments: “there are lots of poor people, it’s a poor country, not like this country, this country is rich and people are good, and business here is also good. Bangladesh is actually a small country with lots of people not like South Africa” (Sajeet, September 2011, interview). Akbar, shares a similar sentiment about the socio-political problems in the country, particularly that of dissident opposition parties who are involved in social atrocities.

On the other hand, “South Africa is nice” and people live a good life here (Akbar, October 2013, interview). Even though the Bangladeshi government is running the country satisfactorily, it cares very little for its own people; officials are instead striving for self-enrichment. Many of Habib’s cousins left Bangladesh for other countries, such as Poland, Italy, France and Spain (Habib, October 2013, interview). Responses such as these confirm that there are major political tensions in Bangladesh, over-population is a critical issue and so too is poverty, all providing strong reasons for migration.

Pakistan is a volatile country, rife with political and economic problems. Basheer, a Pakistani reveals (Basheer, June 2011, interview):

In Pakistan, everywhere there is a problem, you can [never] tell what will happen tomorrow to you, there is lots of bomb blasts and fighting, some people [are] killing each other. [...] you know there is lots of violence. [...] [there is] too much of violence there.

Other participants expressed similar sentiments and these were the main motivating factors for leaving. Educated and qualified people were unable to find employment; increasing population growth and little investment in Pakistan were added problems.

According to Khajaat, a thirty-nine-year-old Pakistani woman, this insecurity and violence leads to a very tenuous situation in providing security and education for her children. In her words life was “very difficult, very difficult”. For Khajaat life in Pakistan “is very risky” (Khajaat, June 2011, interview). Taahir, corroborates the views of Basheer and Khajaat, stating that the fighting between the Taliban and Afghan forces often results in bomb blasts, saying “we cannot stay there peacefully” (Taahir, June 2011, interview).

Basheer, a Pakistani, talks about the corruption in the country:

That is why so many young people coming. There is no business, no job, some people have to pay bribes in order to get jobs. The poor people don't have money (Basheer, June 2011, interview).

Coupled with these problems, is the high cost of living, a sentiment shared by all the Pakistani participants.

Malawi is known to be one of the least developed countries in the world and is densely populated, with 80% of its people residing in rural areas (KPMG 2012). Coming from a poor socio-economic background, Malawian migrants are more likely to be unskilled or semi-skilled. Widespread poverty, unemployment and the need to support large families are among the reasons that prompted Malawians to seek employment in South Africa. For the Malawians, South Africa is seen as the most developed country in the region, characterised as being “the heart of Africa” (Dominic, January 2014, interview) and as the “hub in Africa” (Banda, February 2014, interview).

The Egyptian participants claim that job prospects and earning a decent salary is very difficult in Egypt. Furthermore, living expenses are very high and it is impossible to have a decent life on the salary that they earn back home. So their reasons for leaving are purely economic.

But a more subtle reason for the Egyptian male is to be able to prove his worth in another country. Sahel, a twenty-six-year-old Egyptian said, “you know in my country there is no problem, nothing, but our future, the guys come here to look for the future you know...” (Sahel, June 2011, interview). As the youngest of six children, Sahel saw South Africa as a

means to escape the pressures of home life but also to experience life more fully. Mikhail, whose father is of Egyptian origin, suggests that business opportunities are the main reason for migrants choosing South Africa (Mikhail, September 2012, interview), and is perhaps best captured by Moiz, an Egyptian who says “for the chance...for the chance [of a] job (Moiz, September 2011, interview). The Egyptian participants are clearly proud of Egypt and are willing to return home permanently; this was an atypical response in comparison with that of the Asian groups. The view of economic prosperity is a theme that is examined in later chapters of the thesis.

6.2.4 The Chance for a Decent Life

For most of the migrants searching for a “decent” life is their main reason for leaving their own country. Apart from economic reasons, their responses imply that migrating is also about improving their emotional and physical well-being. This can be inferred from phrases such as “life is risky,” “people live a good life here”, “there is lots of opportunity here”, and “everything is nice here”. More ‘personal space’ in South Africa is a particularly attractive draw card compared to overcrowding in South Asia, Egypt and Malawi. For twenty-year-old Hafiz from Pakistan, South Africa is clean and the food is much healthier. This view resonates throughout the narratives of the migrants together with the notion that “life is good” in South Africa.

Amongst the Indian participants in the study are three married women who came to join their husbands, two are single women who later married Pakistani men in South Africa, and two are male participants from the Indian state of Gujarat. Comments by Zena, an Indian national intrigued me:

I also like it here. In India [there] is no money. The reason is [...] that in India there is so many problems,... the weather [is so hot]. Like for weather South Africa is so much nice[r]. And [its] easy for job and to make money. India is not easy [to make] money. ... [In] India [there] is not a lot of money and India is so expensive now, South Africa is not so expensive. [...] But India is [very] expensive to buy a car, a house and food. And in India [there] is no job, [there is] so much population (Zena, October 2012, interview).

Saadia, a thirty-two-year-old Indian national, agrees with the Zena’s views, saying that life is too busy in India.

Comments raised by most of the South Asian participants, are about the available space in South Africa, the pace of life and the cleanliness, whereas in their home countries, the high population growth rates have a forceful telling effect on the availability of space, pace and overall cleanliness. Another factor, particularly for the Indian participants, is the chance to experience life outside the home country with greater ease.

Compared to the Bangladeshi and Pakistanis who migrated because of political problems, the Egyptian participants choose to leave in search of “a better life” and “you know, to go out and experience life”. Sahel points out that there are 85 million people in Egypt, but people have money and “stay nicely”. This might be a biased view as Sahel’s family appears to be quite wealthy; Sahel’s parents own a fruit farm in Egypt and they have a ten bedroomed house which he shared with his six brothers, parents and grandmother. But when his father told him to get married, he decided he wanted to experience life outside of Egypt (Sahel, September 2011, interview).

Moiz, an Egyptian, has been in South Africa for nine years, says:

Well I came in 2004 alright, you know and in my country [there] is no problem, nothing, but for our future, guys come here to look for the future you know...this country for me is not bad, it is a good country (Moiz, September 2011, interview).

Moiz remits money home monthly because his family members are old, and he also reveals his intention to return to Egypt to retire. But during his stay here, “I have to make something for myself” (Moiz, September 2011, interview). There is thus pressure amongst the Egyptians to also prove that they are successful from a business point of view.

Malawi has history of labour migration to South Africa (Vawda 2010; Wentzel and Tibela 2006). Malawians have family or friends who alert them to work opportunities in South Africa and Fordsburg specifically. They are quite unequivocal that their reason to migrate is primarily to seek employment. Vawda (2010: 6) came to similar findings of Malawians in Durban who stated categorically ‘[we] come to seek work’.

In summary, the participants’ reasons for leaving the home country are consistent. For the Pakistanis and Bangladeshis, it is political rivalry, living with ethnic violence, coupled with high costs of living, shortages of food and electricity that lead to a tenuous and risky life. For the Bangladeshi, any support for the opposition party could result in someone being jailed, or worse still, killed. Problems between the Hindu minority and Muslim majority groups result

in some participants leaving Bangladesh. To a lesser extent, this is also raised by Indian Muslim participants, particularly from the state of Gujarat. For the Indian participants, climate, over-population and high cost of living are main drivers for leaving. The findings by Park and Rugunanan (2010) on Asian migrant communities confirm the comments about South Africa's temperate weather conditions and ease of employment.

For the Egyptian group, the difficulty in finding employment and low wages are key factors for leaving and, on a personal level, to prove themselves as men capable of supporting their families. For the Malawians, poverty and unemployment are key push factors to migrate. For a younger cohort of migrants, across all the groups, South Africa is a transient point in their wider journey of exploration.

The reasons why migrants choose to come to South Africa are similar and compare favourably with the work of other scholars such as Rugunanan and Smit's (2011) work on refugees from the DRC, Burundi and Zimbabwe, the study by Huynh et al. (2012) on the migration of Chinese and Indian women to South Africa, and Jinnah's (2006) work on Pakistanis in Durban. Gebre et al.'s (2011) study on Ethiopians confirms the findings of this study. Given that Bangladesh does not have such a long history of links with South Africa, the rapid pace of Bangladeshi migration to South Africa, reflects closely to Knights' (1996) findings from a study on the establishment of the Bangladeshi community in Italy, which had no prior historical link with Bangladesh. Knights (1996) claims that the development of Bangladeshi migrant communities is a direct result of globalisation and chain migration practices.

The evidence presented shows that migrants leave to engage in economic activities outside of the home country at considerable cost, in order to improve their financial position, enhance their standard of living and to improve not only their own well-being but also that of their families. The choice of Fordsburg specifically is an interesting piece of the puzzle.

6.2.5 Why Fordsburg Specifically?

In attempting to answer the research question, a persistent query is: why Fordsburg? What is it about the place that attracts such a diverse range of non-nationals to the suburb? The views of Afzal, Praveena and Dominic foreground the reasons why many non-nationals choose to come to Fordsburg: the freedom to practise one's religion, the "feel" of Fordsburg as an "Indian" place and South Africa, as the major economic centre in Africa.

“Fordsburg is a Muslim Place”

Afzal a twenty-seven-year old Egyptian, captures the quintessential character of Fordsburg by stating quite simply “Fordsburg is a Muslim place. If I stay in a place [where there]... is no mosque because we pray, if I stay in a place like Cresta¹² there is no mosque” (Afzal, October 2013, interview). This sentiment and the religious association to Fordsburg is echoed by a number of participants (see Chapter 9, Section 9.3). The number of and access to mosques in Fordsburg and neighbouring Mayfair, and also to halaal food and groceries so similar to products of home are strong attractions for many of the migrants now living in Fordsburg. This view correlates with the hotel that advertises itself as a “Muslim” hotel (see Chapter 5).

Irfaan, a thirty-seven-year old Indian, shares similar thoughts about residing in Fordsburg:

the main thing is that for Islam, it’s easy here. In India, it’s not so easy. India, cannot [does not] allow that. People are allowed to do anything here, not India; it is easy to read namaaz, easy to go to mosque, not like in India (Irfaan, June 2011, interview).

South Africa is tolerant of diverse religions and religious practices. One of the consequences of apartheid is that it produced ‘homogenous communities’ where religious identification and practice became confined, retained and intensified. In almost all the ‘Indian’ suburbs, places of worship such as mosques, temples and churches can be found indicating that apartheid actually reinforced religious identities and communities. Afzal’s comment about Fordsburg as a Muslim place is an association that evokes a sense of the familiar, a place that can be found in Dubai, in Karachi, Mumbai or even Dhaka - a place like ‘home’.

A Sense of the Familiar

Ridwaan, a Pakistani, indicates that South Africa remains his first choice as a destination for migration. He learnt about South Africa from his brother who has resided here since 1995. He makes the observation that some migrants use South Africa as a transit point to travel to first world countries, but soon return to South Africa because conditions are much better here. Ridwaan chose Fordsburg, because “all the people are here, Pakistani, Indian, you understand” (Ridwaan, November 2013, interview). Munif, a Pakistani, concurs saying

¹² Cresta is a suburb of Randburg in Johannesburg

“because all Indian people was here that’s why [I choose] Fordsburg” (Munif, October 2013, interview).

To Praveena, a twenty-three-year old Indian national, Fordsburg reminded her of India, “it is like India. Because everybody is Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, like it is in India” (Praveena, June 2011, interview). Praveena is able to source food, groceries and products in Fordsburg, similar to those she used at home in India. Praveena however, finds it expensive here and says that shops have different prices leading to competition between the outlets. “But besides that it is a nice place. South Africa is an “*achaa*” (Hindi word meaning nice, good) place” (Praveena, June 2011, interview).

Saadia, a thirty-two-year old Indian national, on explaining why she chose to come to Fordsburg specifically, replies that “Indians [in South Africa] came from India. The past generations came from India, so sometimes when the local people think badly about them; they should not forget that they have all come from India (Saadia, June 2011, interview). Manzil, an Egyptian, makes the following interesting observation, “I suppose even if they didn’t know of the places from that side when they come here they are bound to find out about Fordsburg and Lenasia, because as you can see the Arab community is very big, the Egyptians even more so”. Manzil adds that there are many Arab communities in Fordsburg, referring to Palestinians on the one side, and some restaurants owned by Syrians and Jordanians on the other (Manzil, October 2012, interview).

These narratives reveal a number of salient points. A sense of the familiar is created by the knowledge that a number of migrants from ‘home’ reside in Fordsburg or other ‘Indian’ areas. This notion of an ‘Indian’ place is firmly entrenched in the minds of the participants of the diverse communities. The prevailing Indian diaspora provides links to the home country and to kinsmen. Similarly, for the Egyptians, the existence of an “Arab community” allows the migrants to tap into a network of existing resources even if the migrant does not know anybody. The existing infrastructure supports family and friends in substantial numbers to the extent that national loyalty steps in to nurture the migrant and may even provide a critical mass in terms of support for fledging business ventures. But the significant and telling assertion of Fordsburg as a “Muslim” place, a Muslim identity and character, necessitates a deeper analysis. Beyond just a national identity, is a religious identity that is discussed in more detail later on in this thesis (Chapters 9 and 11).

Life is Easy in the “heart of Africa”

Dominic, a twenty-five-year old Malawian, asserts that “it is the ‘heart of Africa’, so I came to see why other people are coming here” (Dominic, January 2014, interview), is a profound statement. But his choice of words in describing South Africa as the heart of Africa denotes a deep incantation as to how South Africa is viewed on the continent and even further afield. For Banda, “South Africa is the hub of Africa” (Banda, February 2014, interview). The growth in migrants and refugees from across Africa to South Africa supports this view.

Dominic’s cousin had assisted him in finding a job in Fordsburg. Ironically, Dominic completed a course in rural development in Malawi; here he is employed at a take-away outlet, where he takes orders and mixes masala. Ebrahim, a Malawian, has a brother who has been living in South Africa for three and a half years and although Ebrahim prefers Malawi, he came to South Africa because he “likes money” (Ebrahim, February 2014, interview). A search for employment is the overriding reason Malawians came to South Africa. Both these interviewees state that they had friends who worked and informed them of the availability of employment in Fordsburg. This supports the point being made about the use of networks as a means of establishing themselves in South Africa.

A similar network exists for the Bangladeshis as well. According to Carrim, a twenty-six-year-old Bangladeshi, most of the Bangladeshis working in Fordsburg, are related and that the popular and successful restaurants, such as Bismillah, Shunarga belong to one Bangladeshi family (Carrim, October 2012, interview). Shabir shared this view during our walkabouts (personal field notes 2011). One of the successful Bangladeshi restaurant owners has set up lodges in Fordsburg to assist newcomers with accommodation. In return, they are employed as service staff in his restaurants. He has extended his chain of restaurants across South Africa to Durban, Cape Town and Benoni, complete with Bangladeshi staff to service the restaurants. This serves then as a nodal point for Bangladeshis to establish themselves in other provinces.

Habib, a twenty-seven-year old Bangladeshi, confirms that networks are in place as he states “all Bangladeshi’s help each other. If you see a new one you’ll help him. I ask him if he has money or need anything. I’ll give him R20 (US\$ 1.70)” (Habib, October 2013, interview). Akbar endorses this by sharing “you see I don’t know him before but I know he is from Bengal and greet nicely and if I tell my problem he’ll try to help. If he can’t help, they will

send you to someone who will help” (Akbar, October 2013, interview). When probed about how Bangladeshis open new businesses so quickly, Akbar replies that it is because the combined efforts of working hard, saving and drawing from the resources of “other country guys” and family members (Akbar, October 2013, interview).

This section (6.2.4) on why the migrants choose to come to Fordsburg specifically draws attention to several important factors, the first of which is that South Africa is viewed as a land of opportunity, as supported by the findings of a number of reports (Vawda 2010; Maharaj 2004; Hunter and Skinner 2003). The view draws migrants to South Africa from across the continent and further afield such as Europe, South Asia and China. The comments from the participants indicate that it is ‘easy’ to make money in South Africa, ‘easy’ to find employment (see Chapter 8, Section 8.2). Another potentially significant reason is seeing Fordsburg as a ‘Muslim’ area, an ‘Indian’ area and a place where all the Indians, Bangladeshis, Pakistanis, Malawians and members of the Arab community are found.

The view of Fordsburg as a Muslim place necessitates deeper interrogation. The availability and access to mosques, halaal foods and restaurants offering ethnic cuisine, groceries and food products from back home, are significant points of recreating a sense of the familiar and of ‘community’ amongst the Indian, Bangladeshi, Pakistani, Egyptian and Malawian migrants. Fordsburg in addition provides a familiar and a safe place to practise one’s religion and culture. Furthermore, the view of Fordsburg as a ‘Muslim’ place and is “just like Pakistan” corroborates the views of South Asian migrants in an earlier study by Park and Rugunanan (2010).

One of the main reasons new migrants choose to come to Fordsburg is because of existing communities of migrants from Bangladesh, India, Pakistan and Malawi, reflective of chain migration practices. Mills et al. (1950) come to similar conclusions when investigating Puerto Rican migrants moving to areas and neighbourhoods in New York in which family and former townsmen reside. Family members help each other as a duty and because they are kin. It is evident from the narratives in this study, individuals have access to resources and indeed social capital in the form of networks and trust that are necessary for facilitating the integration of non-nationals in the Fordsburg environment This network of trust does not begin in the country of destination; it originates in the country of origin.

6.3 Routes of Entry into South Africa

In trying to understand why migrants from particular countries choose to come to South Africa, and in particular, Fordsburg, the research draws on the nature of entry into South Africa. South Africa shares its borders with five countries and the porosity of these borders is known to be one of the major reasons for the ease of entry (Peberdy 2009) that undocumented migrants use is the theme of the next section.

6.3.1 A Dense Network of Agents

Maalik is a South African who has lived in Fordsburg for the past twenty-four years. Maalik's partner is a Pakistani, who entered South Africa with the assistance of a network of agents. Maalik agreed to provide insight on how this is accomplished:

The agents don't reveal themselves. He [Maalik's partner] also won't tell you. They get an agent in Pakistan and the Pakistan agent connects them to whichever border they [are] going to come through, from that border country. They come through then the agent there will connect [them to an agent in South Africa] to come through to South Africa, like three agents. Say they come from that border and the agent there will contact the agent in South Africa [They have a network of agents] that brings them in (Maalik, October 2013, interview).

Akbar, a twenty-eight-year-old Bangladeshi, provides similar insights into how networks facilitate entry for migrants from Bangladesh, India and Pakistan. Akbar gives an account of his route:

[From Bangladesh I went to] Bombay. After I went to Bombay [I travelled to] Ethiopia then to South Africa. They [the agents] have contacts with all the airports, like Dubai airport, Indian airport, Zimbabwe airport¹³ like South Africa airport. First you buy ticket and the contact [will communicate with his contact at] all the airports. [...] But the Bangladesh people are not involved here; the South African people do it. [...] And the illegal people mostly doing [this] are the Pakistani guys. Bangladeshi try to get asylum visa and after [that they] apply for passport and open the shop and own business something like that. [...] The Pakistani is like the mafia. Bangladeshi is not like this

¹³ The Harare International Airport flights from a number of African countries and a few international flights by airlines such as Emirates and Dutch KLM. Most Western airlines do not fly into Zimbabwe because of EU and US sanctions against the government

mafia people, they are scared. He [Pakistani] knows how to bring the people in (Akbar, October 2013, interview).

Akbar reveals an Indian agent had contacted an agent in either Zimbabwe or South Africa to organise a visa to enter South Africa. Akbar indicates that there is a close relationship between the Bengali people and the Indian people (Akbar, October 2013, interview).

Akbar insisted on complete confidentiality because he admits that a former friend is involved in the undocumented entry of migrants into South Africa. Once Akbar became aware of this activity, he broke off all association with the individual. Akbar also shares that Bangladeshis already residing in South Africa are approached to provide safe houses for groups of undocumented migrants. Akbar's story supports the view that other strong local networks are in place to bring migrants without documentation into the country (Akbar, October 2013, interview). However, he also says that some migrants do enter legally, especially those with education and work experience who are able to organise their own jobs. Some migrants make use of student visas or work permits to gain entry; while others over-stay their permits and then apply for asylum status to extend their residence in the country.

Carrim, a Bangladeshi, was twenty-two-years-old when he arrived in South Africa in 2008. From O.R. Tambo International Airport (ORTIA), Carrim travelled on a visa to Lesotho. After some time, he and a group of undocumented migrants entered South Africa from Lesotho. Carrim said "it's easy to come, easy to go [...] the border is easy". Upon enquiring if he bribed border officials, he said "I paid [someone] in Bangladesh...somebody make it [easy] to come" (Carrim, October 2012, interview). Habib, also a Bangladeshi, entered South Africa via Lesotho, at the age of seventeen. His cousin who has lived in South Africa for twenty years funded his ticket to South Africa and his journey onwards to Lesotho.

I came, 'jumping the border'¹⁴ [into South Africa]. I had a foot entry visa for Lesotho. [It] means when I got to Lesotho I got an entry visa to Lesotho. They put a stamp. So many countries have this. [I travelled from] Bangladesh to Dubai, Dubai to Johannesburg, Johannesburg to Lesotho and back to Johannesburg. In Lesotho a Pakistani assisted me [to gain entry into South Africa] (Habib, October 2013, interview).

¹⁴ 'Jumping the border' is a term used for the undocumented entry into South Africa without official papers and bypassing border controls

Habib's account that it was a Pakistani who helped him to enter South Africa provides further evidence to Akbar's allegations of Pakistanis involvement in unlawful entry into the country. Pakistanis themselves are reluctant to confirm this network or provide other information mainly for fear of being handed over to the immigration officials. Many simply deny any knowledge of it.

Nabeel, a Bangladeshi, was twenty-three-years-old when he used a network to enter into South Africa. He also claims that he "jumped the border" and tells his story:

No [I was] not alone. [There were] about 10 or 20 people. When we get to Mozambique then we meet more [people] and get [into the] car. [...] Yes I came through Maputo. [This was all pre-arranged in Bangladesh]. [The agents] are mostly Pakistanis and some are Bangladeshis. [...] [I paid] R40 000 [for coming] through Dubai [and then] to Mozambique (Nabeel, October 2013, interview).

Nabeel waited in Maputo for five days where the agent had organised food and a place for him to stay.

Arun, an Indian national of twenty-two-years, flew from India to Kenya. A group of seven people drove to Maputo in a 4x4 vehicle where he stayed for a further one month. He cannot quite explain where he stayed, but states that he did not feel fearful for his life. Once he crossed the border into South Africa he walked for an hour to escape detection. Eventually he arrived in Actonville in Benoni, east of Johannesburg, which is an 'Indian township'. For Arun, this would be where he would most likely find migrants from India or perhaps a South African Indian who would assist him further (Arun, June 2011, interview).

Najam, a 40 year old, has been a migrant for a long time. He started working in Iraq, Saudi Arabia, and then went to Brunei, Dar es Salam and Malaysia. He tells me about his journey:

I spoke to a guy and he said I can [come to] South Africa, it [is] better here. [...] I first went from Bangladesh to Mozambique then to Johannesburg. [...] There are a lot of Bangladeshi people and [they] help me go to Durban and make my papers. [I worked for] one year in a factory in Durban (Najam, October 2013, interview).

The routes undertaken reveal the following patterns:

- From Pakistan, participants flew to Kenya and then travelled overland to Mozambique and eventually crossed over in to South Africa covertly.

- From Bangladesh, participants flew to India, Dubai and then to Johannesburg. At the airport, they used a transit visa to enter into Lesotho. After some time, they would use ‘foot entry¹⁵’ into South Africa.
- A number of other countries on or near the South African border, such as Zimbabwe, Malawi and Mozambique are used as entry points into South Africa to avoid detection.
- Sometimes as many as four countries are used as transit points before the final destination is eventually reached. Ethiopia and Kenya are common transit countries. Jinnah’s (2013: 9) study on Somali migrants favour a land route moving from Kenya to Tanzania or Uganda, Zambia and then either Mozambique or Zimbabwe before entering into South Africa.
- Within South Africa, Johannesburg is used as an entry point for other major cities such as Durban and Port Elizabeth to access documents, employment opportunities and accommodation.
- For the Egyptian migrants, one of the participants made use of unlawful entry into the country, while the majority entered on business permits.
- The proximity of Malawi to South Africa and the long history of labour migration allow Malawian nationals to enter into country with the use of their passports and travel by bus or taxi to South Africa.

In summary, these narratives reveal and confirm that a network of agents facilitates the movement of people into countries in a clandestine manner. Diverse entry points lie on the borders of a number of countries and a ‘migration industry’ exists in many countries to facilitate the undocumented entry of migrants. Several salient features emerge from the sampled migrants’ stories. A dense and well-connected network that spans continents and countries exists, which involves protagonists such as border patrols and immigration officials, inclusive of nested networks in which locals are apparently involved in facilitating the undocumented movement of migrants through many transit countries.

¹⁵ Foot entry means that migrants from Bangladesh, India and Pakistan obtained a visa from the country of origin and a transit visa from ORTIA into Lesotho. From Lesotho they apply for a visa entry and use a land route called ‘foot entry’ into the country

These findings mirror those of earlier studies such as the work of Jinnah (2013); Nyström (2012); Park and Rugunanan (2010); Rugunanan (2009). At times, the ease and in some cases, the bravado with which the younger migrants speak of their journeys, in an almost casual manner, belies the incredible personal risk that they took.

6.3.2 A Matter of Trust in the “Manpower Business”

In all the accounts of undocumented entry, various amounts of money are mentioned as payment to ensure the safe delivery of the migrants in the destination country. Akbar, a Bangladeshi alludes to a “manpower business” that brings people into South Africa legally or unlawfully for a sum of money ranging from R20 000 to R30 000 (US\$ 1700 to 2500). Maalik is aware that there are factors known to push the fee to as much as R100 000 (US\$ 8500) and beyond. The individual concerned has to pay an upfront deposit of about 50 per cent; the rest is paid to the “manpower business” upon arrival in South Africa. Once in South Africa, the “manpower business” approaches their local network of relatives or friends to assist in finding employment for the new entrant. Akbar infers that the “manpower business” has pervasive contacts *en-route* to all the airports, they have “dealings with everyone”. Akbar was quick to disassociate the Bangladeshi involvement in such dealings, insisting instead that Pakistanis are part of this syndicate. However he adds “who is this mafia who is doing this, no one knows. They [are] always hiding” (Akbar, October 2013, interview).

Maalik provides support for Akbar’s story by revealing how Pakistani families make use of agents to assist them with entry into a foreign country:

And the thing is they pay the money beforehand. You know Pakistani families are very big and they send them to look for jobs. The whole family will put money together for him to come to a foreign country. And they will pay the agent from Pakistan and the agent from Pakistan will contact the agent nearest to the boarder of South Africa and the neighbouring agent will contact the agent in South Africa. They mainly come through at night, they come individually. Each agent can only take about 2 or 3. [...] What I heard is they pay in our money all in all about a R100 000 (a hundred grand) altogether. [...] When the agent goes and fetch them he will see what to do [how to hide them best]. The agent will first make sure there’s no police or foreign police patrol (Maalik, October 2013, interview).

Both Maalik and Akbar’s narratives suggest that migrants tap into kinship networks in order to finance, cultivate and sustain an industry of this nature. The networks provide information and assistance and mutual trust is critical and present in this transactional relationship.

Sahel, a twenty-two-year-old Egyptian participant, who did not complete his high school education, provides a similar story. Sahel flew from Egypt to Malawi and paid the agent R60 000 (US\$ 5000). Sahel did not have any family in South Africa, nor did he know anyone, but he remembers that he travelled with a group of fourteen people from different parts of Egypt to Malawi and then on to South Africa (Sahel, September 2011, interview).

The “manpower business” organises entry at considerable cost to support and assist undocumented migrants with their initial integration and employment. The cost of entry ranged from R30 000 (US\$ 2500) and up to R100 000 (US\$ 8400) for the Pakistani migrants. The cost usually includes food and accommodation in temporary stopovers in transit countries. Central to the success of the business is a mutually trusting reciprocal relationship. In exchange for the safe passage, an agreed sum of money is paid. Each party seems honour-bound to fulfil their part of the contract. Surprisingly, honour is an intricate and palpable theme interwoven into the narratives of the migrants regarding their entry into South Africa, almost as if the manpower business is driven by honour based on trust and reciprocity. Trust that they will arrive at the place of destination, reciprocated by the payment of fees.

6.3.3 Precarious Journeys and Temporary Stop-overs

While the notion of trust and reciprocity is in place, it does not guarantee the journey to be seamless or without risk. The risk of discovery is real. Akbar reveals that the agent will contact the airport agent informing him of a payment in US dollars. He adds further, “there is too much problems at the airport. I have seen many people going back and they lose their money [when they] come in [without documents]” (Akbar, October 2013, interview). Maalik highlights just how precarious the migrant’s journey to South Africa can be:

[...] And when they come they don’t come with anything. They only come with the clothing they leave with. No paper nothing. Nothing. [...] They have agents that hide them somewhere on the plane. Some of them are put in boxes with the luggage. They hide them and when the plane lands in African countries they take them out and cross over to any border they want. Sometimes it so happens that at the border, the boys have to stay like a week or two or three weeks sometimes a month or two months just to cross safely across the border. Some of them live very near the border. People by the border are paid by the agent to let them cross over. Once they cross over the South African agent will wait for them at the border. From then on, the only destination they know they are going to come to, is Fordsburg (Maalik, October 2013, interview).

Supporting this view, Basheer, a twenty-three-year-old Pakistani, flew from Pakistan to Kenya and then crossed into Mozambique using a land route. He stayed for a month with the people who are involved in the “jumping the border” process. Together with others, they left in a kombi (passenger vehicle) for a five-hour drive, and had to walk through mountains for a further three hours without food and water. Basheer adds that once it was deemed safe to cross the border, the electrified fences between Mozambique and South Africa were difficult to overcome. However, there were black people who knew how to help them across: “Black people know everything”. Basheer relates that he paid “one guy 300 000 rupees [about R50 000 or US\$ 4200] – I think the price has gone up. My cousin paid 450 000 rupees (US\$ 6250). Basheer was not afraid to undertake this journey, saying confidently that “the guy” was only paid after bringing them safely into South Africa (Basheer, June 2011, interview).

The experiences of Maalik, Nabeel, Arun, Sahel, Shakeel, Dominic and Ebrahim all show that the journey is not a direct one, instead at times; a second or third country is used *en-route* to the final destination. The journey may last anything from a few days, a week or up to six months, depending on when it was deemed safe to travel. The under-current of implicit trust in the network and having sufficient confidence to face the hardship involved is a significant revelation. The purveyors of this form of migration must have full confidence in their ability to deliver the end result and therefore their reputation is an essential means to sustaining their businesses. If not, there would be hardly any motivation on the part of undocumented migrants to want to use their services.

The routes the migrants undertake raises a number of important questions: why do migrants (or their sending families) choose such a difficult and risky form of entry into South Africa? How, and more importantly, what prompts them to part with such large sums of money to make this journey? These are questions for future studies on migration from the Global South to South Africa.

6.4 Conclusion

The chapter provides some insight into why and how these ethnic groups - the Bangladeshis, the Egyptians, the Indians, the Malawians and the Pakistanis find their way to Fordsburg. Some of the reasons given for migrating to South Africa are problems in the home country that relate to political strife and a life lived in risk. Other compelling drivers are economic opportunities in South Africa and the chance for a decent life free of poverty and the physical

and economic well-being of the migrants and their families. A significant finding is that Fordsburg is viewed as a Muslim place, this associated religious identity creates a sense of the familiar and of belonging, and resonates with images of home, in the form of places of worship, trading and culture.

Some participants openly shared their journeys while others were more cautious. The modus operandi, the strategic use of routes and the same stopover points, speaks of an extensive and organised enterprise that operates clandestinely. This is far more organised and pervasive than initially expected. Its existence raises serious questions about the porosity of national borders, and the extent to which undocumented migrants are able to enter South Africa. This 'migration industry' (Harris 1996), operates at a meso-level and comprises forms for migration, which Sandoval (2013) refers to as a shadow network developing into 'shadow transnationalism'. The Egyptians, Indians and Malawians used legitimate channels of entry. While I foreground two important stories, one from Maalik and the other from Akbar, illustrating the routes from Pakistan and Bangladesh, respectively, the majority of the undocumented migrants interviewed used similar means of entry.

Their stories reflect related trends that emerged during the analysis of the interviews: although the family, in most cases, sponsors the outward migration, the incumbent is hard pressed to find work upon arrival in South Africa and to repay the family and, perhaps, other facilitators of their local integration. The patterns of travel involved the use of two to three countries as transit points before entering South Africa. Stopovers in one these countries lasts anything from three weeks to six months presumably for a window period in which the crossings can be made without detection. A co-ordinated network of agents exists that operates across continents and countries, indicating strong, fortified and well-organised networks or syndicates that are able to transcend legal means of entry.

The network operates not only in the country of origin but appears to have a support networks for stopovers in many transit countries and has agents in the destination countries. Large sums of money are being paid to ensure a safe passage and the ability of these enterprises to skilfully deliver on this promise. The participants knowingly engaged in this practice, demonstrating agency in choosing this form of entry. The transactional relationship operates on good business principles; the agents are only paid the second instalment upon the safe arrival of the migrant in the country of choice. The payment usually includes other transportation costs, food and accommodation but is not without substantial risk either

because there are no guarantees of help if arrested or if health issues arise or with facilities to promote safety when moving across the entry point. They face the risk of falling prey to further criminal activity at the border posts.

The 'network' apparently uses its extended network of friends and family to create or find opportunities for employment. Additionally, where family and extended family reside in South Africa, local arrangements are made to support migrants with these family relationships. Finally, a key theme other than the financial cost, is the human cost of the journey. The families of persons who die of malaria or other illnesses may never hear of their fate. The 'network', although logistically capable, is not able to mitigate or possibly consider the risk associated with indigenous diseases.

A common thread running through all of this engagement is the implicit trust in the network of agents to transport someone from Egypt, India, Bangladesh and Pakistan to South Africa, under the radar and with reasonable certainty. Closely associated with trust is the notion of honour with particular reference to the safe passage of the migrants and in the payment for the journey.

The existence of both kinship and non-kinship based networks in Fordsburg allows the migrant to access avenues of support, residence and employment. In order to fully understand the dense and demanding social ties that connect migrants to their country of origin and to forge a connection with their new environment, it is necessary to examine the ties that bind the migrants to their family back home. In the next chapter attention is given to exploring the respondents' relationships with the family in the country of origin, the role of remittances, the gender relations and the inter-relationships amongst the participants of this study.

CHAPTER 7

EXPLORING INTEGRATION AND INTERRELATIONSHIPS AMONGST MIGRANT COMMUNITIES AND SOUTH AFRICANS

7.1 Introduction

Fordsburg is contested by the communities that come to inhabit it. In Chapter 1, I argue that its boundaries are transparent and communities are recycled, and with each recycling, each group casts their own identity over the suburb. As this happens, their claim to ownership is largely temporary and transient. However, a way of creating permanence is by setting up homes, establishing families and engaging in livelihoods, thereby integrating into the community. Integration, however, also depends on conditions in the receiving country and the reception of the host community.

Having explored the reasons for coming to South Africa in Chapter 6, this chapter is the second part of the discussion of the theme ‘constructing communities at the micro-level’. The role of integration is examined within the context of space, that is, the living spaces of migrants, relationships between and among groups and the ‘relational’ spaces of family and family ties.

7.2 Conditions in the Receiving Community

The concept integration is not without contestation (Phillips 2010; Castles et al. 2002). The academic literature examines the complexity of this concept, amongst policy makers and the general public however, integration is seldom defined. The concern with integration reflects debates at the centre of migration issues, where migrants are ‘othered’ or considered ‘deviants’ and stigmatised as criminals, dirty and fuelling a moral panic and security crisis (Trimikliniotis 2013: 65). The migrants in this study made a conscious choice to come to South Africa, but conditions in the receiving community were not what they imagined.

7.2.1 The Living Spaces of Migrants

During informal conversations with South Africans in the study area, the living arrangements of migrants were always commented upon but in a ridiculing and disparaging manner. They were stereotyped as “dirty”, fifteen to sixteen people sharing a flat, or that they took turns

with their sleeping arrangements and even opted to sleep in their business premises rather than in a home.

Maalik arranged for access to a “communal” as he referred to it. The building, bordering the Fordsburg Square, looks like an ordinary building; a “no spitting” sign (Chapter 5, Section 5.3.1) greets you in the entrance of the building. The first floor is an entertainment area comprising pool tables. The rest of the three floors are converted into rooms. One of the room doors was ajar and I could see mattresses on the floor. Each floor had a kitchen equipped with two hot plates and wash basins. An African national guarding the building became quite suspicious about our presence. It was midday and there was only one person present at the time of the visit. I gathered that a single room typically rented for R2 000 to R3 000, while for two bedrooms the rent was R7 000 to R8 000 (or US\$580 to US\$ 670) (personal field notes, 2013).

Further observations show some similarities in the accommodation patterns amongst the various ethnic groups. The Pakistanis and Bangladeshis live in Fordsburg, in lodgings with members of their own group, while married couples live with their spouses and children. Zena, an Indian national, shares her accommodation with her husband, four children, her married daughter and son-in-law, in a two bed roomed flat. She was too embarrassed to show me her living quarters; she claimed it was very untidy. Saadia, a thirty-two-year old Indian national, lives with her husband and two children in a flat in Fordsburg complained: “[the] rent is very high. [My flat] rent is R7 000 (US\$ 580), I just work and work, just to pay the rent” (Saadia, June 2011, interview).

Taahir, a Pakistani, shares a two bed roomed flat with his two brothers, his cousin who has a wife and child and pays R5 000 (US\$ 420) in rent (Taahir, June 2011, interview). Hafiz and Basheer, two single Pakistani men, share a room in a flat and each pays R2 000 (US\$ 170) as rent. They have an arrangement with a Pakistani restaurant to supply them with meals for R300 (US\$ 25) a month (Basheer and Hafiz, June 2011, interviews).

Habib shares a bachelor apartment with four other Bangladeshis. The apartment consists of a kitchen, a bedroom and a dining room; the rental is R3 500 (US\$ 290) (Habib, October 2013, interview). Sajeet, also a Bangladeshi, was evasive about the exact number of inhabitants, indicating that the number of “four or five” was probably more than what he chose to reveal (Sajeet, September 2011, interview).

All of the Egyptians in this study live in Lenasia, 33 km south of Johannesburg, and commute daily to Fordsburg. Sahel shares a flat with five other Egyptians; they live rent-free in a flat owned by their Egyptian employer. They drive to Fordsburg daily, with Sahel being the unlicensed driver. Moiz rents a flat in Benoni with his South African wife, and the rest of the Egyptian participants share a house in Lenasia, also provided by their employer.

The Malawians prefer to live in Fordsburg or areas neighbouring it, such as Newtown and Brixton. They walk home at night, making them easy prey for criminals. The Malawians tend to share a bed-space in a room. For instance, a large room would sleep six people; each of the occupants would pay between R500 (US\$ 40) and R600 (US\$ 50) for an allotted bed-space. Kingsley pays R600 monthly for a space he shares with his brother, in a room shared with six others. Each of the three people who share a room with Ashraf, pay R1 300 (US\$ 110) per month. For each of the many rooms, this amounts to quite a tidy sum of money with very few ‘amenities’ available to the tenants. All of the Malawian participants share accommodation in this manner.

Zaid, a South African, says that the extensive refurbishment of flats and apartments in Fordsburg is “because of a foreign invasion”. He adds that both South Africans and Pakistanis have invested in real estate and refurbished parts of Fordsburg (see Chapter 5, Section 5.4.1; Chapter 9, Section 9.6.1). Thus, rental revenues have become important. A Pakistani businessman owns the Fordsburg Hotel as well as a number of blocks of flats mostly occupied by non-nationals. Zaid notes that, “space has become very expensive because of the influx of foreigners”. Given the perception that South Africans have of fifteen to twenty people sharing a flat, accommodation is crowded: “They probably sleep in shifts, some even sleep in their shops until they are on their feet and then get a flat, this is what they do” (Zaid, September 2012, interview). Sulaiman’s comment supports that of Zaid’s “[they] hire one place and there are twenty of them living in there. ... Some of them hire out houses and [sublet] rooms for R2 000 (US\$ 170) per room” (Sulaiman, October 2013, interview). Dilip states that the South Asian groups “could live in a hovel” (Dilip, March 2011, interview). Zaid also adds that “eventually it becomes a slum and this also adds to xenophobia” (Zaid, September 2012, interview).

In the “old days”, according to Dilip, it was also difficult to find accommodation, and now 90 per cent of the properties in Fordsburg are occupied by non-nationals (Dilip, March 2011, interview). South Africans typically find the rentals expensive, but for the migrants it

becomes eminently affordable given that a number people share the space. Sarcastically, Dilip says “they usually say four are living legally, another 10 or 12 are living illegally, or when the lights go off the rest come in” (Dilip, March 2011, interview). Zayboon’s explanation was that by sharing food, living and rental costs, migrants are able to spread the financial load amongst several of them (Zayboon, September 2011, interview).

These narratives strongly suggest that migrants from a particular country prefer to stay together. The Egyptians live in accommodation owned by their employers in Lenasia and travel by car to work. The Indian participants appear to be slightly better off than the Pakistanis and Bangladeshis, while the Malawian group seem to be at the bottom rung of the ladder, having to share bed-space in a room, with virtually no privacy. The sharing of bed-space for the Malawians is vastly different from the sharing of a flat or house that is common among the other groups. The type of accommodation is indicative of a migrant group as some are better off than others.

Driven by the economics of demand, the rentals are high and landlords benefit from the increased returns. Migrants mitigate the cost by spreading it across a number of individuals to syndicate floor space, or even convert shop space into night time accommodation. A broader question to ask is whether landlords who are unscrupulous and opportunistic are driving multiple occupation of space; circumstances which they themselves would hardly tolerate. On the other hand, for migrants, who probably live under similar circumstances of domestic crowding in their home countries, the crowding experienced here may represent something familiar. The living spaces must also be regarded as momentary spaces of dignity and living for the migrants, and thus the tolerance to share is quite high due to the extent to which people are prepared to sacrifice “personal space” as well as privacy. For migrants, this sacrifice may be a small price to pay. However, once migrants do find a place to stay, the longing for home and family becomes apparent.

7.2.2 Gender Relations in Migrant Communities

Amongst the five migrant groups in this study, attitudes towards women conjoin within a strong patriarchal and religious view. Whilst I have interviewed Pakistani and Indian women, I did not come across any Bangladeshi or Egyptian women. Munif and Adil, both Pakistani men, suggest that men are usually the first to migrate. They then return home to marry and then bring their wives to settle in South Africa. A first generation is being born and attending

school here. Adil confidently predicts that in another 10 to 15 years this first generation will be fully established in Fordsburg (Adil, October 2013, interview).

Interestingly and somewhat paradoxically he added:

I am not talking of Bangladesh people they [are] still of that same old regime. They leave their wives there. They come here and stay with 5-6 people. Their ultimate aim is just to work here and go back. [...] That is what they say and admit very proudly. “Not our woman”. This is how they talk (Adil, October 2013, interview).

On the lack of visibility of Bangladeshi women, Akabr says it is “not safe” in South Africa, the women are left behind in Bangladesh. Some Bengali men have brought their wives, but in the daily activities of Fordsburg, they are seldom seen.

Mikhail, a twenty-year-old South African, who knows the Egyptian migrants well said:

First of all, the religion restricts women. I haven't seen any Egyptian woman coming to work. I know a lot of Moroccan women. We have a Moroccan lady here [in Fordsburg] also. From the time my father started there were Moroccan ladies working for him. I haven't actually seen any Egyptian women here for work or anything. The ones I do see are the ones who go there and get married and bring them back (Mikhail, September 2012, interview).

Sahel, a twenty-six-year old Egyptian, said that Egyptian women “can't travel on their own” and “[it] is not respect[ful] or right to travel on their own”, “not our culture *no ... the ladies can't go out, they can't go out*” (his emphasis) (Sahel, September 2011, interview). Moiz, an Egyptian, confirms that Egyptian women, must be at home, looking after the family, and that they should not be allowed out of the house, particularly on their own (Moiz, September 2011, interview).

Khajaat reflects on her difficult life in Pakistan. While her husband tried to carve out a life in South Africa for his family, she was left to look after their two small children and their baby, just twenty-days-old when her husband left. In apparent anguish she explains:

Asian ladies have a hard life; every time they are suffering; [they] only have one husband. My family [are] very hard, angry people. [...] I was 9 years alone [without him]. I lived with my husband's parents. My family is small, my father is dead, and my mother and I have one brother. Oh and my husband's family is very big – all married all *so* [her emphasis] very big, five brothers and one sister, all married. [It was] very hard. [There was] no support from my husband. [There are] too much problems in Pakistan. My mother supported me [she said] “you open a beautician store, to support your children”. My small daughter was 20 days old when he came

to South Africa. All three children were small. It was a big problem, my father was very sick and every time I had to take him to doctor [I had to pay]. My brother was studying, so I started this job to help my family (Khajaat, June 2011, interview).

For Khajaat, leaving Pakistan was not the end of her anguish. She has been in South Africa for four years, her business venture has proved costly and the financial stress causes major problems between her and her husband. Her whole life “is a very hard job. I am the maid, I do [everything] myself”. The two bedroomed flat costs R4 000 (US\$ 340) to rent for a month. Khajaat sums up her life as “[this is] a very expensive life” (Khajaat, June 2011, interview).

Vibha, a forty-year-old Indian national came to South Africa in 2009, on a six month visa, paid R2 000 (US\$ 170) to extend it for six months and R15 000 (US\$ 1250) to extend her work permit. Initially, she lived with her nephew, but now stays in a single room in the backyard of the property. She cooks for herself as she is a very strict vegetarian, and does not want her cooking utensils to be contaminated by meat products. Vibha’s fourteen-year-old daughter attends boarding school in India, and her husband, involved in the diamond business in India, will not come to South Africa. Her husband’s family all live together in one household, the norm for extended families among Hindus.

What is not the norm is a forty-year-old Hindu woman living on her own in a foreign country. Vibha has asthma and a pacemaker facing a dire health condition; the clean South Africa air is particularly beneficial for her. Her husband and daughter support her decision to live in South Africa to regain her health, but Vibha says that all she does is work. She has a laptop for movies and Skypes her husband and daughter. Even when South African friends invite her out, she declines because she does not wish to betray the trust that her husband has in her. She claims that she is very happy as she is making a great deal of money to build a home for her mother in India. She shares “I want to secure money for my house and my daughter then I will see. My life is very short” (Vibha, June 2011, interview).

Zaid, a South African, attests to quite a few Pakistani women who are mostly seen on weekend evenings around the Square. They are “basically housewives” which is why they are not seen much during the day (Zaid, September 2012, interview). Phyllis adds “they are very protective of their women” and remarks that most of the men will be walking around with their children and say “my wife is at home cooking for me” (Phyllis, July 2013, interview).

The views of the majority of the participants support the notion that Bangladeshi, Pakistani and Egyptian men reinforce the patriarchal and gendered roles of women primarily as

mothers and keepers of the home. The gendered views of the men are circumscribed by the traditional patriarchal, religious and cultural practices of the home countries. Ostensibly, this culture is based on the protection of women but ‘to protect’ is perhaps a euphemism for sustaining the roles of women as sisters, wives and mothers. The women in turn, have a strong sense of allegiance and loyalty to these values and even, as in the case of Vibha and Khajaat, where the potential to be independent exists. Vibha endures isolation as a necessary sacrifice to this loyalty. Similarly, for the Malawians, where poverty is a strong push factor for migration, men, as the main breadwinners, migrate to support the family who remains in the country of origin, leaving the women to tend to the family.

Although gender theorists (Piper 2010, Dannecker 2007) argue that migration leads to renegotiating identities and power relations, this does not apply entirely to the participants of this study. Khadija displayed some independence by entering the labour market in Pakistan to secure an income for her children and family, which was extended on her arrival in South Africa where she establishes her own business in Fordsburg, despite immense financial and family constraints. Vibha, isolates herself to maintain respect for her family that lives in the home country. She performs the gender and role archetype of Hindu women as being the ‘perfect woman’ (Hiralal 2013).

The unequal gender balance in the migrant communities of Fordsburg mirrors that of the migrant communities of the early twentieth century (Van Onselen 1982a). Stals’ (1986; 1978) research on early Fordsburg records marriages across racial lines, as leading to a moral breakdown of society. The gender imbalance in early communities led to the marriages across racial groups. The continuity of marriage across race prevails in present-day Fordsburg. The next section considers marriage as a strategy for integration into a South African setting.

7.2.3 Marriages of Conveniences

The male migrants in this study comprise single and unmarried participants and those married with established families either in the country of origin or in South Africa. To legitimise their stay in South Africa, some of the migrants chose to enter into ‘marriage contracts’ with South African women.

A phrase that emerged from the interviews was that of “paper marriage”. Taahir, a Pakistani, (June 2011, interview) reference was casual, almost nonchalant, as if it was a norm and established practice. Taahir reveals that he is “paper married”:

Now I am paper married, I am married to one black lady, she comes and [meet] me at the shop. [Did you pay her?] Yes I paid her for it. And I pay her for lunch and clothes when she comes to visit (Taahir, June 2011, interview).

Because of his “paper marriage” Taahir is in possession of a temporary residence visa. Taahir has a cousin who travelled to Port Elizabeth to obtain permits and there he met and married a coloured woman. They have a small child and share a flat with Taahir’s family in Carr Gardens, across the Bree Street entrance of the Oriental Plaza in Fordsburg.

During the early 2000s many Pakistani men married women in the local Muslim community to secure citizenship and, when attained, the men would often divorce their South African wives. This opportunism of the Pakistani migrants led to increasing levels of distrust and a distancing from the South African Indian community (from Dilip, March 2011, interview). Dilip, a South African, indicates that initially South African Indians were swept away by these young Pakistani men who spoke such eloquent Urdu, Gujarati or Hindi. Women particularly were so thrilled with the young men who could converse in the language of their forefathers. False pretences about marriage led to a loss of respect for the Pakistanis fostering a negative attitude towards them ordering on distrust, especially on the part of South African Indians of Muslim faith (Dilip, March 2011, interview).

Dilip elaborates further on other ways of obtaining legal status, “the Bangladeshis have now married a lot of black women. If you go into all the townships, I’d say nine out of ten of all the Indian traders in a black township would be Bangladeshi. They eventually marry them, stay with them, look after their family as such, but the underlying thing, they are making the bucks [money]” (Dilip, March 2011, interview). The number of media reports of xenophobic attacks on Bangladeshis in the townships confirms occupation by Bangladeshi in the townships.

Akbar, a Bangladeshi provided the following insight:

Some South African ladies don’t like the foreigners and the foreigners think that the ladies don’t like them, only their money. They think that the South African ladies might rob them and run away. And they won’t look after us nicely. Love is separate but if you marry, some finish your money and run away and some Bengali men also marry and don’t look after the woman nicely and run away. Many foreigners marry black ladies and stay together. But South Africa has a new law now. If you marry you have to stay with her. [...] You see in the location many Bengalis got married [to] black ladies and they stay together and [have] children. And many African

ladies moved to Bangladesh. Some say they want to marry their country girl. Some marry here and marry in Bangladesh as well (Akbar, October 2013, interview).

When trying to establish if Bangladeshi men only married black women to become citizens, Akbar quickly redirects the conversation by saying that Pakistanis are more involved in those activities. Najam, resident for four years, was one of the few participants who said that his wife and children were in Bangladesh. He wishes that he could bring his family to South Africa, but because of his asylum status he is unable to do so. However, he has considered entering into a marriage of convenience with a black woman, but is uncomfortable with this prospect as the law has become restrictive in how it defines marriage to non-nationals in order to clamp down on these practices of “paper marriages” (Najam, October 2013, interview).

Najam explains that a marriage of convenience is an agreement in which the marital status is exchanged for giving the woman an expected monthly allowance of R500 to R1 000 (US\$ 40 to US\$ 85). Najam adds that the “ladies, after a few months or years demand more money. They ask for a house and if you don’t do, then we have a problem” (Najam, October 2013, interview). The comment shows the tenuousness of this arrangement.

Tayub, a forty-year-old Bangladeshi, responded by trying to deflect attention away from paper marriages: “In Pakistan, Bangladesh and [in] India [there] are all arranged marriages”. Maalik, a South African, who had accompanied me to Tayub, interjected by stating that the marriages of convenience is “just to get married to [obtain] the paper, not to live together. Just to be legal” (Maalik, October 2013, interview). Tayub eventually admitted that he is married to a black woman in Alberton (25km from Fordsburg), the relationship is an informal one, they do not live together, but she comes by whenever she wants some money from him: “Sometimes she comes and takes. ... She’s my wife. Sometime she takes R500 sometimes R1 000 [whenever she wants]. [..] [There is] no agreement. My marriage is not an agreement. Every month she comes here” (Tayub, October 2013, interview).

Nabeel, a twenty-six-year old Bangladeshi, who has been in the country since 2010, decided against the practice of “paper marriage” because “this side needs too much money. [The black ladies] want a car, a house. [My] salary is too small and I need to send [money] for my brother and mother” (Nabeel, October 2013, interview). Razak, is an Indian national married to a coloured South African, and insists that his wife’s family have always supported him. He says that he is happily married with two young children (Razak, June 2011, interview).

For the Egyptian group, the issue of marriage was very different. Sahel, a twenty-six-year old Egyptian said he has a number of friends who have married South African women and they have families with them. He says “The life is good [here]”. But this is not an option for Sahel “because when I want to marry you, I want to marry you for myself, for a life, to be my wife, to be the mother of my children, You know if I want to marry for the paper, [I could] but I don’t want to hurt someone’s feelings like this. I don’t love you for the paper (Sahel, September 2011, interview).

The Egyptians were defensive on the issue of paper marriages and argued that it was not only the Pakistanis that engage in paper marriages. The Pakistanis marry and have children with South Africans and look after them as a family, just as a normal committed marriage. Manzil knows of a Pakistani restaurant owner, who is married to a black woman and they have a child (Manzil, October 2012, interview). Manzil cautions not to cast all migrants in the same negative light on the issue of marriages with South Africans. The Egyptian responses suggest that they also marry South African women, while having a second wife and family in Egypt. Sahel mentions that his employer is married here and has a wife in Egypt, dividing his time equally between the two families. The men lead transnational lives with having one family in South Africa and one in the country of origin.

The narratives highlight that these marriages of convenience relationships are not just random acts, but it is suspected that some kind of operative connects willing parties, although this could not be corroborated in this research. The migrants are relatively immobile and isolated in Fordsburg yet the participants in this study allude to having knowledge about the expectations of these women, indicating a deeper relationship that is being alluded to.

The relationship is not without some kind of active agency on the part of the South African women too. The women demand some form of compensation from the men who infer that the relationship is casual and irregular, as indicated by the phrases “when she comes to visit” or “whenever she wants”. The women realise that they have a certain amount of leverage, and are even demanding more substantial returns, as illustrated in the example of wanting a car or a house. One could suggest that there is a form of reverse exploitation on the part of women who recognise that migrants rely on the status of marriage to gain citizenship.

The threat of being revealed to the police and deportation is a worrying factor in the daily lives of migrants. Subsequent changes to the Immigration Act of 2002 are making other migrants wary of following the same route. This may explain why Bangladeshis have a need

to redirect the use of “paper marriages” as being a practice associated with Pakistanis. This theme also expands on one of the arguments of this thesis which focuses on exclusion, and how migrants have (ab)used aspects of South Africa’s immigration legislation to move beyond exclusion to gain entry into communities like Fordsburg. This indicates that conditions in the receiving country are exclusionary which opens up space for subversive activities.

In the section below, we examine the social dynamics between the South Africans and migrants. The focus falls on the increase in the numbers of foreign-owned businesses; the use of space by migrants; the inter-relationships between the different migrant groups, and lastly, the development of insular intra-relationships in Fordsburg in particular.

7.3 Sharing Spaces but not the Community

From the narratives of the migrants in Fordsburg, through the disclosures from the case study sample, several patterns of social behaviours emerge. These are forms of discrimination between the various non-national groups and between South Africans and migrants. There appears to be two quite distinct forms of insular relationship; one of which concerns South Asian nationals, and the other African nationals. However, even within each of the national groups there is an intense need to preserve cultural and religious identity and, while each group tolerates the shared confines of space, the groups seem to prefer to remain independent of each other in their own ethnic communities, leading me to argue that while migrants share the same spaces, sharing a sense of community is lacking. Common among all the traders is their dependence on South African nationals to support their businesses; and South Asian nationals find it difficult to understand why, given common ancestral origins, South African Indian citizens are aloof and do not readily create opportunities for association.

For the African nationals, an African identity is more important, overriding a national identity, with cross-national associations and friendships more likely to develop between migrants from other African countries. However, this appears not to be the case with the South Africans. Migrants view South Africans as tending towards being intolerant and even inhospitable. Since the South Africans feel anxious about the presence of non-nationals giving rise to an ‘invasion’ of Fordsburg, they have opted to move out of Fordsburg rather than integrate. This underlying tension, perhaps even resentment, may also exist because non-nationals are displacing local South Africans in both physical as well as economic spaces (Chapter 8, Section 8.2), and apparently with some success. The next section discusses the

attitudes of South Africans towards migrants, migrants' perceptions of South Africans and other migrants and the interplay of relationships amongst the different groups.

7.3.1 Perceived Attitudes of South Africans towards Migrants

Manzil, an Egyptian, shares his five-year experience of living in Bethlehem, in the Free State where he was in a relationship with a white woman. He says that he experienced “real racism”, and Bethlehem is the worst place he has ever stayed in in his whole life. He adds that the Muslim Indians there too were very racist towards him, but that black South Africans were very “peaceful” (Manzil, October 2013, interview).

Adil talks about an incident at the MacDonald's burger outlet in Fordsburg which, for him, typifies the attitudes of some South Africans. A non-national placed his order at the drive-through and was asked to wait in the parking area while they attended to his order. Some twenty minutes later as he went to query the delay in his order, he encountered a South African Indian, who screamed at him, but Adil says “it wasn't [because] of the shouting it [was what he was saying]”:

You overseas people. I know you come from India Pakistan and you have no manners and you just walk ahead of us. So the guy said, uncle I was here 20 minutes ago I'm just here to find out if they have forgotten about me or is it going to still be long. This guy would not budge; he just started blowing his gasket. He [kept on] shouting. So the guy said now enough is enough. You keep quiet or I know how to shout as well and get angry as well. And it was an old man. He said “uncle I know to get upset and shout as well” (Adil, October 2013, interview).

Such incidents reflect hidden tensions amongst South African Indians towards non-nationals. The phrase “you overseas people” from “India Pakistan” is quite a strong disconnection despite a common ancestry. In contrast, Razak, an Indian national, said that the local South African speaking Gujaratis are respectful. Razak said he felt accepted by local South Africans, but that “the local people abuse the Pakistani, but they like us. Indian people they know are humble and quiet” (Razak, June 2011, interview).

Razak's narrative raises four pertinent issues, first, the use of language as an identity marker that appears to transcend nationality; second, that South African Indians are intolerant of Pakistanis; third, drawing clear distinctions between Indian nationals and Pakistanis and fourth, identifying all Indian nationals as Hindus of behaving similarly, (humble and quiet). The latter is an assumed general characteristic associated with Indians in particular. Razak's views signify deeper tensions between Pakistani and Indian nationals; punctuated by an

emergent “them” and “us” tension attitude (Razak, June 2011, interview). This tension is examined in Section 7.3.3.

7.3.2 Migrants Perceptions of South Africans and South African Perceptions of Migrants

When asked to evaluate their relationships with South Africans, the Egyptian participants replied that, instead of evaluating or analysing them, they (the Egyptians) treat everyone with respect, especially their South African customers. Moiz, an Egyptian, said that not all South Africans are lazy, most are hardworking people with nice houses and cars, and they are generally respectful people. However, on the other hand, there are also those who are lazy, and would rather steal. In his country, Moiz viewed government workers as lazy. He adds that “we are all not the same” (Moiz, September 2011, interview). Sajeet, a Bangladeshi also views South Africans as lazy:

People are lazy, they don't work because the government gives them money every month that's why they don't work, not like my country, in my country the poor people don't get money they have to work, [if they do] not work how can [they] eat (Sajeet, September 2011, interview).

Akbar, a Bangladeshi, says that although a cordial relationship is in place, South Africans do not assist migrants financially, but sometimes, in matters involving the police, they would assist (Akbar, October 2013, interview). Razak, was unable to speak English when he first arrived and was frightened by all the stories about black people in particular. But now he realises that not every black person is a tsotsi or a criminal (Razak, June 2011, interview). Moiz feels that South Africans treat him with respect but “it is the black people that are the problem”. When pressed to explain his statement, he deflects by saying that most of them are not Muslims, and “that's all, [one] must be careful...” (Moiz, September 2011, interview).

In contrast, the views of some of the Malawians are quite disparaging of South Africans. Dominic finds most South Africans are rude and offensive when compared to Malawians. He is unable to relate to them and says “I never sit with them” (Dominic, January 2014, interview). Imraan, also a Malawian, says “sometime you know the South African people, you can't trust them. [...] [at the] end of the day they take chances and rob you just like that” (Imraan, February 2014, interview). Ebrahim, a Malawian is one of the few participants who has friends across nationalities. He cites six or seven friends who are Indian nationals, a Pakistani and an Egyptian, but not South Africans. The Malawians vacillated between either

networking among members of their own group or with migrants from South Asia; however, their interaction with South Africans by their own choice, is very limited.

Relations between non-nationals and South Africans are apparently tolerant but do not involve extending a helping hand. South Africans are typecast as being lazy, dependent on the government, and perceived as rather resorting to crime than being prepared to work. There is a real fear, especially of black South Africans who are regarded as being responsible for crime. Black South Africans are also viewed as ‘tsotsies’ or criminals. Malawians and Zimbabweans believe that black South Africans deliberately target them as victims in this respect. Non-nationals also believe that hard work is a necessary precondition for creating wealth, whereas South Africans are perceived to be “provided for” by the government and effectively, this absolves them from improving their own social conditions. Interestingly, the South Africans in the sample view the non-nationals as being responsible for the escalating crime in the country.

In contrast, the South African Indian traders are not very complimentary of the migrants. Sulaiman says that although some form of cordial relationship is in place, these relationships are kept to a minimum. He adds “there is a sense of distrust especially with the Pakistanis guys, they are very shrewd. You can’t trust them” (Sulaiman, October 2013, interview). Dilip attributes this lack of trust to the perception that Pakistanis are opportunistic and corrupt and untrustworthy (Dilip, March 2011, interview).

Zaid explains the perceptions of South Africans as “economic resentment” bordering on xenophobia (Zaid, September 2011, interview). Zaid, a South African, who has lived in Fordsburg for a number of years, provides the following insight:

I think it’s more economic resentment, because they’ve come over they’ve been successful, they open business, they’ve taken jobs, so people feel that their jobs and opportunities have been taken away. [...] [They take] any space they get they open up a business whether it be a barber or tailor or supermarket, I think it’s more economic resentment than anything else, you know it’s not because you from Pakistan or from India. [...] The foreigners are very enterprising (Zaid, September 2011, interview).

In addition, Zaid discloses the following view of Pakistanis:

No they [are] not very sociable, they stick to their own grouping, you see it clear[ly] when the Pakistani cricket team comes and win, then you see the celebrations, then the whole Pakistani community will get together, in that sense you can see [that]

they [are] very close knit they won't mix, they don't even intermarry (Zaid, September 2011, interview).

Zaid was very frank about the resentment which he termed as this “xenophobia thing”. He adds “It's very pungent this race thing this xenophobic thing, you can feel it in the air. Like the Somali's they've taken over 8th Street [in Mayfair, west of Fordsburg], like if they see an Indian they will say “hey go back to India, Africa is for Africans. If that is the type of attitude they have, then obviously one becomes resentful, and it builds up to this “xenophobic thing”. This xenophobic thing applies to all non-nationals equally” (Zaid, September 2011, interview).

Zaid thinks that South African Indians still associate with and connect to India and regard it as their ancestral home, but the Indian and Pakistan nationals view “us” as South Africans (Zaid, September 2011, interview). Contestations about identity, belonging and citizenship are thus real, and pervasive in the narratives about the relationships between the migrants and the South Africans in the study area.

7.3.3 Migrant Perceptions of Other Migrants in Fordsburg

This section examines the relationships among the migrants and how they interact with each other in a community with spatial limitations. Despite outward appearances of tolerance, each nationality categorised other nationalities in a particular light and characterised them with certain behaviour traits. Akbar, a Bangladeshi, disassociates himself with the view that Bangladeshis marry black women to obtain permanent residence permits. Instead, he considers the Pakistanis as being responsible for this behaviour. Sahel, an Egyptian, concurs “only the Pakistanis did that, not the Egyptians” (Sahel, September 2011, interview). Irfaan, a thirty-seven-year old Muslim from India says “we like our Indian community, local Indians come and support us because we are from India. The Bangladeshi and us we speak the same language, we understand each other” (Irfaan, June 2011, interview). It is worth noting that he excludes the Pakistanis and includes South African Indians supporting their trade, because of a perceived shared history and ancestry.

Anjali, a twenty-one-year-old Hindi speaking woman, had married a Pakistani national 18 months after arriving in South Africa. Her co-workers at the hairdressing salon, mostly Indian nationals, hinted their disapproval of the marriage because she had converted to Islam. The underlying tensions between Hindu and Muslim groups surface in numerous ways, while outwardly there appears some tolerance and mutual respect, at the same time, the cracks

begin to reveal itself, for example, in inter-marriages and in the narratives of the members of the two groups. Razak, an Indian national, declares that his Pakistani boss “always support me, he is a Pakistani but he always support me. If I need money, [he helps me out]” (Razak, June 2011, interview).

Adil, a forty-three-year-old Pakistani, brings out the India-Pakistan connection:

Because we actually come from India, before the partition. We often travel to India. We are frequent travellers because 80% of our family is in India. It's only 20% that is in Pakistan and then some spread to Europe there (Adil, October 2013, interview).

A significant finding was that Pakistanis will hire and work with the Indians; the Indians and the Bangladeshis will work with each other, but the Pakistanis and Bangladeshi (both predominantly Muslim) treat each other with apparent intolerance and distance. Habib, a Bangladeshi, says that while South Africans treat them nicely, this is not the case with Pakistanis:

Some Pakistanis [do] wrong things but [...] they fight and ask for money. They smack me and things like that. [...] Only the Pakistanis but not all of them. [...] Sometimes when I'm coming to work some guys ask me for money and I say I don't have and they make problems (Habib, October 2013, interview).

Habib, was the first respondent to allude to bullying by the Pakistanis; he was approached by some Pakistani for money and was assaulted when he refused. In the case with Zena, a young Pakistani man who borrowed money from her, paid her less and summarily extended the period of repayment. Unimpressed, Zena declared that “all Pakistanis are “*chorrs*” (thieves) (Zena, October 2012, interview).

Akbar, a Bangladeshi, had this view about Pakistanis' involvement in undocumented migration:

Bangladesh people are not involved here; the South Africa people do it. [...] And the illegal [trade of] people [is] mostly done by the Pakistani guys. Bangladeshi try to get asylum visa and after that apply for passport and open the shop and [start their] own business something like that. [...] The Pakistani is like the mafia. Bangladeshi are not like this mafia people they are scared (Akbar, October 2013, interview).

Maalik, a local South African, said some of the Pakistanis do themselves down. “Some borrow money and don't pay back, then they make trouble because of that” (Maalik, October 2013, interview). Migrants therefore appear to cast Pakistanis in a negative light as involved

in the clandestine smuggling of migrants (Chapter 6, Section 6.2) and defaulting on repaying debt.

Vibha, an Indian national, was critical of her boss, a Pakistani, and his interest in the Zimbabwean cleaning lady. She remarks that the Zimbabwean woman is employed to clean the salon and wash people's hair when necessary. Vibha says that in India, "house issues" referring to family and money matters, should not be discussed in the presence of cleaning staff (Vibha, June 2011, interview). Issues of race and class are embedded within the discourses of the migrants and also infer a class hierarchy among the migrants.

Despite Vibha's complaints of her employer, I observed that he is considerate of her needs when ordering tea and samosas for his staff as he made sure that the Zimbabwean employee brought tea and vegetarian samosas for Vibha. Furthermore, he addresses her with respect by referring to her as "bhabi" meaning brother's wife in Gujarati. Since she is older than him, he accords her family member status, even though she is not related to him, (she is Hindu and he is a Muslim Pakistani). I noted the fellowship amongst the migrants as someone, in passing by, brought Vibha some fresh "Indian" vegetables that he had come across, knowing she is vegetarian.

Vibha's thoughts on how the Bangladeshi, Pakistanis and Indians relate to each other are that "we all have to live together in this space". The Pakistanis do not pay too much attention to the Indians, the Pakistanis look after their own. When Vibha requested financial assistance from her employer to open her own business, he refused. It is interesting to note her phrase that we all have to live together *in this space* (my emphasis), as it rings with the nuance of the merit of being together but still separate in identity, culture and social status, referring back to sharing the space but not the community. Sahel's view that follows is that of everyone as being more independent. South Africans hold similar views.

Sahel's view of the Egyptian community is one of a friendly disposition and good people, "[they are] not like Pakistani... that is true". Most significantly, however, is something that emerges from a number of the interviews, that is, "everyone does their own thing". It suggests that each group respects each other's space in terms of their trading. Sahel adds "there is no difference, because we are [all] here [to make] business. We are all Muslim people, we can't fight" (Sahel, September 2011, interview).

The views that non-nationals have of each other display two distinctive categories: first, that of some dependence and some interdependence are personal and integrative; and second, one

that is framed within a cultural and historic context, which circumscribes a perceived social hierarchy among migrants and stereotyping in terms of behaviour and characterisation.

In the first category, the dependent and interdependent relationships are experienced at a personal level. These relationships are characterised by mutual support, respect and considerate relationships. Marriages between foreigners do occur, for example, between Hindu nationals and Pakistani Muslim nationals; but this would hardly be tolerated back home yet there is tacit acceptance when this occurs in Fordsburg. Different nationals give each other space but focus more on the interests of their own national groups. Nationals of African origin are more likely to interact widely with other foreign nationals than with local South Africans.

In the second category, themed as social preferences amongst migrants, a number of distinct preferences arise: there is a social preference where Indians are a common denominator; Pakistanis will interact with Indians and similarly so with the Bangladeshis. However, the Pakistani and Bangladeshis rarely work with each other; instead they give each other a wide berth. Pakistanis are typecast in a negative light; responsible for an alleged illegal migration industry, mafia and clandestine activities and of bullying; Bangladeshis are almost at pains to disassociate themselves from the alleged activities of the Pakistanis. The Egyptians and Malawians saw each other as Africans, sharing a common national identity, but viewed the South Asians as the 'other'.

So, instead of the "melting pot" (Brink 2008) view of Fordsburg, where an interlacing of culture is expected to exist, what emerges is a very nationalistic, inclusive, perhaps inward-looking group of sub-communities that perpetuate the value of home nationalities and practices.

7.3.4 Insular Relationships among Migrants

Ridwaan, a Pakistani national, comments on his relationship with South Africans by saying "everybody [is] nice, Muslim people look after nice[ly]" (Ridwaan, November 2013, interview). He does not have friends from other race groups. Munif and Adil, Pakistani nationals, indicate that the friends and people with whom they normally associate are only Muslims. Taahir, a Pakistani, says that while he does have some friends among the Indian nationals, he does not have any among the South Africans. A similar sentiment emerges among the Malawian migrants. Ashraf and Munsif, Malawian participants, share

accommodation and work together in Fordsburg as cooks. When asked if they have friends with either locals or foreigners, they both replied “no we don’t want and they (referring to South Africans) don’t want to” (Ashraf and Munsif, January 2014, interview).

When Adil, was questioned further about having friends among the different race groups in South Africa, he replied “at the moment we only have Indian people” meaning Indian nationals. Similarly, when questioned about his client base he responded:

But 80% is Indian and mostly it’s not even South African local. Because there is such a vast community of Indians, Bangladeshi and Pakistanis, we have so much customers of our own. Before there was no such thing. We only depended on locals. [But] now we sew for our own and don’t have time to do for others (Adil, October 2013, interview).

These narratives reveal that the participants are content to remain within their own insular worlds and ethnic enclaves but, more importantly, their insular worlds are self-sustaining. Zubeida says that on Saturdays and Sundays, Fordsburg comes alive with Pakistanis coming from all over Gauteng because they want to see other Pakistani faces. “Fordsburg is a small Pakistan... mini Pakistan.” she declares (Zubeida, September 2011, interview). The migrants appear to surround themselves, associate and conduct business with people from their country of origin and Fordsburg provides the space to accomplish this.

There are several pertinent views that have emerged in the narratives of the participants. While there appears to be a certain level of tolerance amongst the different ethnic communities about the interactions between local South Africans and the migrants, on a deeper level, tensions and resentment are apparent in the subtle inflections of the narratives. For example, Adil’s story of the South African at MacDonald’s who referred to the foreigners as “you overseas people” indicates a deep resentment on the part of the individual, and the untoward categorising of all non-nationals as being the same. There are shades of overlap among all the groups in terms of their tolerance for each other, and then, specific individuals have personal gripes with individuals in other ethnic communities. The only group that seems to not curry favour among all the groups is the Pakistani group. They are typecast as distrustful and corrupt. Many participants allude to a possible underworld operating in Fordsburg among Pakistanis, as mentioned in the very beginning of the chapter.

Being foreign in a shared space like Fordsburg, serves as a point of commonality for the migrants, leading to the development of solidarity among the non-nationals. The tension in the relationships between the migrants and South Africans results in a complex “them” and

“us” notion that seems to develop. Given the complexity of belonging and integration, in an attempt to establish the extent to which migrants still maintain relationships and ties with their country of origin, and to determine if migrants engage in transnational practices, in the next section family ties with the country of origin are examined. One of the ties with family in the country of origin is through the role of remittances.

7.4 Maintaining Family Ties: The Role of Remittances

As the discussion suggests, the conditions in the receiving country appear to be far from the imagined promises and expectations of the migrants (see similar findings by Smit and Rugunanan 2014; CDE 2010; Kihato 2007; Maharaj 2004). The economic activities of migrants, dealt with more fully in Chapter 8 (Section 8.2), reveal that the cost of living is much higher than anticipated, and this has implications for the amount and frequency money is remitted to families in their home country. Furthermore, once married, some male migrants bring their wives to South Africa. These men are then financially unable to remit regularly because of the costs of providing for immediate families. Similarly, the women in the study, all except Vibha, did not remit money regularly. For some of the Bangladeshi migrants, their families in Bangladesh sent money to help support their businesses in South Africa. The Egyptians, all except one, do not find it necessary to remit money as their families at home have sufficient resources to meet their needs. However, it should be noted that the undocumented status of some of the migrants hinders the repatriation of funds using the usual commercial banking routes.

Although remittances are a very strong instrument for maintaining family ties, many migrants find it difficult to fulfil this obligation. The tenuous situation of undocumented migrants is revealed by Habib, a Bangladeshi “how can I send? If I send bank to bank I need proof of residence, proof of earnings etc. I don’t have anything” (Habib, October 2013, interview). He relies on his cousin who has a bank account to help repatriate funds.

The cost of living weighs heavily on family relationships. Sajeet simply does not have enough money to send to his widowed mother and brother in Bangladesh. For those who want to open up businesses in South Africa, they receive money and support from their family in Bangladesh like Akbar (in South Africa for five years) and similar to Najam.

Najam, reveals his yearning to return to his family in Bangladesh following twenty years of being a migrant. Caught between crime and harassment in South Africa and political

uncertainty in Bangladesh, it is easy to see why he longs for home “I only work here and sleep here. I start in the morning at 09:00 until 21:00 in the evening. [...] Everyday. You know the rent here is too much” (Najam, October 2013, interview). His son often sends money to assist him when needed although he is employed.

Ridwaan has only been back to Pakistan twice in the sixteen years that he has been away. He is the breadwinner in his young family; consequently it has been three years since he last sent money home. However, he does maintain regular contact with his family. Similarly, for Munif, a tailor, he does not have extra resources to send his family in Pakistan because he has a family of four children to care for in South Africa (Munif, October 2013, interview).

Younger, single migrants such as Basheer, Taahir and Arun, are able to send money to their families on a monthly basis. Tahir does not have the same pressure to remit because his father is employed as a teacher, and he has an elder brother who assists his parents. Both Basheer (23) and Taahir (22) are young, entered South Africa without any papers, and are very likely paying back the considerable money spent to enter South Africa.

Indian participants are able to travel with ease between India and South Africa because of their historical relationship. Irfaan, an Indian participant, explains that his parents, two brothers, a wife and a child are still in India. In South Africa for seven years, he sends money back every month. He states:

I come here so as to make money, I must look after my family. Every month [I send money back home]. At least they will be happy there. If I am struggling here, I hope my family will help me [someday] (Irfaan, June 2011, interview).

Irfaan’s motive for sending money home every month is largely to secure a nest egg in an effort to bring his wife and children to South Africa.

Kingsley, a Malawian, sends between R500 to R1 000 (US\$ 40 to US\$ 85) every second month. His wife loans the money out in Malawi, and then collects interest on the loans (Kingsley, January 2014, interview). Dominic, a former teacher back in Malawi, whose father is a judge and mother is a nurse, has four brothers and two sisters back home. His three brothers run an import and export business from Malawi to Zimbabwe. Given this, Dominic feels more pressured to remit money “hai, it’s up to me to send money to show that I am not just staying here” (Dominic, January 2014, interview).

The Malawians, although earning much lower salaries (Chapter 8, Section 8.2.1) all remit regularly and keep in close contact with the family. Ebrahim, a Malawian, has his parents, six brothers and one sister whom he calls regularly and to whom he sends money (Ebrahim, February 2014, interview). Munsif and Ashraf also keep close contact with their families in Malawi by calling them regularly either weekly or daily “if there was a problem” (Munsif, January 2014, interview).

Pakistanis and Indians use newer technology aids such as Skype or sim cards from Cell C¹⁶ as the international rates are significantly lower than other cellphone service providers. The pressure to remit weighs heavily on all migrants, as the family of origin has a clear expectation that this will happen. Similar findings among Congolese and Burundian migrants (Rugunanan and Smit 2011) and among Indian labour migrants in Fordsburg (Yengde 2014; Huynh et al. 2012) relate to this view about the pressure to succeed and the need to present an image of success.

Zaid, a South African, is of the opinion that the poverty that the migrants come from is so endemic that when given the opportunity to improve their lives, they are committed to working hard, either to return home financially secure, or to send money back to contribute to the family and community at home. While remittance practices vary, younger migrants remit regularly initially, to cover the costs of migration and second, to contribute to their family’s pool of resources. However, economic circumstances in South Africa, together with additional concerns, such as family responsibility in South Africa, education and low salaries focus the attention away from the home country, thus migrants cannot always fulfil the promise to create wealth.

Many migrants reveal that their migration was driven not only for individual freedom and opportunities, but also that the expectation and hope that such freedom and opportunity would fund their family in the home country. As argued in Chapter 2 (Section 2.4.7), the repatriation of money to the country of origin is an important economic stream of investment. For governments, this is likely to be an alternative to raising funds in capital markets, and perhaps frees governments of the obligations that are attached to foreign direct investment or the expense of borrowing. The dependence on remittances for the countries in this study is

¹⁶ A South Africa cellphone provider that offers a significantly lower international rate

extremely significant, as is illustrated by the profile of the migrant sending countries in Appendix 3.

On the one hand, a yearning for home, family and loneliness are strong indicators to return to their country of origin someday. On the other hand, the social freedom in South Africa is a strong motivator to stay. On the balance, the emotional link to the country of origin features prominently and almost all participants identify more with this link than with an emotional bond with the host country. This supports the argument presented in this thesis that migrants in Fordsburg lead transnational lives.

7.5 Conclusion

The chapter began by exploring whether migrant communities integrate with each other in Fordsburg, one of the research questions of this study. It notes that conditions in the receiving country are not as welcoming and as economically vibrant as migrants expected. However, the perception that it is easier to make money in South Africa does not necessarily match the reality about the nature of work, discussed further in Chapter 8.

The cost of living is much higher than expected. The demand for accommodation has created a scarcity for decent and affordable rentals and, as a result, migrants feel that the cost of rental accommodation is high. This view supports Mahomed's (2005) research on Fordsburg that shows that demand for property and property prices have increased in recent years.

Problems in the South African Department of Home Affairs result in a shadow economy that, in turn, results in marriages of convenience where previously marginalised groups in society are involved in transactional relationships with migrants to ensure citizenship. Evident here is a contractual relationship with a class of previously disenfranchised women who show considerable agency in dictating the terms of this relationship.

The views presented indicate that network ties that connect to the home country are firmly embedded and ongoing, affirming that transnational linkages are in place. Some points are that older migrants tend not to remit, often because they either have established families in South Africa, or have brought their families from the country of origin. The younger single migrants are better able to remit regularly and possibly to pay off the cost of undocumented entry into South Africa. The continued flow of remittances back to the country of origin is indicative of transnational social ties and support, which is also the way Tilly (2007) views the role of remittances. Even though some are motivated to come to South Africa to

experience a better life, there is still pressure on them from the country of origin to remit and succeed.

The section dealing with the inter-relationships among the different groups raised so many cogent views that one is left feeling a little wary in terms of trying to define a sense of community. While on the surface, daily activities and daily life in Fordsburg continue, and do not reflect the underpinnings of xenophobic tension, the simmering of discord are reflected in the narratives of the participants. They not only represent discord, but also race and class discrimination. The views indicate strong trust in isolated networks among the different ethnic communities, reinforcing the views of intra-homogenous groups retaining national identities. Some also prefer not to bring their families and, more importantly, their wives, to South Africa, but instead choose to marry South African women and enter into purely economic transactional marriages of convenience.

Fellow nationals are protective in their views of fellow compatriots but not so with others. Migrants also appear to strive for harmony with locals and appear quite tolerant and accommodating. Clearly they recognise that they need to work at relationships with South Africans. This reflects an almost double identity: the first jealously guards their national norms and culture and are still strongly nationalistic. The second identity recognises the need to be malleable and in harmony with their adopted countrymen, to maintain the status quo, leading to a situational identity, as argued in Chapter 2 (Section 2.4.1), one that shifts and adapts as required by the situation.

The chapter examined the inclusion versus exclusion dialectic of South African society by interrogating the views of South Africans towards migrants; migrants towards South Africans and the inter-relationships among migrants. The chapter concluded that migrants retreat into insular ethnic communities, and actively resist integration to retain their identities. Although migrants choose to share physical spaces in Fordsburg, they also choose to remain outside of South African community structure and instead retreat into ethnic communities. The ties that bind these communities are examined in Chapters 8 and 9. The next chapter will consider the role of traders and trading in Fordsburg.

CHAPTER 8

CONSTRUCTING ECONOMIC PLACES AND SPACES IN COMMUNITIES

8.1 Introduction

After 2000, a significant and steady growth of hair salons, tailoring outlets, ethnic restaurants and, more recently, ethnic grocery outlets in the areas of Bree Street, Crown Road, Albertina Sisulu and Central Road occurred. Migrants mainly own or operate these outlets that are in close proximity to one another. Interestingly, many of the premises are rented from South African owners. Phyllis a South African manager of a popular eating outlet describes the migrant traders in Fordsburg as: North and Middle East Africans (Moroccans, Egyptians, Algerians, Libyans, Syrians, Somalia's and Ethiopians), but also from South Asia including Bangladesh, Pakistan, India and Nepal (Phyllis, July 2013, interview; Hanif, July 2011, 2013, interview).

The traders from the various migrant groups and South African Indian traders are introduced in this chapter. Thereafter the forms of trade characteristic to each group and nature of trading in Fordsburg, particular around the Square, is described as are the traders at the Oriental Plaza. In the last section, the development of the flea market and its contribution to the economy of Fordsburg is examined.

8.2 Traders and Forms of Trading

Some general trends emerge. Migrant groups have specific trading activities in which they tend to specialise; migrants generally work long hours, in sharp contrast to the operating hours of South African traders; and shop owners pay high rentals, but despite this, some traders own more than one outlet. The growth and duplication of similar trades, such as hairdressing and tailors as well as the growth in the number of ethnic restaurants, in such close proximity to each other, and their apparent success sparks the question: what spurred this growth and what is the basis of their success?

8.2.1 Meet the Traders

This section introduces the five migrant groups and the South African Indian traders, and highlights important tensions emerging from the narratives of the participants such as the nature of work, the conditions of work, skill levels, consumption patterns and competition.

The Pakistanis

The Pakistanis tend to focus on grooming businesses such as hairdressing salons, beauty therapy outlets or men's only barber's shops. The Pakistanis also own grocery and confectionary outlets and restaurants. Maalik reveals that when young Pakistanis arrive in South Africa with very few skills, they earn about R500 (US\$ 42) a month which includes board and lodging. As they acquire more skills, they move to better paying forms of employment.

Ridwaan, a tailor and resident in South Africa for sixteen years, reflects that, in Pakistan, he assisted his father in his vegetable shop. In Fordsburg, he rents a small kiosk¹⁷ where he operates as a tailor. Ridwaan works seven days a week, from 9:00 to 21:00, a twelve hour day, as the sole provider for a household with a wife and two young South African-born children (Ridwaan, November 2013, interview). The rental for his kiosk is R1 000 (US\$ 85) per month.

Munif is a tailor but also designs men and women's clothing, "kurtas, pants, jackets ... everything we do". Munif, in South Africa for eighteen years, says "there is a lot of competition. You know I'm tailor, monthly I worry about the rent" (Munif, October 2013, interview). Munif has been in this outlet ever since he arrived but a South African who has assisted him over the years during difficult times, owns the premises. Munif pays R4 000 (US\$ 335) in rent.

Taahir, one of three brothers in South Africa, manages a barber shop that caters for men only and predominantly Pakistani men support his enterprise. This outlet may have been bigger in the past but now appears to have been split into two shops separated by a dry wall. The one

¹⁷ A row of temporary prefabricated kiosks that have been put up on one corner of the Fordsburg Square

half is Taahir's barber's shop, the other is run by his one brother, selling groceries and fresh vegetables. A split of trading space is a common feature of outlets run by non-national traders in Fordsburg. Taahir also works a twelve-hour day during the week and stays open much longer on a Friday, Saturday and Sunday. The third brother works at a mall in the south of Johannesburg and assists them over weekends. A cousin who lives with them is employed in the barber shop. Thus the family pool their resources in the interests of the family businesses (Taahir, June 2011, interview).

Basheer, a Pakistani, works in his uncle's hair salon that looks out onto the Fordsburg Square. He works from 10:00 until 21:00 and much later over weekends up to 23:00 (Basheer, June 2011, interview). Basheer finds the area very safe and sometimes walks around until 02:00. If Basheer has to attend to private matters his boss allows him time off, this concession is for other employees too. Many participants have a similar privilege as they attend to their personal errands during the early part of the week to offset the long hours of work from Friday to Sunday in some cases. For workers who are paid on a commission basis only, (mainly hair salons and beautician employees), maximum availability over the busy weekend is vital. Some of the employees receive one day off a week but this is not standard practice and varies from outlet to outlet.

The Bangladeshis

The Bangladeshis are concentrated in the tailoring and mending of clothing, curtaining and sometimes upholstery businesses. They also operate grocery outlets or corner cafes having succeeded in taking over this market. In addition, they own a number of restaurants in the area. Young Bangladeshi male migrants provide the labour needed in Bangladeshi outlets. The owner of a prominent Bangladeshi restaurant says that they pay their staff, all Bangladeshis, R3 500 (US\$ 290) a month with lodging. Nabeel, a Bangladeshi who came to South Africa in 2010, works as a tailor and earns R3 000 (US\$ 250) a month. In comparison, one of the tailors at Tayub's business, an Indian national, informs me that he makes R4 000 (US\$ 340) a month.

Habib, from Bangladesh, has worked in different areas of South Africa; he worked in Pietermaritzburg, then in the North West Province and thereafter he came to Johannesburg, and is now a tailor in Fordsburg (Habib, October 2013, interview). Sajeet, a thirty-eight-year old Hindu Bangladeshi, was also a tailor in Bangladesh and he works a twelve-hour day. His

employer has an open door policy to capitalise on trade, “we do not close the door, but my boss [says] ... people are coming from far on Saturdays and Sundays to do alterations and to make [their clothes] right” (Sajeet, September 2011, interview). Pradeep and Carrim, both Bangladeshi tailors, confirm having the same working hours (Pradeep, September 2011; Carrim, October 2012, interviews). Their clientele comprise South African Indians and foreign nationals who usually want alterations or to make complete sets of traditional clothing.

The Egyptians

The Egyptian traders specialise mainly in traditional Islamic wear, selling ladies’ *abhayias* (traditional Muslim garb), men’s clothing, Islamic literature and religious music. Salim and Afzal’s outlets operate from 09:30 to 17:00 or 18:00, and over a weekend, from 07:00 to 20:00 unlike others that stay open much later (Salim, September 2012, interview). Salim and Afzal live in Lenasia, 33 km away but work in Fordsburg. In contrast to Salim, Afzal and Manzil, who are owners of their outlets, Moiz and Sahel are employed as staff in the outlets in which they work. Moiz says that he works from Sunday to Sunday, sometimes he might get two days off a month, but this is not a consistent arrangement. Moiz, who lives in Benoni, 33 km away, says that they open the store at 10:00 and close at 19:00 during the week (Moiz, September 2011, interview). On Fridays, Saturday and Sundays they operate from 10:00 to 21:00. Sahel also operates similar hours and over weekends they close the business much later, to capitalise on the trade from the flea market (Sahel, September 2011, interview).

The Indians

The Indian participants comprise a mixture of hairdressers, barbers, beauty therapists and tailors. Razak, works at a hairdressing salon from 09:30 to 21:00 every day, including Sundays. When asked if this was not taxing he replies “if you want to live properly, we have to work. We go out if we have to, after 21:00, we go out ...” (Razak, June 2011, interview). For the past four years, Razak has performed all the tasks of a beauty therapist, such as manicure, pedicure, threading and waxing, including bikini waxes; prior to that he worked in another trade. Anjali, was twenty-years-old when she came to South Africa. As a young worker, she had difficulty managing the twelve hour shifts that seem to be common for beauticians and hairdressers. Work is hard especially over weekends and during the summer peak times, and they barely have enough time to eat. Beauticians and hairdressers are paid on

a commission basis, and a fifteen minute lunch break is sacrificed when customers are waiting (Anjali, June 2011, interview).

Rita, a forty-two-year old reflects the pattern of work among the migrants: all she does is “go from home to work and work to home”. Her hours of work during the week are from 10:00 to 18:00 and until 20:30 over weekends. Rita’s employer organised her marriage to a Pakistani who was already living and working in Fordsburg. Rita earns approximately R6 000 (US\$ 500). Although they are both employed, their salaries just about cover their expenses and they are unable to generate any savings. Rita does not remit money on a monthly basis; instead she travels back to India once a year and then offers her family with some form of financial contribution (Rita, June 2011, interview).

Arun, who manages a hairdressing outlet for his Pakistani boss, reveals that he earns R4 000 (US\$ 340) a month. He gets a half day off a month. When he started working here, he earned R2 500 (US\$ 210) a month. Arun says that the business was busiest over weekends and that they have clients from all race groups who support their business. One of the tailors, an Indian national working for Tayub came to South Africa three years ago and earns R4 000 a month. He manages to send 15 000 Indian Rupees (R2 800 or US\$ 235) home every month.

The Malawians

The Malawians provide the labour in many of these outlets; they neither own nor operate any businesses. The Malawians are employed at the flea market as salespersons and cooks. In retail outlets, they work in sales positions. They tend to earn the lowest salaries of all migrant participants in this study and share spaces in terms of accommodation. The Malawians reveal their earnings quite readily. They mention weekly earnings of R350, R400, R450 to R625 (US\$ 29, 34, 38 and 52, respectively) with one participant earning R650 (US\$ 55) a week that usually exceeds 50 hours. Monthly earnings thus range between R1 400 (US\$ 117) and R2 600 (US\$ 218). The Malawians all come from large families with more than six siblings and parents still residing in Malawi. Their main reason is to seek employment in South Africa. The Malawians remain in South Africa even after their passports or permits have expired and are inclined to avoid South African authorities because they cannot afford to renew their permits.

From conversations with these migrants, the perception is confirmed that networks inform them of possible employment opportunities particularly in Fordsburg. The image presented is that jobs are readily available and in abundance, linking to Dominic's earlier statement of South Africa being the "heart of Africa". Yunis, a twenty-seven-year-old Malawian, said that his brother had informed him of job opportunities in Fordsburg. He now works for a Pakistani at the Square selling CDs and DVDs (Yunis, February 2014, interview).

The South African Indian Traders

The South African Indian traders comprise a group of traders around Fordsburg and the Oriental Plaza and are located in the fast food industry, in tailoring, the restaurant industry and other retail trades. Phyllis, a black South African woman, manages a restaurant owned by a South African Indian and endures long working hours. On Saturday and Sunday she says the hours of work are from 09:00 to 20:00, "heavily pregnant or as normal as I am". When asked if she is paid for overtime she sarcastically remarks "for what"? She mentions that if you are fired today "there are two people waiting outside ready for the chance of employment". She feels that the government is not doing enough to regulate the working conditions of ordinary workers. For instance, even though the health inspectors and inspectors from the Department of Labour do come around, she says "they just walk in and sign those sheets". She adds, "I [don't] even bother to talk to them because it will be just a waste of time" (Phyllis, July 2013, interview). Although Phyllis is a black South African, she manages a staff complement of mainly non-national workers.

In summary, the Pakistani, Bangladeshi and Indian migrants engaged in four predominant trades, hairdressing, tailoring, restaurants and grocery shops, selling products primarily from their home countries. The Egyptian migrants are concentrated in selling traditional Islamic clothing. A striking observation is the prevalence of the long working hours up to 70 hours a week, which exceeds the number stipulated in the Basic Conditions of Employment Act, No. 66 of 1997. Most of the migrants in the study are refugees, asylum seekers or have work permits. South Africa's domestic laws grant them extensive rights to work, as well as protection regarding labour standards. The South African constitution provides for fair labour practices that apply to everyone, regardless of citizenship (Polzer 2008). The long working hours the migrants in Fordsburg take as the accepted norm, is only mitigated by the fact that their sole purpose is to remit to their family in the country of origin, or to establish

themselves and their families in South Africa as citizens.

8.2.2 A Network of Labour

The findings show that because migrants face many challenges in setting up economic activities, such as the lack of money and difficulty in obtaining work permits, their only recourse is to accept some form of employment as quickly as possible, obtain loans from those of the same nationality or engage in petty trading. They work in a range of economic activities often requiring ‘a great degree of adaptability’ (Gebre et al. 2011: 30). Many tend to work in trades and activities so that they can learn something quickly before moving onto other forms of employment, as in the case of Razak who started off with curtaining, and then became a beautician. The nature of labour for migrants is contingent upon circumstance, need and where they are able to “seize the gap” in the market (Dilip, March 2011, interview).

That entry into the ‘employment market’ is facilitated by a network is an important finding. Maalik provides insight into this practice:

But when the boys come here they know who’s here already. They become friends. A Pakistani will say you know someone needs some work for a while let me take you there. That’s how they work. They have a syndicate of a thing. Yes only the Pakistanis. And they like, for example: look at my shop. Other Pakistanis come and they come here to Jay. They stay for a couple days by his place or they ask me Maalik can they stay for 2-3 days. Then he’ll phone other Pakistani guys maybe in the North West or Durban or Cape Town and they say they got a new arrival here and they want a job for him. Because they like their own people because they know how to pay them. They can’t take local people because local people when they say they want a thousand rand and they want a thousand rand. So Pakistani people will say a Pakistani boy is coming and they start him off with R500 and that will go up as they go along. Yes it includes their food. Now if they go and work for another Pakistani guy then Jay phones and says I need somebody by my shop, I’ll give accommodation and food. He says he’s a good worker and he earns like this you know. They understand each other, (Maalik, October 2013, interview).

By implication therefore, a network of resources, a pool from which migrants can draw for work exists in Fordsburg, irrespective of how tenuous it is. One of the participants remarks, “for the sake of a job”. Even if family networks are not in place, people of the same nationality provide an infrastructure on which migrants can draw from. A similar network and point of entry exists for young male Bangladeshi migrants who work in the restaurant and catering industry (informal interview, June 2014).

Maalik, raises a number of relevant issues in his narrative. Networks are deeply embedded and organised (a syndicate type of operation), facilitating a situation where they look out for each other, taking new migrants into the fold as soon as they enter South Africa. Once the new migrants have rested and acquired whatever documentation they need, a word of mouth search is undertaken to place the new arrival in some form of employment. Sometimes this is inclusive of food and accommodation. The Pakistanis will employ new arrivals and provide labour that is within the broader network. This pattern applies to the Bangladeshis and Egyptians as well. For the Malawians, family networks are an important source of information, and they frequently share resources and labour.

8.2.3 Outward Appearances can be deceiving

The proliferation of the hairdressing salons and barber's shops, tailors and grocery outlets, all appear successful but this is often not the case. I relate five examples, each depicting different scenarios of how appearances can be deceiving.

Najam, a Bangladeshi in his forties, in South Africa for about five years, says, "I only work here and sleep here. I start in the morning at 09:00 until 21:00 in the evening. He considers himself very fortunate in South Africa, "I am very rich here in South Africa". However, he adds "one week before a black guy came and robbed me and took my phone and money" (Najam, October 2013, interview). Similar events have taken place at other migrant owned stores. Najam shares his personal finances:

The rental for the shop [is] R6 300 (US\$ 525) and electricity is prepaid R2 000 (US\$ 170) maybe R9 000 (US\$ 750) [altogether]. [The] rent is high, food is high after I [pay] everything I don't have money. Even the black guys think we have lots of money, too much cash. I'll show you something. Last month my [total] working income was R18 205 (US\$ 1517). The rent is R6 000 (US\$ 500). Electricity is R1 000 (US\$ 85). My room is R2 000 (US\$ 170). Salary is R5 000 (US\$ 420). Food and pocket money [adds to] R3 000 (US\$ 250). [This all adds to R17 000 (US\$ 1420)]. Then I need money for my room electricity. The Malawi guy salary is R3 000 (US\$ 250). Now where is my salary? Sometimes I bring money from Bangladesh. [...] You see the black guys see that I have many machines and think I have lots of money. You see the government don't know even this people don't know. I can also show you my books how much money I lost. [...] Some Bangladeshis open shops at locations have problems. How can they eat? Everyone thinks South African money is going to Bangladesh and Pakistan but no, [it isn't] (Najam, October 2013, interview).

Apparently the perpetrators of crime have the impression that many of the migrants are economically successful. However, the reality is that they face with high expenses, and the precariousness of their existence means that their potential losses threaten their continued existence as migrants. (Crime and vulnerability is examined in Section 9.5 in Chapter 9).

Najam is correct though, to feel rich, R17 000 (US\$ 1420) is 120 848 Bangladeshi Taka, a considerable sum of money. Paradoxically, Najam's son in Bangladesh sometimes sends him money to supplement his local expenses. When challenged on the issue that migrants are repatriating money, Najam hastily counters the remark saying that they are also investing; one of his friends has brought R65 000 (US\$ 5420) into the country to open a business. When probed about how this money is brought into South Africa he says that his friend has a bank account. Najam does not have a bank account as his asylum status makes it difficult. Instead he uses his friend's bank account to send or receive money. While he agreed that it is better to have a bank account, Najam does not want to open one but meticulously keeps all documentation regarding payments and bills (Najam, October 2013, interview). The choice not to set up a bank account is probably indicative of avoiding the use of institutions, and therefore traceability, or it implies transience, or of having the agility to move quickly if necessary.

While Najam's story is about 'making a living'¹⁸, Tayub speaks of economic prosperity. Tayub, is a forty-year-old Bangladeshi, who worked in Abu Dhabi for some time before coming to South Africa in 2006. Tayub was employed in the Oriental Plaza for two years before he saved enough to open his own tailor shop (Tayub, October 2013, interview). Tayub appears to have made a success of his tailoring business; the entrance is smart and tiled in black porcelain. The display sign and reception area (see Figure 8.1) are very attractive. Unlike the other tailor outlets that are crowded with four to five sewing machines, the seating area for his customers is neat and tidy. Suits are displayed in an orderly way, not just stacked together in untidy plastic bags. The smart outlet could very well benefit any one of the more upmarket malls in the city. In his

¹⁸ Webster (2005) defines 'earning a living' as formal employment with a regular income and 'making a living' is characteristic of the informal sector where contracts are either non-existent or insecure and there is no regular income

outlet, there are two Bangladeshi male tailors, and I assumed that this was the sum of his operation. However, on a third visit, Tayub surprisingly revealed another larger room in the building where he operates a mini-factory (see Figure 8.2). In the factory he employs eight males from Bangladesh and India. During my visits, I noticed his clients are ordinary and wealthy, from South Africa and also neighbouring African countries, Nigeria, Uganda and Malawi.

The rental for the front shop is R5 500 (US\$ 460) and for the inside mini-factory R6 000 (500). As a measure of Tayub's success, in November 2013 he placed a notice informing prospective clients that he was fully booked and was unable to take more orders until February 2014. Tayub maintains a good relationship with his customers:

I don't know why customers like my job a lot but they do. I have orders until next year. I don't have close friends. My customers are my friends [...] [because] but we don't go anywhere. I am also very busy. I work Monday to Sunday. [We work from] 9:30 a.m. to 7:00 p.m. (Tayub, October 2013, interview).

Tayub specialises in men's and women's suits and clothing. Other tailoring concerns include curtaining as part of their offering. One of his regular customers informed me of his satisfaction with Tayub's workmanship. He has all of his clothing made here. Tayub's hope for the future is, "I want my shops in the whole city; I want my shop in every city" (Tayub, October 2013, interview). Given that Tayub is paying almost R12 000 (US\$ 1000) in rentals and employs eight staff, mainly Indians and Bangladeshis, shows that, despite its apparent size as a small concern, it deceptively engages in a far bigger circulation of capital in the form of goods, labour and clientele.

In the next example, Banda, a twenty-six-year-old Malawian, dropped out of studying information technology in Malawi due to financial problems. He came to South Africa in the hope of pursuing his dream of becoming a software architect, by writing and designing software codes for computers. He says South Africa is the "hub of Africa" and he hopes to save up and study further to achieve his dream. Banda says interestingly: "life is what you make of it, sometimes you don't have the opportunities and so you try and create the opportunities" (Banda, February 2013, interview). Banda's move to South Africa illustrates this; he searched the internet for information about South Africa, since South Africa is more developed than Malawi, and settled on Fordsburg (meaning Johannesburg) being a business hub with potential access to business opportunities. Banda works as a cook in one of the

restaurants in Fordsburg, where a Pakistani chef taught him to cook. Banda's aspiration to become a software designer is still in place, however, to survive he says "I have to earn something".

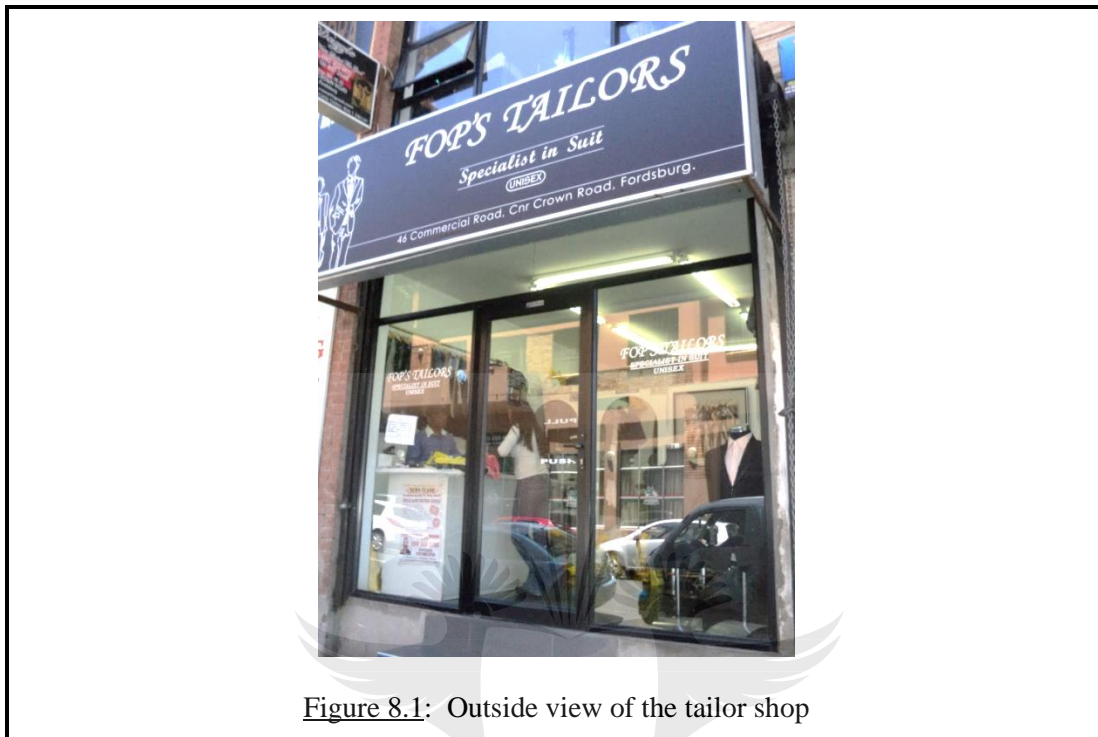


Figure 8.1: Outside view of the tailor shop



Figure 8.2: 'Mini-factory' shop of Fop's Tailors

(Source: Researchers' own photographs)

But Banda's story is not typical of the majority of the Malawian participants. Banda and Dominics' stories of aspirations for success and opportunity for further studies stand out as exceptional. The rest of the Malawians in the sample came from poor socio-economic backgrounds, without completing formal secondary education and were informal traders in Malawi. In South Africa, they are either employed as salespersons or taught by migrant chefs to become cooks.

A unique story comes from Khajaat that reflects the hardship and difficulty of being a woman and a migrant's wife, who was left behind in Pakistan to care for their children and the extended family (see Chapter 7, Section 7.2.2). Khajaat joined her husband in South Africa four years ago. Her life is much better in South Africa compared to what she experienced in Pakistan. When she first arrived in South Africa she worked as a beautician and earned R4 000 (US\$ 335) a month. Four years later she opened her beauty salon with money she and her husband had loaned from friends to renovate the premises. Clearly an accomplished businesswoman, Khajaat noticed that South African women wanted a clean, stylish and professional service and so she structured her service in this manner. Stocking the outlet was financially demanding when starting up:

'[Life] is better [in South Africa]. [But] this shop is no better. [There] is too much big problem [here]. [The] rent [is too much] here. [It] is R9 700 (US\$ 810). I [cannot] afford it. My husband [shouts at me] too much. I job here for 3 years, [...] and I wanted to open my own salon. We renovate it. We borrow R15 000 (US\$ 1250) to start the shop. [...] I am alone here. This month I make only R2 000 (US\$ 170)... I can see that here it is very clean and smart and [customers] want good service. [I want] all [my] customer [to be] happy. [I paid] R6 000 (US\$ 500) for leaflets and adverts [for my shop]. This is an expensive area and a business area.... [...] I pray to God every day. For 7 months I [was] sick in my home and I [had to] have bed rest. I start a new shop and [now all] my customers [are] all gone (Khajaat, June 2011, interview).

Even with all their money invested in this business, she had to borrow another R5 000 (US\$ 420) from a friend and an additional R10 000 (US\$ 840) from her husband's business partner. Aside from this investment, Khajaat's husband and business partner have opened up a clothes factory, and, with ten sewing machines each it is quite a substantial enterprise. As a family, their finances are overextended and her husband is considering closing her business. Three weeks after the interview, I was surprised to see that her outlet had been divided into two with a temporary wall, in the front was a men's hair salon. Khajaat's business was now

relegated to the back of her beautifully renovated salon. Her husband divided the outlet to gain some rental to help offset their debt repayments. Initially Khajaat established her business as a sole proprietor, in contrast to the many other businesses in the area that hire additional staff to increase their throughput, and in this way they are able to cover their costs.

Irfaan, a barber from India, attests to the view of hard work: “I came for the work, I want to make money, I did not come for a holiday. I open [from] 08:00 until 21:00, seven days a week” and has worked for seven years this way. Irfaan is among the few participants who remit money regularly to support his family in India (Irfaan, June 2011, interview). Irfaan is popular, busy and appears to be well liked by all his customers. He believes that his clientele appreciate his hygienic practices, as he uses a clean blade when shaving and makes use of antiseptics such as “Dettol” and “Savlon” (branded antiseptics). Irfaan adds that he has a number of black and white businesspeople as clients, in fact, one of his customers was so impressed with his work that he took photographs and published them in a magazine.

Irfaan’s ardent wish is to bring his young family from India to live in South Africa. He sacrifices social life in favour of work, and is solitary, preferring to live by himself. After work, he cooks and watches the Indian TV channels. He wears only traditional Islamic clothing and lives a very cloistered and independent life.

The theme of ‘outward appearances can be deceiving’ is in sharp contrast to the perception that migrants are successful in their business enterprises. In the five examples described similarities are evident: all the traders and workers irrespective of the trade; work consistently upwards of ten hours a day, and longer over weekends. However, the financial costs of running a business are high and this places enormous personal strain on the migrant to support themselves and their family. Some are astute and successful, as is the case of Tayub while others, like Najam run marginal businesses. Najam and Tayub operate on the same street, are neighbours, and yet their successes are completely different. In contrast to the rest of the migrant groups, the Malawians are engaged in survivalist forms of livelihood.

Khajaat’s story is best encapsulated in her words “my whole life is very hard”. Caught between her own ambitions of running her business, and the yoke of being a wife and subservient to her husband’s wishes, is her dilemma. Her hope that her life would take a turn for the better in South Africa is proving difficult to achieve. In a similar vein, Irfaan states

quite candidly that he has worked like this for seven years, motivated by the need to bring his young family to South Africa.

Ultimately the motivation of the traders to work under the conditions that they do, is driven by high personal aspirations. Instant wealth is difficult if not impossible; but the perception that the monetary value of their work is higher compared to what it would be in the home country emerges strongly in this study, as similarly reflected in the case of the Puerto Rican migrants (Mills et al. 1950).

8.2.4 Risk, Necessity and Business Opportunities in Fordsburg

A significant pattern that surfaces in this research is that migrants, particularly Bangladeshi and Egyptians, find it easier to conduct business in South Africa than in their home country. Afzal, an Egyptian, says it is “easier to do business elsewhere”. His reasoning is that it is difficult to succeed in one’s own country, but taking the risk to venture out has brought success. Afzal argues that “if you look around you are not only going to find Bangladeshis [here] they are [all] around the world” (Afzal, October 2012, interview). Dilip, a South African, shares this view of Bangladeshi migrants:

If you take it worldwide almost, if you go to London, if you find a 24 hour shop, it is probably a Bangladeshi that is running it. So these guys are prepared to work, they work hard, don’t deny them that, they are taking the risk and doing what they need to do. If you take Fordsburg, almost all the little cafés on the corner belong to Bangladeshis (Dilip, March 2011, interview).

The question that remains: is it so much easier to succeed at business here in Fordsburg at the risk of precarious migration? Evidence from this research suggests that it is.

A successful Egyptian businessman, who has branches all over the country, imports traditional Islamic wear from Egypt and Dubai, and sets up retail outlets and franchises where there is a concentration of Muslim communities. Young Egyptian men buy into these franchises. In one part of Fordsburg there are three outlets with the same store names all selling the same or similar items (ibhayas and traditional Islamic wear). Afzal indicates that each of the outlets belongs to a different owner, but they are all part of the same franchise. A significant factor crops up with his response as to why this site is chosen: it is because “Fordsburg is a very famous place for all tourists, especially Muslim people, that is why we have these Islamic shops here” (Afzal, October 2012, interview).

Afzal's confirms that tourists come from "Botswana, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Maputo Mozambique, from Cape Town and Durban, [and locally as well]" (Afzal, October 2012, interview), and that most of these tourists and business people conduct their business in and around Fordsburg and Johannesburg, and use Fordsburg as their base as the area hosts a variety of shopping and retail outlets. Manzil adds that the products that they sell are popular in Fordsburg because of the number of Muslim people visiting the area. This is in line with Afzal's earlier comment that "Fordsburg is a Muslim place" (Afzal, October 2012, interview). This association of Fordsburg with an Islamic identity is important and recurs throughout the narratives.

Mikhail, a South African-born citizen but whose father is Egyptian, suggests that, while South Africans sit back and complain about not having work, migrants actively seek out business opportunities. Mikhail describes the entrepreneurship of migrants:

It is business opportunities. Even with the Pakistani people when they come here. They don't have anything. They do whatever they need to do and whatever they do, they work you know. [...] they make sure they are on the ball all the time. Like a lot of them you see them with the cellphone stuff. I know somebody who came with nothing but now they own cellphone shops. Like these guys here, when they came here they were working for someone. Now they own the shops. Because from what I know in Egypt the cost of living is low but there's no economy. There's no business. That is one of the reasons they come here (Mikhail, October 2012, interview).

Among the Egyptians, the scale of the network of resources is significant. For example, Moiz's employer rents two premises in the same street in Fordsburg, and has three more outlets in Lenasia. This particular owner is Egyptian, but is now a South African citizen after marrying a South African woman; but he also has a wife and family in Egypt, and thus divides his time between the two countries and his two families. He provides rent-free accommodation for his staff in a flat that he owns in Lenasia.

The perception is that it is easier to conduct business in Fordsburg if one has staff of the same nationality, sharing cultural and linguistic traits, and, more importantly, having a common understanding about trading in Fordsburg. Drawing from a pool of mutual resources where ethnicity is common makes it easier to undertake risks. This is a similar trend among all the migrant groups. Many of the migrants arriving in Fordsburg are young and unskilled, but Mikhail (October 2012, interview) and Maalik (October 2013, interview) confirm that they

are quick to learn a trade. Migrants' lives are dictated by necessity and risk and they are willing to learn any trade if needs be to enter some form of livelihood.

8.2.5 Migrants Learning the Trade

The view that migrants are quick to learn a trade is a consistent pattern among many of the interviewees. Maalik's partner who arrived 15 years ago with nothing, now owns and operates three hairdressing outlets and provides employment for newly arrived young Pakistanis and sometimes has Indian migrants too. Interestingly, he does not employ Bangladeshis (Maalik, October 2013, interview). As soon as they are competent in the trade learnt, the young migrants either move to or are placed in Pakistani networks elsewhere in the country.

Maalik adds:

I was the first stylist in Fordsburg and the salon's name was Sashas, it was the first in Fordsburg. When the Pakistanis used to come they were like barbers already but they wanted to learn the service. They [are] very honest people. They don't steal but they steal with their eyes. They [are] very clever. You just show them one time and they'll know. That's how I met them. They used to come and look for work. In Sasha's we were three she-males working and they were more comfortable with us because they trust us. They used to come ask us for a job [...]. Some of them come here without knowing English. But after a year here they catch up. They learn our language very quick[ly] (Maalik, October 2013, interview).

Munif, a tailor, employs Zimbabweans and Malawians and claims that it was easy to teach them tailoring. At the time of the interview, Munif had recently employed a Malawian. He remarked that some Zimbabweans and Malawians "are very good [at tailoring]. Depending if that's the only field they chose from the beginning. So it is in their blood". He added further, "they have their own unique style of doing things. It is not ... eastern but it's easy to teach them" (Munif, October 2013, interview).

The ten Malawians in this study are employed by Bangladeshis or Pakistanis. Rashid, makes rotis (Indian flatbread) at a food stall in the Fordsburg Square, but back home in Malawi, Rashid sold groceries. Rashid initially claimed that he made as many as 1 000 rotis a day, that figure steadily dropped to 400 at the time of the interview. One can only assume the volume of making rotis per day appeared overwhelming. Rashid worked from 08:00 to 21:00 from Tuesday to Sundays, but much later on a Sunday (Rashid, February 2014, interview).

Munsif and Ashraf, who both work at a take-away, were taught to make rotis by Indian cooks. They (and Rashid) had never heard of rotis nor tasted them before coming to South Africa. Roti, or unleavened bread, is traditional bread on the Indian sub-continent. Requiring some skill to make (size, width and texture), the process of rolling and cooking the roti is quick once the skill is acquired. Ebrahim, also a Malawian, captures this apparent contradiction by stating ‘you know in Malawi we have too much pap (coarse maize flour cooked in water), here in South Africa you have only roti’ (Ebrahim, February 2014, interview). However, this observation confirms the view that it is easy to teach migrants new skills when they are open-minded even if being introduced to cultural cuisine differences. So learning a trade is not necessarily culture-specific; skill can also inherently be transferable. Migrant shop owners will readily impart knowledge and skill to newly migrated individuals. However, there is also a pattern of racism that emerges when non-African migrants address African nationals

8.2.6 Racism amongst Traders in Fordsburg

One of the major findings of this thesis is that South Asians are generally racist in their comments about African employees, often relegating them to a status of the ‘other’ and as a lower class of worker. African employees are mainly employed in menial labour at the outlets. Akbar’s view that migrant traders will employ African migrants from Malawi, Mozambique and Zimbabwe, rather than South Africans, suggests that there is preference for labour that comes from similar circumstances as their migrant employers.

Tayub, regards tailoring as “technical work” and “no, this job [tailoring] is technical. I only employ technical people; black people only clean” (Tayub, October 2013, interview). In trying to understand why the migrant traders choose not to employ South Africans, the response given by Akbar, a twenty-eight-year old Bangladeshi, is enlightening:

Because South Africans don’t do nice jobs, they [are] lazy. They come at 10:00 [to work]. If you say something they ask for their money and leave. They will try to hit us and say you are a foreigner. If he steals we can’t do [anything] ... to him. But many South Africans work for Bangladeshis and Pakistanis but not all. [They] only [work] in the very big shops like the big supermarkets (Akbar, October 2013, interview).

Sajeet, a Bangladeshi, concurs saying South African “people are lazy, they don’t work because the government gives them money every month” (referring to government social

grants). He adds that, in his country of origin, there are no social grants and therefore everyone is forced to work, otherwise they would not survive (Sajeet, September 2011, interview). Moiz mostly employs either Zimbabweans or Mozambicans, and his boss has a view that “the guys that come from Mozambique or Malawi [are] ... better than South African people for work... [it] is not about the salary... [it] is about the work, [they] can work longer and can work better, and can give you [a good] job” (Moiz, September 2011, interview).

Mikhail, the son of an Egyptian, quickly suggested that it is not a “race thing”, but South African workers are aware of labour legislation protecting their rights as workers. Mikhail claims that their businesses are “private businesses” and during quiet periods, it is easier to make alternative pay arrangements with migrant workers. Mikhail describes Malawians as “loyal” and “do real hard work. Our local people they can’t do that”. His view is that South Africans lack initiative compared to Malawians and Mozambican nationals in trying to make a living, claiming that “back in their home country they are resourceful and will sell DVDs or anything small just to make a living”. South Africans are more likely to complain that non-nationals are taking their jobs. Mikhail makes a point of stressing that, as employers, they do not ill-treat migrant workers, saying that they pay them on time (Mikhail, October 2012, interview). Even at twenty-one-years of age, Mikhail has a paternalistic view of the treatment of workers, which implies class and race undertones that seem to inform employment practices in Fordsburg.

Zaid, a South African, is quite clear that migrant traders rarely hire South African workers. Sulaiman endorses the view that South Africans will only work the required number of hours as stipulated by labour legislation, and are likely to take you to the Commission for Conciliation, Mediation and Arbitration (CCMA)¹⁹ should you require them to work for longer. Sulaiman adds that in ethnic restaurants, “they mainly have either Pakistanis or Bangladeshis who do all the work, from cooking, to cleaning, to waitering. Even the owner, gets involved in cleaning if he has too” (Sulaiman, October 2013, interview).

¹⁹ CCMA is a dispute resolution body established in terms of the South African Labour Relations Act (66 of 1995). The CCMA is an independent body and does not belong to or is controlled by a political party, trade union or business (www.ccma.org.za, accessed 23 May 2015)

Irrespective of nationality, there is a ‘reserve pool of labour’ that serves the outlets. Migrant traders rely on networks to provide them with this pool of labour that comprises workers who are prepared to work without the protection of labour laws and they will, if necessary, employ workers from vulnerable African migrant groups. There is a subtle form of labour brokering at play, and a conscious effort is made to employ labour that is unlikely or unable to invoke labour rights. Significantly, employment and employability is underscored by a strong element of supporting and promoting kinsmen and family.

In order to sustain the different forms of trading, the flows of accumulation in terms of capital, people and consumption is examined next. As already documented, Afzal (October 2012, interview) remarks that, besides trading, a number of tourists visit Fordsburg, because the place boasts a variety of ethnic restaurants but more importantly, the outlets are halaal, that is food permissible for consumption as prescribed by Muslim law.

8.2.7 Consumption Patterns and Trading

There is an interesting mix of eating establishments, the first group represent the western fast-food chains such as Kentucky Fried Chicken, Nandos, Scooters Pizza, and the local quintessential Fordsburg fast-food outlets such as Solly’s Fish and Chips, J Mo’s and Akhalwayas Fish and Chips (well known for their ‘slap’ (deep fried) chips and battered fish). An array of al la carte restaurants, such as Adega’s, Ocean Basket, and a Portuguese restaurant can be found. Notably almost all are Muslim-owned and therefore none sell pork dishes or alcohol. A second group of restaurants comprise South Asian cuisine from India, Pakistan, Nepal and Bangladesh. The Dosa Hut is mainly South Asian cuisine, whilst the popular Bismillah’s is Bangladeshi owned offering Pakistani and Indian cuisine. The other Bangladeshi owned group are from Bay Leaf, Shurnarga, Al Meharani. Interestingly, Bay Leaf offers Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi cuisine and does not operate only as a restaurant, but caters for banquets, office parties, weddings and other large scale functions too.

An interesting fusion of Indo-European cooking is found at Kaashif’s Fusion Food and the first halaal Portuguese restaurant was established in Fordsburg. There used to be only one strictly vegetarian restaurant, but in 2014 this came under new management and now caters for all food groups. The predominance of Muslim-owned restaurants lends itself to the perception that Fordsburg has a Muslim identity. The weekend flea market also sells an array of fast-foods from chicken tikka to shish kebabs, ‘sweetmeats’ and savoury items. This

burgeoning food industry is so pervasive that Hemant, a South Africa trader, laments the closure of other types of commercial ventures, such as the metro-rail business, clothing industries, shoe stores, printers, candle factories, panel beaters and security companies and declares bitterly that “instead all we have now is a food town” (Hemant, July 2013, interview). The obsession with food and growth of ethnic restaurants necessitates the growth in the supply side of goods especially from the home country.

Products from the Indian sub-continent have always been imported into South Africa, but since 1994 the range and variety of products has increased significantly, leading almost to a price war among the South African and migrant grocers in Fordsburg. Zaid says that South Africans, for example, Akhalwayas have imported products from Malaysia and India for decades. Products that could not be found previously, for example, the different types of basmati rice, range of groceries, frozen Indian vegetables, spices and even utensils are now readily available (Zaid, September 2012, interview). Zubeida confirms that they import goods from Pakistan because Pakistanis in South Africa want Pakistani products. Zubeida adds that she even imports her preferred varieties of ginger and garlic from Pakistan, because the ginger and garlic paste, used in cooking curries in South Africa, is preserved with vinegar and this “spoils the cooked food” (Zubeida, September 2011, interview).

A well-known South African trader (Khan), who started trading in 2003, has been importing groceries for eleven years from countries such as India, Pakistan, China, Myanmar, Australia, Canada and United Arab Emirates. As a distributor nationally and across the borders, he also supplies retail shops and restaurants in Fordsburg. Khan points out that many non-nationals who require goods from their country of origin, do not necessarily require “A” grade products. Furthermore, non-national traders are not necessarily concerned about VAT or duty charges. Hence their prices are always cheaper than local importers and this fuels a price war in Fordsburg (Khan, 2014, e-mail correspondence).

Contributing to an understanding of the consumption patterns in Fordsburg, Maalik, a South African, provides this insight, “there is more foreigners in Fordsburg [than local South Africans]. The local people are [just] here to entertain themselves, to go to restaurants and flea-markets and to hairdressers and things like that” (Maalik, October 2013, interview). Supporting this view, Mr Abrahams states that the flea market, where a variety of products at

competitive prices caters for everyone's needs, is the biggest draw card for Fordsburg (Mr Abrahams, March 2011, interview).

8.2.8 Partnerships, Price Wars, Competition and Rentals

When trying to understand the growth of migrant businesses and perception of success, I found that some migrants owned two or more outlets. Akbar, a twenty-eight-year old Bangladeshi mentions that many migrants have informal partnerships with each other. He says that those whose businesses have grown over time are likely to buy another business with their retained profits. In turn, they will employ migrants of the same nationality. He adds that Bangladeshis work hard, save their money and are inclined to help each other (Akbar, October 2013, interview). Maalik's partner, a Pakistani, and in South Africa for fifteen years, owns three hair dressing salons. So, how are migrant traders able to grow and open many outlets in a relatively short space of time?

Saadia's husband owns two hairdressing and beauty salons where they employ between four and six people in each. Saadia complains that the "shop rent is very high too [the] shop rent is R14 000 (US\$ 1170) [We] work hard and there is no profit". Through hard work and working overtime, she has built up a good reputation, but she is concerned about the growth of new outlets and competition (Saadia, June 2011, interview). These new salons, she cautions are manned by new migrants who have just learnt the trade. With learning in place, the new migrants are then used as a pool of labour to operate in and replicate new salons, a circulation of manpower (Saadia, June 2011, interview). Besides superficial competence and reasonable prices, hygiene and the cleanliness of outlets is a concern. But Saadia's concern with profits, does not explain how her husband recently opened a newly refurbished restaurant near the Fordsburg Square.

Zena, in South Africa for twelve years, owns two hair salons, and her husband operates a butcher next to one of her outlets. Zena mentions that one of the shop rentals is R5 000 (US\$ 600); the rental for the outlet on Mint Road is R17 000 (US\$ 1420), and the rental for the butchery is R7 000 (US\$ 585). She thus pays a combined total of R29 000 (US\$ 2420) a month. In order to pay this rental sum, Zena works every day, from 09:00 to 21:00. She adds that her business never closes, not even on a public holiday (Zena, October 2012, interview).

Vibha's response to a question about the concentration of hair salons in the area is that there is always a demand, and therefore money, in this line of work. But as a sole trader, it is a risky option. A person has to be multi-skilled providing various treatments, such as cutting of hair, facials, nail treatments, et cetera, hence it is impossible for one person to generate sufficient income to cover a rental of R8 000 (US\$ 670) a month. Vibha confirms that there is a price war and, although Vibha charges a lower price, it is volume, customer loyalty and throughput that provides the profit (Vibha, June 2011, interview).

Munif, originally from Pakistani, and in South Africa for seventeen years, also complains that the services of traders is over-supplied (Munif, October 2013, interview). Khajaat's outlet is around the corner from the Fordsburg Square and the monthly rental is R9 700 (US\$ 810) but Sajeet, who works in a tailor shop on the corner of Bree Street, away from the hub at the Square, has a much lower rental of R5 500 (US\$ 460). Arun, who manages one of the hair salons across the road from the Square, is employed by a Pakistani (in South Africa for 15 years) who owns four salons, one in Fordsburg, two in Greenside and one in the Indian township, Laudium, in Pretoria, indicating an extension of trade into areas where South African Indians are concentrated in specific areas of residence.

In trying to understand this multiplicity of trade and how so many outlets survive in such close proximity to each other, this comment by Zaid, a South African, is worth considering:

I really don't know what their business skills [are], I think what feeds it mostly is that they are very united, like you find the Pakistani group will stand together they help each other, one will open a shop and sell it to another one and he will open a shop. Even the Bangladeshis you find that they open little places, after six months you will find different guys again, so he'll move on to something else (Zaid, September 2012, interview).

Zaid highlights the presence of a network of resources that Bangladeshis and Pakistanis use for work purposes. During an interview with Saffar, who arrived in 2001, makes the point that in the past ten years, Fordsburg has become so popular that property values have increased threefold. He adds that initially, nobody wanted to pay rentals of R2 000 (US\$ 170) for the shops, but these days the same shop rental will go for R10 000 (US\$ 840). Trying to find a property to rent is nearly impossible in Fordsburg today (Saffar, May 2011, interview). (See Chapter 9, Section 9.6.1).

In contrast, South African traders have a different perspective of the growth and role played by non-nationals in Fordsburg. Their perception of being overwhelmed is discernible from their narratives.

8.2.9 “We are Being Steamrolled”

While some of the South African Indian traders still operate their own businesses, a number have sublet their businesses or properties to migrant traders. The South Africans tended to move to other areas and malls at the end of apartheid. Clearly the ‘old’ is making way for the ‘new’, almost a recycling of communities, trades and markets.

The South African traders recall their early days, working late into the night. Sulaiman started his business in 1969 and traded from about 08:30 until 23:00 in the week, on Friday nights till after midnight at 01:00, and on Saturday nights as late as 02:00. Now things have changed and he says he closes at 17:00 during the week and 19:00 on a Friday night. Crime is quite prevalent, but the Pakistanis and the Bangladeshis, are prepared to take the risk, in spite of being repeatedly robbed. He refers to a Bangladeshi café having been held up several times at gunpoint, yet it still continues trading until late at night (Sulaiman, October 2013, interview). Dilip also remembers his first take-away outlet near the Square. In the early 1990s, he was open on Saturdays until 02:00.

So, why are the South African traders so critical of the non-national traders who trade so late into the night? Dilip says that people (he means South Africans), “even the Indians [South African Indians] are beginning to feel we are being steamrolled by the foreigners in a sense” (Dilip, March 2011, interview). He explains this view further:

There has been such an influx of barbers, there are two barbers on every corner; I have not really counted them... They trade longer than the normal hours, so like for instance on a Saturday night, they trade until 11p.m. at night, see how many barber’s shops there are. And all the shops are chock-a-block, right, now I mean - if you just work out the numbers it just does not seem to gel. That those days [in the 1970s] you had two barber’s shops and they were never full. Today you got plenty barber’s shops, trading longer hours and they are all full. So I mean what is happening, I can’t seem to figure that out. I just can’t seem to figure that out (his emphasis) (Dilip, March 2011, interview).

Dilip’s sentiment of being ‘steamrolled’ and his apparent aggravation is not unique. Hemant operates a small dry cleaning and tailoring outlet. He points out that it is the Bangladeshi’s

who have come in with their “cut throat business and under-cutting of prices” (Hemant, July 2013, interview), that has increased competition in the area.

Sulaiman states that the Bangladeshis and “our Indians [from India] guys” have come to Fordsburg to open their businesses here. They are buying up and agglomerating businesses “it is like the Bangladeshis have a consortium. One helps the other to open a shop ... and they help each other and they pay them back. If you look all over here [Fordsburg], Mayfair, and Mayfair West” [you will see their success]. He explains that Bangladeshis have bought a number of retail outlets, and their success stems from running low cost businesses, to the extent that their businesses double as living quarters: “and the beauty part is some of them live in their shops. No extra expenses. They live [there], they eat, they cook, and they do everything in their shops” (Sulaiman, October 2013, interview). The blurring of boundaries between home and business appear to be a unique form of migrant behaviour (see Chapter 7, Section 7.2.1). Sulaiman is quite firm: “believe it or not they are all successful they are all making money and then sending the money out” (Sulaiman, October 2013, interview).

A perplexing question many of the South African Indian traders in Fordsburg ask is: how do migrant traders manage to open more than one outlet, survive in an over-traded market space, with duplication of trades and markets? Hemant asks a pertinent question: “if you look at their rentals, they are between R10 000 (US\$ 840) and R15 000 (US\$ 1250) a month; and how do they manage to pay these rentals”? The local traders put various reasons forward: including the long working hours and trading seven days a week; operating on minimised running costs and personal sacrifices; showing significant resourcefulness; and having an appetite for risk taking. These business practices are not what South African Indian traders are willing to emulate.

In summary, there appears to be quite a complex set of relationships and interrelationships among the traders in the Fordsburg area, although only a selection of traders is considered in this study. Notably, there is a growing Chinese community in Fordsburg, engaging in importing and retailing, setting up their warehouses on the periphery of Fordsburg, and they supply a number of Fordsburg retailers. The Chinese are not part of this study, although they have had a long-standing association with Fordsburg; this is an area for future research.

While the South African traders in Fordsburg complain and deride non-national traders, it is the South African consumer that supports migrant businesses. Local South Africans come to

Fordsburg because they know that products and goods are much cheaper, and that there is the potential to bargain for prices. Additionally, all their requirements are met in one neighbourhood. “One can buy goods from spices, sweetmeats, food stalls, DVDs, Muslim clothing, basics that the Indians use” to hairdressers, tailors, food shops, “you are bound to get what you are looking for” (Zayboon, September 2011, interview). This supports the assertion made in this thesis that Fordsburg is an ‘Indian’ area, but there is almost a fusion that Indian equals Muslim. This identity conflation is illustrated and critiqued by Vawda (2010). The assumption that only South African Indians visit Fordsburg is incorrect. A diverse group of nationalities and races shop in Fordsburg, including a large contingent of South Africans, African and international visitors who come to Fordsburg, and specifically to the Oriental Plaza.

A number of germane points emerge from these narratives: the issue of duplication of trade; multiple outlets owned by one trader; high rentals; competition among traders; and extended hours of work. I argue that the nature of work and trade and the existence of a network of resources allow for a ‘reserve’ pool of labour yet disregard sound labour practices and labour laws, lead me to conclude that a form of precarious labour exists. Similar arguments are made by Standing (2011), Anderson (2007) and Kidder and Raworth (2004). Class distinctions and ethnic background are important determinants that shape the power relations that exist among the different groups.

The South African traders, however, feel that they are being steamrolled, overcome by the intensity, diversity and hard work of the migrant workers, the number of outlets opening up and the pace at which it is taking place. The emotional intensity of this term should not be ignored; it gives voice to both a physical and emotional sense of dislocation among the South African Indian traders.

Another interesting dynamic is at play: the Bangladeshi and Indians will work together, the Pakistanis and Indians will work together, but the inter-ethnic conflict between the Pakistanis and Bangladeshi is tangible, they will not employ labour from either group (See Section 7.2). The Egyptians employ only Egyptian labour and perhaps African labour to assist with manual tasks. The Malawians, who appear to be on the fringe, are employed in manual labour, learn new skills to become employable in order to remit money back home. Their undocumented

status and skill level relegate them to the fringes of a community in which they are disadvantaged from the start.

Besides the concentration of trading activity around the Fordsburg Square, non-national traders have occupied the Oriental Plaza since 2000. The discussion now centres on the Oriental Plaza, a ‘white elephant’ at first, however, with the resolve of the South African Indian traders, it became such a success that it is known as a tourist landmark in South Africa. The next section explores the views of the South African traders at the Oriental Plaza.

8.3 The Oriental Plaza

The golden domes of the Oriental Plaza can easily be spotted from the M2 highway to the west of Fordsburg. The description of the Oriental Plaza as just a ‘political tool to satisfy the needs of white middle consumer class’ (Toffah 2009: 17) does little to deconstruct the contested nature of the space it occupies, a grim reminder of the struggles fought against the apartheid government (see Chapter 1, Section 1.4). Instead I argue that the Oriental Plaza was invented by the state to appease its conscience about the displacement of the Pageview traders. While some traders suffer losses, others persevered and made successes of their ventures at the Plaza.

When the first traders moved into the Plaza in the 1970s, they faced restrictions in terms of trading. The authorities imposed severe restrictions on how, where and what type of goods each of the traders was allowed to sell. Premises were pre-allocated and white ‘inspectors’ were sent to monitor the traders, but abused their authority by helping themselves to goods (Fraser 2003b). Only later, did the traders present a unified resistance to apartheid and drew on this solidarity to regroup as a community that became able to focus on making a success of the Oriental Plaza. The Department of Community Development, under the apartheid government advised the traders who organised themselves under the Oriental Plaza Merchants Association, because of the Plaza’s lack of viability, it intended selling the Oriental Plaza. The Association, in an effort to protect its members, entered into negotiations with the Department and, after intensive negotiation, the Association managed to buy the Oriental Plaza in 1986, at half the original asking price of R45 million (US\$ 3.75m) and paid R21 million (US\$ 1.75m) for it (Mahomed 2005). As a result, the Oriental Plaza became the first mall that was owned, under sectional title, by Indian traders in South Africa.

Today the Plaza has three sections comprising the north and south sections, interconnected by a three storey circular shopping area called The Grand Bazaar (Davie 2002). It boasts over 360 stores and has approximately a million visitors every month. The Oriental Plaza has thus been re-crafted as a centre that has ‘developed over generations, a reputation of being the jewellery pricing mecca of South Africa and continues to offer their customers the opportunity to experience high quality, low prices and great variety in the world of fashion and trend’ (White Way Systems, 2014):

8.3.1 The Popularity of the Oriental Plaza

Many attribute the atmosphere of the Plaza as one of the main reasons for its popularity. The term ‘Oriental’ is, in fact, a misnomer since the Oriental Plaza is not ‘oriental’ at all, but is a construct that is best described as “Indian”. The Indian ambience, the promise of bargains and variety of goods together with a personalised service, are some of the key attractions to the Plaza. For Hassim, a South African trader, the attraction is attributed its long history of existence, good service and quality of products. In addition, the variety of stores and pricing are also important (Hassim, November 2008, interview). For Aisha, what draws people to its shops is the manner in which the traders engage with people, the marketing and the discounts (Aisha, November 2008, interview).

On entering the Oriental Plaza, the sights, sounds and tantalising aromas of food transports you to the markets in Mumbai, Delhi, Dubai or even Durban. Khulsum picks up on this view:

I think everything, it is so oriental, and with the goods outside it has its own beauty, I think if we did not have goods outside, it would not be so good; it gives a bit of look of India, a bit of Dubai, there is a lot in the plaza, and let’s face it, they get the goods much cheaper here than any other centre, the rentals are low and most of the unit holders own the unit” (Khulsum, November 2008, interview).

Mr Osman says “we treat people on a personal level” with an emphasis on a “customer-friendly shopping experience” (Osman, November 2008, interview). Mr Osman says a trader’s success at the Oriental Plaza stems from the personality of the Pageview community, referring back to the popular trading style of the 14th Street traders (see Chapter 1, Section 1.4). The new tenants lack this legacy and thus the trading styles have changed.

8.3.2 The Traditional Attraction of the Plaza is Being Compromised

New streams of migrants came to the Oriental Plaza and began asserting their presence and style of trade immediately. Kanti says that although there is no conflict, the rich mix of trade is not there anymore; “Pakistanis and all those guys” have only got one or two things that they sell, leather goods and duvet covers, that’s it. They do not offer any other service and this disadvantage the other traders”. However, Kanti himself specialises in men’s clothing and tailoring, and has a regular loyal clientele that appreciates his good service. Whilst Kanti does not have a problem with other traders, there is “no conflict but it is disturbing” (Kanti, November 2008, interview). Kanti hints to a tolerance but alludes to an underlying disquiet about their presence.

Essop is less gracious about the role of the Pakistani traders at the Oriental Plaza. He says, “these people have no business ethics, they just sell things what they want to, and they are hits and runs I think” (Essop, November 2008, interview). Kishan points out that there used to be a variety of shops in the Oriental Plaza but this feature is slowly fading away. For example, there are about 60 leather shops out of a total of 300 shops. Kishan blames ‘absentee landlords’ who have sublet their outlets to the highest bidder, resulting in the duplication of retail outlets. The migrants tend to specialise in curtaining, leatherwear, cellphones and cellphone accessories as outlets. The speed with which they appear to have come into the Plaza, leaves the original traders slightly bewildered, a feeling of being ‘steamrolled’ as Dilip mentions (see Section 8.2.9). Kishan believes that the Plaza is over-traded, the speciality stores of the past where diverse goods could be purchased is long past, and thus the traditional attractions to the Plaza are compromised (Kishan, November 2008, interview).

In support of Kishan’s views, Khulsum adds that the Oriental Plaza Management Board wrote letters to all traders warning of the over-trading of one particular item of goods. But the Board has no authority, it is just a management committee as the Oriental Plaza is sectional titled and some of the owners have rented out their shops. Khulsum points out that the downturn in the economy has also led to a decline in trade at the Plaza. This presents some owners with the option of renting their businesses out to non-nationals, who are prepared to pay the rentals stipulated by the owners. The owners, in return, do very little to monitor trade at their outlets as they have relinquished control by securing passive incomes from high rentals (Khulsum, November 2008, interview).

Hemant, a South African Indian trader, relates how a family member has opted to rent her outlet out for R25 000 (US\$ 2080) a month instead of having to deal with business problems and staff issues. Hemant adds that, while the South Africans complain about how corrupt the Pakistanis are, at the same time they are themselves, consequential beneficiaries of the exorbitant rentals: “so our crowd is very sneaky” (Hemant, July 2013, interview). Hemant’s views raise a sore point about the complicity of the South African Indian traders at the Oriental Plaza. While complaining bitterly about the over-trading of “those” Pakistanis and casting aspersions on their character, there are those landlords who are making a passive income by subletting their outlets to migrant traders.

This current example of duplicity links back to the deceit that was experienced at the Plaza when retail outlets were allocated to the traders. Some traders in Pageview, who had secured the best outlets for themselves, stated publically, at the time, that they resisted the relocation to the Oriental Plaza. At a deeper level, such apparent intrigue questions any notion of a cohesive community as here community is seen to be based rather on what suits each individual, in this particular, the trader. Hence it reveals the selfish pursuit of self-preservation. Can we then talk of a sense of community at the Plaza?

8.3.3 A Sense of Community at the Plaza?

As Kanti, a Hindu owner, declares that, while the Oriental Plaza is predominantly Muslim owned, “they carry on their own, and we carry on, on our own”. Religion is never much of an issue, “the[re] is no problem and thus far has there has never been a problem in terms of religious pursuit” (Kanti, November 2008, interview). Essop claims that there is harmony amongst the traders (Essop, November 2008, interview). The response from Hassim, an Egyptian tenant, agrees with Kanti’s “everybody minds their own business” and adds that he does not really mix with others in the curtaining trade. Hassim believes that the selling of curtaining is a key attraction at the Oriental Plaza and thus competition between the traders is rife (Hassim, November 2008, interview).

For Kishan, there is a sense of community, but his comment suggests a tenuous position, “we do not have conflict, if other shopkeepers have that, it is their business”. He points out that the traders generally have a fairly good relationship with their neighbours (Kishan, November 2008, interview). Khulsum, whose family started out with just owning a small kiosk in the early days of establishment, today owns seven outlets. Whilst there is some envy at her

success, she adds that, “we are all pretty friendly; there is no time to go and see each other” (Khulsum, November 2008, interview). Hassim, an Egyptian national, now a naturalised South African, prefers not to mix with the South African traders hinting to underlying tension among the traders at the Plaza.

8.3.4 Changing Dynamics at the Oriental Plaza

Zaid remembers the plaza as “a white elephant I should say, because the shopkeepers did not really have confidence in, and then later on it started building up and became what it is today” (Zaid, September 2012, interview). Essop adds that although the Plaza has more feet through its doors, the variety is limited (Essop, November 2008, interview). One of the more significant changes is the decline in the number of young South African traders and the absence of an even younger generation of traders, while their parents operate the outlets the children have opted to become professionals. This has led to a discontinuity in the intergenerational ownership of businesses. Because of this lack of manpower formerly coming from family members and disrupting traditional continuity, the aged owners have either sold or rented their businesses, inevitably to non-national traders who were willing buyers or renters.

8.3.5 “A Gift Horse by the Apartheid Government”

The contentious construction of the Oriental Plaza during the height of apartheid, divided the communities of Pageview and Fordsburg. Dilip offers a different perspective: “the Plaza was a gift horse from the apartheid government to the Indians, they might not want to acknowledge that, but it was a gift horse” (Dilip, March 2011, interview). Dilip’s view is probably not a consensual one, but the reality is that South African Indian traders, despite immense setbacks, succeeded in implementing a strategy that turned the Oriental Plaza into a world-famous landmark for Johannesburg. Admittedly, and in retrospect, looking the gift horse in the mouth was not without great cost and sacrifice by many communities (see Chapter 1, Section 1.4).

Dilip complains that the traders and even management have failed to capitalise on the Plaza’s economic potential. Over its forty-year history, there has been insufficient upkeep of the infrastructure at the Plaza. Instead he believes that management should stop expecting and blaming the city council for the lack of maintenance, but should themselves invest in

preserving its heritage. Dilip is critical of the operating hours of the Plaza on a Saturday as it usually closes at 14:00. It is only closer to special festivals such as Eid, Diwali and Christmas that shopping hours are extended and retail stores open on a Sunday for business. In contrast, retail stores owned by migrants in Fordsburg operate long hours every weekend.

Furthermore Dilip also suggests that the management is too staid and in need of new thinking to take the Oriental Plaza forward into the future. He proposes the development of a movie theatre complex to enable traders to capitalise on the influx of shoppers to the Fordsburg Square. Dilip envisages a ‘flow’ of trading and, together with it, the movement of people from the Plaza on a Saturday afternoon filtering to the Fordsburg Square. This vision could be likened to Kivisto’s (2003: 12) circuits of ‘goods, information and people’ where economic circuits refer to ‘commercial exchange practices’. The loss of this economic opportunity stirs in a brief moment of reality when Dilip adds poignantly, “but it’s no longer theirs – it is the foreigners that are running the Plaza” (Dilip, March 2011, interview).

Forced by the apartheid government to move from Pageview to the new trading premises at the Oriental Plaza, the traders persevered to make of the Plaza a success. Post-2000, when new waves of migrant traders moved into the Oriental Plaza, new tensions and contestations over the use of space started emerging. This can be explained by Lefebvre’s (1991: 26) notion that space is ‘a social product’ and the power relations within this space have forbearance on how identity and communities are forged. The flea market at the historical Fordsburg Square reflects the contestations between South African traders and migrant traders as outlined in the information from the interviewees. The Square is more popularly known as the Fordsburg flea market and is the focus of the discussion in the next section.

8.4 The Flea Market at the Fordsburg Square

The idea of setting up a flea market in Fordsburg was first mooted in the early 1990s, but it took ten years to develop into the success for which it is now renowned. It has the proud distinction of being the busiest night-time flea market in the southern Africa. In the early 1980s the Square was a dirty, derelict place. Prior to that, from the 1950s onwards, the Square became more popularly known as Hobo Park, as vagrants converged on the Square at night to sleep. In 1992, Dilip opened the first halaal steakhouse in the country as a Steers franchise owner on the Fordsburg Square. It proved to be immensely popular, particularly for the

younger crowd. After movies, the Steers on the Square had become the new popular meeting place (Dilip, March 2011, interview).

In 1990 the Johannesburg City Council approached him with a proposition to upgrade the Square in recognition of its historical value and, more importantly, the then Council wanted to recreate the Square “as a vibrant public square (and space) that needed to be given back to the people” (Dilip, March 2011, interview). The development of the Square had to be in accordance with the National Monuments Council stipulation on how historical buildings are to be preserved. This also applied to the Restaurant on the Fordsburg Square (see Chapter 5, Section 5.3.2). Once the City Council decided to develop the Square as a flea market it put a development project for the Fordsburg Square out to tender. Dilip was awarded the tender. In 1991 the flea market started off on a small scale and was slow to take off. It operated informally, on a first-come, first-serve basis. Some traders would set their stalls up for a week or two but because business was disappointing, they left to try out other markets. Dilip strategically turned to developing a restaurant to entice customers to the area in order to capitalise on the economic potential of the Square. Dilip adds that it has taken him almost ten years to get the flea market up and running. For most of that time he personally shouldered the burden of making the flea market a success (Dilip, March 2011, interview).

Towards the end of apartheid, when new freedoms meant the unrestricted movement of people in previously forbidden spaces, the situation at Fordsburg Square began to change especially around movie houses and areas of entertainment. Dilip says that once the Cine Centre was open to all races, “at 00:30 when the movies came out this area was absolutely electrifying”. He closed his place at 02:00 and even at that time “my shop was still pumping” (Dilip, March 2011, interview).

Saffar, a Pakistani national, remembers that in the period 2001-2002 “the Square was empty with only maybe two or three traders”. He describes the time as “very dark and very quiet” because of a lack of patronage. The few sparse traders made a little bit of money, sometimes R100 (US\$ 8.20) or sometimes R200 (US\$ 16.40). Saffar started selling towels that he was able to buy on credit from someone importing them from Turkey and Iran. These he sold over the weekend and made around R200 or R300 (US\$ 25), sufficient for his expenses at the time. He recalls how difficult it was, “my first three years was very hard, I just had to get enough to pay [for] my boarding” (Saffar, May 2011, interview).

It was only post-1998 that the flea market became viable. This Dilip acknowledges was after the migrants arrived as traders in the Square. Dilip was unable to get the South African traders to commit to or cooperate even at a modest levy of R75 (US\$ 6.25) a week in the early 1990s (Dilip, March 2011, interview). Saffar adds that today the place is so busy, there are people who are now demanding to have their trading spots back – the ones that they had forgone (Saffar, May 2011, interview). The migrant traders have increasingly moved the operating times of the flea market to much earlier in the week, such that the flea market now operates from a Wednesday contrary to the mandate of the Johannesburg City Council. The Square has become the economic pulse of Fordsburg over weekends and this has had a multiplier effect on secondary businesses that derive direct benefit from the crowds that the Square draws. Evidence of this is from the increasing flows of people to Fordsburg particularly over weekends, growth in the number of retail outlets opening and the refurbishment of other parts of Fordsburg to capitalise on this growth (see Chapter 9, Section 9.6.1).

Dilip's idea of preservation and conservation of the Square is closely tied to his vision of branding the Square and marketing it as a 'Little India'. He entered into unsuccessful negotiations with the City Council on this matter. As the flea market became successful, when Dilip's lease expired in 2001, the Metropolitan Trading Company (MTC) and the City Council took control in an attempt to opportunistically control the market. The MTC is a municipality-owned entity, established in 1999 to provide developmental support for informal traders and taxis. According to Dilip, since the MTC took over, the focus on managing the Fordsburg Square was lost but possibly it was never their intention to manage the flea market. However, in the process of preparing for the 2010 Soccer World Cup, the MTC secured R9 million (US\$ 0.75m) for the development of the Fordsburg Square. Dilip adds:

But what you see here is not worth R9 million, ... firstly, it has got absolutely no aesthetic value, [and secondly] worse still- there is no control. Go down to the food court and see what they done ... one guy has now painted his area pink and another green. Now that the market is in their [MTC] hands – but they have lost total control of it. And worse still the traders are not even paying rentals (Dilip, March 2011, interview).

In Dilip's view, the MTC is rather "uncontrolling the market, and you can see what is going on there" (Dilip, March 2011, interview). He paints a picture of poor management of the

Square, of derelict amenities and dubious trade practices. The Square currently detracts from being a public and historic space. Mr Nana, an ANC member, adds that it “gets very dirty, there is a lot of these little stalls on top of one another, well the enterprise is good, the fact that it generates people coming in on the weekends”. But Mr Nana is also of the opinion that there are more innovative ways of bringing the Square back to its original intent (Mr Nana, August, 2013, interview).

Saffar was the chairperson of the Fordsburg flea market in 2011, and asserts that a properly run enterprise needs strong management: “the problem is when something goes under the government, the government is too soft. The MTC does not have a policy about product control, so from our side it is hard. If we [ask] the MTC, ... we are over stepping [our boundaries]”. Saffar reveals that, at the time of interview, the cost of the store on the Square was R400 (US\$ 34) a month (Saffar, May 2011, interview). The demographic composition of the traders at the Square in 2011 was 70 per cent South African, and 30 per cent foreigner traders (Saffar, May 2011, interview).

The Fordsburg flea market, situated on a historical site, is also contested space, not only between the traders, but also between the Mint Road Traders Association, the City Council and its managing body the MTC. Dilip feels strongly that the community needs to reclaim this space as the Square is currently compromised due to excessive trading. Aside from the over-trading and conditions of neglect, the vision of maintaining the cultural heritage of the Square, something demanded by the National Monuments Council in the 1990s, has been completely lost. The blame for this neglect has partly been attributed to the influx of migrants and the overtrading in Fordsburg. In contrast to this view, the contribution by migrants in Fordsburg is considered in the section that follows.

8.5 Contribution of Migrant Traders in Fordsburg

When asked whether the migrant traders had made a significant difference to Fordsburg, Maalik, a South African, makes this significant comment:

A very big difference. The time I was here there wasn't foreigners it was the apartheid time. But the minute they came in and the place starting booming. There were shops in Fordsburg but when it came to 4:00 p.m. or 5:00 p.m. it was dead here. Now it is not, it goes on until 9:00 p.m. to 10:00 p.m. at night. [...] They are not lazy people. They made Fordsburg [what it] is today. To think when I was here

this place was dead. After 5 p.m. nobody will be walking in the streets here and not a shop open. But they made it Fordsburg. Out of the whole of Johannesburg they made Fordsburg. Not even Durban or Cape Town, I don't think there is a place like Fordsburg. Fordsburg is the main place (Maalik, October 2013, interview).

Zaid, a South African, while critical of some of the Pakistanis' habits, states that the migrant traders have contributed to the vibrancy in Fordsburg, "but other than that I don't think they contributed much else" (Zaid, September 2012, interview). Hemant agrees and argues that "they are just making their money and going away, supporting their families overseas" (Hemant, July 2013, interview). So even if there is an increase in trade, high levels of competition and high rentals all affect the capacity to generate a profit and wealth. Where such wealth is created, it is immediately exported as remittances or to find other business ventures.

But a different and more thought-provoking viewpoint is provided by Mr Ismail. He gives the example of a Bangladeshi businessman who developed Fordsburg Towers (see Chapter 5) into a hotel because he saw the potential for business there. Mr Ismail adds that most of the Indian restaurants are owned by Pakistani and Bangladeshi nationals, and in the shortest possible space of time, after grasping perceived opportunities they are operating seemingly successfully. Furthermore, the South African youth, more mobile than their parents, enjoy dining out over weekends, and, as more women become career professionals, cooking and home chores become secondary. The restaurants in Fordsburg cater ideally for this new, young and upwardly mobile generation. This turn to professionalism also means that the chain of family businesses, passing from one generation to the next, is now being broken. The older business owners at the Oriental Plaza consequently have to dispose of their intra-generational businesses, either by selling or opting to rent their businesses to derive a passive income (Mr Ismail, May 2011, interview).

Saffar, a Pakistani, who has played a prominent role in promoting the Fordsburg Square, adds that all over the world there are problems. Countries need new ideas and investments so that growth can take place. He adds that Fordsburg in the early 1990s was quiet, "the owners of this buildings they were just sitting, the shops were empty, since we [have come] they are also successful, [all] the people who came here are paying nice money, so they are also successful, they are getting money [and] everybody is happy. Everybody is benefiting" (Saffar, May 2011, interview).

Mr Ismail supports the view of Saffar. He states that the migrants have brought their own value in the form of diversity of restaurants, forms of trade and entrepreneurship. He adds that he can get a haircut at 20:00 at night if he feels like it, which is indeed unusual in South Africa. Interestingly, Mr Ismail suggests that the migrants have added their own brand to Fordsburg. He goes a step further by saying “And they have livened up the area. When India won the Cricket World Cup, you would have thought that Fordsburg was in India” (Mr Ismail, May 2011, interview).

8.6 Conclusion

This chapter explored the views of traders from the six groups who were interviewed for this study. Conclusions are that the outward appearances of migrants as successful can be deceptive, and that conditions in the receiving country are not as welcoming as originally thought; migrants are, however, prepared to take risks and to work much longer hours, including a seven day work week, something that South African traders would not consider. Risk and necessity dictate that migrants learn a task quickly in order to engage in some form livelihood. Significantly, the traders selectively draw labour from the some of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) countries but appear to avoid South African nationals.

Clearly both locals and migrants, national and non-national, believe that much of the vibrancy of business in Fordsburg can be directly linked to the presence of migrants. Many have found that fellow migrants allow them to run their businesses with a reduced cost base, whilst new migrants benefit from almost instantaneous employment. It is entirely understandable that local traders at the Plaza regard migrants as having capitalised on their past determination to make the Oriental Plaza a success. However, the change in offerings at the Plaza and style of trading has not been openly welcomed; similarly so, for the flea market.

Whilst trade is vibrant and by all accounts booming, there appears to be little control over the business and so the vision of the Market Square as a historic space, as stipulated by the National Heritage Council appears to be side-lined. Tensions between locals and migrants are palpable and are openly expressed by locals who potentially have a vested interest in retaining the characteristics of the suburb as they used to know it. Whilst locals clearly do benefit from the migrant economy, their resistance to change and new cultural influences hamper the integration of migrants into the community.

A number of themes that arise from the study relate to working conditions of the workers, types of trade, competition among traders and high rentals. The views of the South African traders range from being suspicious, affording blame but ultimately recognise that their fortunes are entwined with those of the non-nationals - a realisation that the benefits can extend to the South Africans as well. The next chapter considers the elements of building a community in terms of education, religion, local government and voluntary associations.



CHAPTER 9

BUILDING AND MAINTAINING A COMMUNITY: SPACES AND ASSOCIATIONS THAT FACILITATE INTEGRATION

9.1 Introduction

The focus of this chapter is to consider the role of education, religious spaces and burial practices, the impact of crime on communities, the role of local government and voluntary associations in supporting the formation of communities in Fordsburg. The views of both the migrants and South African groups are examined to appreciate how the building blocks of a community contribute to belonging and integration. Education, religion, and crime facilitate inclusion and exclusion in community. While education and religion promote cohesion and connections among individuals and groups, crime, on the other hand, relates to a breakdown of the moral values and functioning of communities. The views of local government representatives on the role of migrants and their contribution to the regeneration of Fordsburg are examined. Basic humanitarian needs in an adopted society are an important safety net particularly for the dispossessed and the infirm. Here the role of two voluntary humanitarian organisations in Fordsburg is considered.

9.2 Sites of Learning in Fordsburg

Education is a key element not only in the construction of a community, but in the maintenance of communities as well. Institutions of learning were founded in Brickfields in 1889 and in Fordsburg as early as 1891, almost immediately after the proclamation of Johannesburg in 1886, indicating that families were settling into communities. Three schools that have a long association with the Fordsburg area are closely examined in this study. The first is the Shree Bharat Sharda Mandir School (SBSM) established in 1936, catering for the needs of Hindu immigrants; the second is the Johannesburg Muslim School (JMS), opened in 1990 specifically for the Muslim community; and in 1954 the Fordsburg Primary School a government school for the broader South African Indian community, began functioning.

9.2.1 The Shree Bharat Sharda Mandir School

The structure housing the Shree Bharat Sharda Mandir (SBSM) school (see Chapter 1, Section 1.2.6) was built in 1948. Prior to that, the school operated from the Patidar Hall and

offered vernacular classes when it was established in 1936. The SBSM school, still on Lillian Avenue, across the road from the Oriental Plaza, houses the nursery, pre-primary and Gujarati schools. Post 1994, the SBSM and Gujarati school boasted 1 800 learners, at one stage. The school provided a transportation service to collect and return children from surrounding areas like Ferreirasdorp, Mayfair, Doornfontein, Denver and Jeppe. The Gujarati school traditionally operated on weekday afternoons from 14:30 to 17:00. From 2005, the school changed its times to operate only on a Friday afternoon and Saturday morning.

The dissolution of the Group Areas Act in 1994 allowed families of colour to move to neighbourhoods of their choice. Furthermore, with children increasingly attending private schools (usually outside of the Fordsburg environs), time for extra-curricular vernacular classes was limited. The numbers of pupils attending the vernacular classes had dropped to 25 children at the time of the interview (in 2012). The pre-primary nursery school, established in 1994, however, continues to operate on weekdays from 8:30 to 12:30 (Mr Daya, June 2012, interview).

True to its original intent, the SBSM, as a vernacular school, still continues to play the same role today, but has adapted to the needs of the community. The nursery school attests to the diversity of people and cultures. Some of the children are black, Chinese and Indian nationals (personal field notes, 2012). Mr Daya, the principal, adds that the school has Pakistanis, Bangladeshis and Muslim children from the state of Gujarat in India. Although the school is based on a Hindu ethos and philosophy, it is not a school where Hindu religious studies are taught. The Hindu ethos “teaches Hinduism as a way of living” (Mr Daya, June 2012, interview).

9.2.2 Johannesburg Muslim School

The Johannesburg Muslim School (JMS) teaches the national curriculum and fulfils all the requirements thereof but embraces a religious component as well. The school is currently housed in a building that has a long association with Fordsburg, the old Bree Street School. The Bree Street School was built in 1914. The JMS is a private school but is partly funded by the Gauteng Department of Education. It provides schooling for nursery, pre-school, intermediate and Grade R pupils, through to Grades 1 to 12. The pre-school is situated in Mayfair, and the junior to senior school (Grades 1 to 12) is spread over two campuses in Fordsburg. When the school outgrew its capacity in 1992 in Mayfair, it moved to the old Bree

Street complex. The Central Islamic Trust (CIT) now owns this property. As the school continued to grow, the JMS leased the Johannesburg Secondary School premises in Fordsburg from the Department of Public Works. This original building housed the Transvaal College of Education (see Chapter 1, Section 1.2.6).

Even though JMS considers itself as an independent school and belongs to the Association of Muslim Private Schools (AMS), it follows the curriculum of the Gauteng Department of Education. Thus the JMS has to follow the governance structures of the Gauteng Department of Education and its requisite requirements. Mrs Moola, the principal at the time of the interview, says that ensuring the school complies with both systems can get complicated (Mrs Moola, May 2012, interview). Part of this commitment requires that the school participates in government-run school tournaments. However, the school's strict dress code based on Islamic traditions, forbids female pupils in particular, to wear sports garments that are considered to be un-Islamic, especially if there are males or elders among the spectators. Within the AMS code of practice, Islamic traditions are central and these are easier to observe if sporting and cultural activities are among Islamic schools only. Two netball tournaments are hosted in a year and twelve Muslim schools participate. Islamic dress codes for the girls are observed (Mrs Moola, May 2012, interview).

The JMS has pupils from Pakistan, India, Tanzania, Malawi, Dubai and Abu Dhabi. Pupils write admission examinations but JMS will generally accept all those who apply to attend the school. Since the school is small, the choice of subjects is limited and not all aspirations can be met. The head count for the school is 1 000 pupils, of which 240 are girls (Mrs Moola, May 2012, interview).

Children who travel with their migrant parents to visit families in the country of origin, particularly India and Pakistan, have an educational disadvantage due to school absenteeism and disruption to examination schedules. These pupils' progress is negatively affected, as assurances for the timely return to school are not honoured. This is not a unique problem to the JMS alone (Mrs Moola, May 2012, interview). Mr Essack, retired principal of Fordsburg Primary School expresses a similar view (Mr Essack, October 2013, interview).

Mrs. Moola says that for refugees or asylum seekers, sometimes a South African Muslim family will assist with paying school fees or employment for the parents. Mrs Moola remarks that because of the school's historical allure, requests from university art and history students to take photographs, or sketch the school, hold reunions and even a produce a documentary

are often received. These events speak to the significance of the school and its history which ex-scholars appear to fully appreciate (Mrs Moola, May 2012, interview).

9.2.3 Fordsburg Primary School

In contrast to the historical significance of the SBSM and JMS, Fordsburg Primary School has a much shorter history since it dates from 1954. The early 1990s saw a shift in the demographics of schools in Fordsburg reflecting the socio-political change in the country. As Indian parents began to send their children to now more accessible Model C²⁰ and private schools outside of Fordsburg, coloured and black children from surrounding areas quickly filled the void left. South Africa Indian parents believe the Model C schools and private schools in formally white-only neighbourhoods afford better quality education; importantly, they could also afford the increased cost. Black parents, in a similar vein, took their children out of townships schools to send them to schools in the Indian areas, holding the same view that these formally Indian only schools were better than those in the townships. This view is confirmed by studies on education in South Africa (Ndimande 2006; 2009).

In 1998 Fordsburg Primary School comprised 60 per cent Indian and 40 per cent black learners with a very small number of coloured children. Today this figure is 70 per cent black South Africans with African nationals from countries such as Malawi, Somalia, Zimbabwe, Uganda, Ivory Coast, Ethiopia and Nigeria. The other 30 per cent consist of South African Indians, very few coloureds and children from migrant Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi families. The pupils mainly live in Fordsburg, Mayfair and in the inner city areas of Johannesburg (Mr Essack, October 2013, interview).

* * *

Given that so few of the participants in the study have their families with them here it became difficult to provide an in-depth analysis of their views on education. Zubieda, here for sixteen years, reveals that her traditional Muslim values inform her culture and views. Zubieda has six children, four are born in South Africa. Her two eldest daughters married two brothers in the same family in Pakistan at the age of nineteen and twenty. Zubeida's younger children are

²⁰ Model C schools received a state subsidy with the rest of their costs covered by school fees thus excluding the majority of working class and unemployed South Africans (Soudien 2004: 118)

enrolled in Muslim instruction schools, her motivation being that she does not like the South African way of teaching and the western influence and liberal way of life in South Africa (Zubeida, September 2011, interview). She prefers to have her children married in Pakistan and her younger children in Muslim instruction schools. Another interpretation may well be that Zubeida wants to preserve the traditional cultural norms and customs which she values highly.

Khajaat, also a Pakistani, is proud that her nineteen-year-old son and eighteen-year-old daughter both attend college in Johannesburg (Khajaat, June 2011, interview). Her elder daughter aspires to becoming an air hostess, while her youngest daughter, who is thirteen, wants to be an accountant. Although a Muslim, Khajaat does not hold the same views as Zubeida. Saadia, on the other hand, willingly sends her daughter to a multi-racial pre-school where children from diverse ethnic backgrounds attend. She remarks that her children prefer living in South Africa and dislike having to visit family in India (Saadia, June 2011, interview). Adil, a Pakistani mentions that a number of family members back in Pakistan are considering coming to South Africa to further their education (Adil, October 2013, interview). The Malawian participants also had aspirations of furthering their studies in South Africa, part of their reason for choosing to come here.

In summary, the role and the importance of education in building communities and society in Johannesburg cannot be under-estimated. Pakistani, Indian and Malawian migrants particularly regard education as a priority. Whether or not, as in the case of Zubeida, this education is achieved through secular institutions circumscribed by homogeneous religious and cultural norms, or through more inclusive and integrated institutions that are characteristically heterogeneous, the value of education is considered important, for integration, and to establish the next generation's presence. It serves as the basis for the transmission of culture and values, establishes the norms of a society but also serves as a form of social inclusion or exclusion.

Education, together with religion, is a key construct of communities. It can serve to build and include communities or divide and exclude them further. The role of religion and how it serves to integrate communities is examined in the next section.

9.3 Religious Spaces and Practices in Fordsburg

Religion plays an important role in engendering social cohesion and mutuality in migrant communities. It serves as a source of support and social integration into host communities particularly for those of similar religious leanings. The dense social networks, religious infrastructure and communal spaces, make Fordsburg as near to being an ideal base for migrants to settle in. Given the number of mosques in the area, Muslim migrants predominate in Fordsburg whereas Hindu migrants are in the minority. There is no Hindu temple in Fordsburg, but on the border of Fordsburg and Mayfair is a recreational hall that hosts Hindu cultural and religious events. An allocated room serves as a place of worship for Hindu prayer services, and various religious Hindu groups use the space on allotted days of the week. The Swami Narayan Temple in Mayfair also serves as centre of worship, but it is not within walking distance from Fordsburg. Whilst Hinduism has a public face because of its many festivals, it is largely predisposed towards private worship practices and, although daily rituals and prayers do take place in a temple, its practices can be conducted in the home or at the workplace.

Hindus in Fordsburg are not a homogenous entity; divided according to caste, class and religious sects. Hindus from the Indian sub-continent are more caste conscious than naturalised South African Hindus. Their religious views and practices also dictate their diet. Vibha is a Brahmin, an upper caste in India and a strict vegetarian. Arun, is also a strict vegetarian, but he follows a particular religious sect of Hinduism called Radha Swami. As strict vegetarians, they observe the dietary restrictions as demanded by their beliefs, which they continue to uphold in Fordsburg (Arun, June 2011, interview; Vibha, June 2011, interview).

Islam in Fordsburg and Mayfair (and generally in all of South Africa since the late nineteenth century) is associated with the practices and culture of the Sunni sect and religious traditions of Hanafi. The Sunni are immigrants from South Asia and speak Gujarati or Urdu. There are also Muslim nationals from Somalia, Malawi, Egypt, Jordan, Morocco, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Syria, Lebanese, Turkey and India. Although Muslim and practising Islam, they bring new languages, traditions and beliefs with them. New sects such as Salafi, Sufi and Shite, with their own schools of thought in the forms of Shafi and Deobandi, can now be found in Fordsburg (Jinnah and Rugunanan, forthcoming). Inevitably, these new sects begin to establish their (new) religious spaces, infrastructure and, most notably, build new mosques.

This new plurality of Islamic traditions shows up as underlying tensions in the power relations between traditional South African Muslims and new Muslim migrants.

During the early 1990s, there were two prominent mosques: the Newtown Mosque adjacent to the Oriental Plaza, and the Jum'ah Mosque in Hanover Street in Fordsburg. Twenty years on, a number of new mosques have been established, cushioned alongside older mosques, reflecting migrants' different styles of worship. Language is a firm identity marker, especially for the places of worship where migrants attend Friday prayer services in a language they can understand; whilst the core of the prayer is in Arabic, the prayer preceding and after this is conducted in their mother tongue. In Fordsburg and Mayfair, the older established mosques conduct sermons in Arabic with a bit of Urdu, and are viewed as potentially isolating migrants (sometimes many locals too). In the new mosques services are conducted in Somali or Urdu (Jinnah and Rugunanan, forthcoming).

9.3.1 The Freedom to Practise Religion

The right to religious practice is protected by the South African constitution. The close proximity and accessibility of places of worship make it convenient to work and stay in Fordsburg. Razak, a Muslim Indian national, practises his faith freely in Fordsburg. Unexpectedly, Razak shares that he attends temple with his Hindu friends; a behaviour largely out of character for Muslims. Razak's rationale is "[...] we call God in different names – but there is just one being" (Razak, June 2011, interview). Irfaan, also a Muslim Indian national, is full of praise of South Africa's religious tolerance "[I can practise my religion freely.] You can go anywhere; South Africa is good for Islamic religion, not like India. That's why I like South Africa, you can go freely anywhere. [To] pray, [even to attend] mosque" (Irfaan, June 2011, interview).

Adil, a forty-three-year-old Pakistani, when asked if he was treated differently at the mosque said:

No, no no, when it comes to that. This is the only country that we know that has the most freedom, has so much freedom [to] worship. As far as worshiping is concerned this country has the most freedom [even more than Pakistan]. We gain more respect here through our religious places and the community we get to know is through our religious places. It's because when you regular and connected, people see you, they tend to understand and sort of trust. They create trust between people (Adil, October 2013, interview).

Adil's infers that regular attendance and religious practices at places of worship breed familiarity, trust and respect, thereby integrating migrants effectively. Akbar, a Bangladeshi participant, when asked how local South Africans treat migrants at the mosque, says "It's very nice. This is separate. Everybody is the same. Nobody says 'you foreigners'. Everybody hugs. [It is] very nice" (Akbar, October 2013, interview). Dominic, a Malawian participant agrees that no matter what nationality the person is, religion creates a sense of unity: "No, if you go in the mosque no matter [if] we [are] Indian, no matter we [are]... Pakistan, no matter what we [are], [we] are the same. [...] There is no discrimination" (Dominc, January 2014, interview). These narratives are quite significant especially in a country fraught with xenophobic tensions. Religion promotes cohesiveness, builds solidarity and supports the observation that religion serves as a bridge and source of integration especially for the Muslim migrants.

Sajeet, a Hindu Bangladeshi, says that it is difficult to attend religious functions at the Hindu temple, particularly during the festival of 'Navaratri'²¹ "I agree I can go, but the shop closes at half-past-eight so how can I go, I [have] no car". Sajeet also admits that he cannot practise his religion as often as he would like (Sajeet, September 2011, interview). Vibha, a married Indian national, says sometimes she goes to the temple in Lenasia, but this is not always possible over the weekend because of her busy work schedule. At the temple, prayers start at 19:00 and she works until 21:00. Vibha explains "over the weekends I have to make my money to compensate for the slow days" during the week (Vibha, June 2011, interview). For the Hindus, the limited access to temples, lack of transport and stipulated working hours hinder access to places of worship.

Ashraf and Munsif, both Malawian Muslims, only go to the mosque on a Friday, because of their long working hours, even though they work in Fordsburg with its easy access to mosques close by (Munsif, January 2014, interview). Rashid, a Malawian Muslim, is unable to maximise the freedom to practise his religion, because of his working schedule (Rashid, February 2014, interview). The long working hours many migrants report on restrict their personal time and emphasise the all-encompassing work commitments that have to be

²¹ Navaratri literally means "nine nights." This festival is observed twice a year, once in the beginning of summer and again at the onset of winter

endured to by the migrants. Sahel, adds that after attending prayers on Eid al-Fitr²² the Egyptians would visit with each other, probably find a place to have a braai (barbeque), share a meal and dance too. He says “we have to enjoy...we enjoy each other and we put on songs and [dance like this]...” (Sahel, September 2011, interview). It is interesting to note that he suggests that the Egyptians celebrate Eid together, exclusive of other ethnic groups and South Africans.

Ridwaan provides an interesting view. He practises his culture and observes traditions associated with auspicious religious days, but when practising his culture he tries “not to speak too much English”, for him too much English is spoken in Fordsburg. He prefers to remain amongst his own people and culture, and therefore only has Muslim friends. For Ridwaan, the closeness to amenities means that he attends prayer services several times a day (Ridwaan, November 2013, interview). Saffar adds that as Pakistanis, they feel content and free to practise their culture without harassment. However, he is mindful of the fact that they are not in their home country, hence they need to accept South African culture in return for the opportunity to live in the community here (Saffar, May 2013, interview).

While Fordsburg reaches fever pitch at the end of the fasting month of Ramadan, the celebrations of Diwali among the Hindu migrants are more subdued, because the population of Hindu migrants in the area is small. Zaid, a South African Muslim’s response to Diwali and Eid celebrations, is “they keep to themselves, Diwali, Eid they keep to themselves, it’s not a mixing pot. ...I think it is an imagined community because everyone keeps to themselves in their groupings the only mixture is economic[al] again” (Zaid, September 2012, interview). Zaid’s comment is insightful as it shows the importance of the predominance of the economic over their personal and cultural beliefs, but this is more of a choice out of necessity, rather than what is considered more or less important.

The religious space and tolerance in South Africa allows for new forms of worship, schools of thought and practices to assert their presence in mainstream religious practices. Given the diversity among the Muslims in Fordsburg, social association portends to a different dynamic where, in spite of similar religious traditions and practices, language and its preservation still

²² Eid ul-Fitr is an important religious holiday celebrated by Muslims worldwide that marks the end of Ramadan

plays a major role in social and religious relations. Language serves to cement exclusivity of association. Ridwaan's comment that he tries not to speak too much English is a strong indicator of this tendency to remain exclusive. This has implications for social cohesion in Fordsburg and broader South African society because for some, there is a clear attempt among the migrants to try and retain the characteristics of their country of origin. Since Hindu migrants are a minority group, there is just not enough critical social mass to hold festivals in a manner to create a sense of presence. Muslim migrants do have the freedom and numbers to practise their Islamic culture and religion in a distinctly visible way.

9.3.2 Burial Practices among Migrants in Fordsburg

The theme of burials is explored to contribute to an understanding of how these practices, with its associated intense rituals and religious rites is conducted in Fordsburg because migrants now reside in an adopted country. As expected, religion principally reinforces the continuity of tradition in burial practices. Obviously, it is a sensitive topic, but generally two views emerged.

The first view is that the deceased should be repatriated but the cost is a matter of concern. The most common response is that money would be collected to send the body home. If affordability is a problem, the second option where the burial rites would be performed in South Africa, is chosen. Nevertheless, community members would pool money to ensure an appropriate burial took place. This drawing on the community for support is a clear indication of how cultural capital manifests in Fordsburg.

Ebrahim, a Malawian national, intimates that he would rather be buried in South Africa since it is too expensive to send his body home. Ashraf, suggests that he would like Malawians to assist financially with his burial, but that he should be buried in South Africa. Dominic confidently asserts that his father would fetch his body and have him buried in Malawi. Dominic though, is from a fairly affluent family. Joseph wants his body to be sent home to be buried, even though it is expensive.

Amongst the Bangladeshis, a collection is generally taken and family, friends and whoever else wants to contribute, donates from R100 (US\$ 8.30) to R500 (US\$ 42) depending on that they can afford. Habib emphasises that only when the deceased does not have money, does everyone assist. A decision then follows after such a collection, and Habib suggests that sending the body back to Bangladesh is the first choice, otherwise the burial takes place in

South Africa. Akbar relates the example of a Pakistani man who had very little money or documents, but with everybody's contribution he was still buried in Pakistan. He says "some people have good heart, some give R50 (US\$ 4.20), R20 (1.70), and some give R100 (US\$ 8.30)" (Akbar, October 2013, interview). Maalik also shares a similar incident of community contribution.

Ridwaan uncomfortably suggests that his wife would have to make the decision. Sahel, an Egyptian, confirms, "yes, we put money together and we send the body back and some money for his family ... for his child and this wife". According to Egyptian culture, the body must be sent back, because the family needs to see it (Sahel, September 2011, interview). He also remarks that the embassy is not helpful in such cases. But Manzil says that the whole Arab community would help out if the person is an Egyptian, but added the cost and lengthy process involved in sending a body to Egypt is problematic (Manzil, October 2012, interview). Amongst the Hindus, some prefer to send the body home to India, while others perform the final rites locally.

The burial and repatriation practices therefore largely depend on the financial capabilities of the migrants concerned and the family's wishes, rather than on what their religion might dictate. From observation and informal conversations, where assistance is provided, it is normally from within the same ethnic group. Surprisingly Bangladeshis and Pakistanis may support each other if donations for burial are needed mainly because they are Muslim and observe similar religious practices. The Malawians and Egyptians, however, seek support from within their own groups and Muslim associations. The narratives reveal that not much thought or planning is given to the possibility of death in the adopted country.

The next section considers the question: Bearing in mind the long hours of work, do the migrants have any time for leisure and travelling?

9.4 Forms of Leisure and Travelling in South Africa

From the outset, the study laces the migrants' narratives with work as the central focus of the daily lives. Beyond work and religion, what did the migrants do, where do they go? It therefore makes sense to explore leisure in whatever form it occurs in what is left of a migrant's working week. In Chapter 8 we noted that the participants report working in excess of a 70-hour week. Very few mention having travelled around in South Africa. Those who

spoke of Port Elizabeth and Durban were clearly non-nationals scouting for work opportunities or to access asylum permits, rather than for leisure²³.

Compared to other migrant traders, Razak is well-travelled in South Africa, attributable perhaps to the fact that he is married to a coloured South African woman, and has greater mobility (Razak, June 2011, interview). Razak has been to Cape Town and Port Elizabeth and, when in Durban, he visited the South African Indian townships of Chatsworth and Phoenix. Among the participants, the casinos in Durban and Welkom (to the south) and Sun City (to the west), two hours from Johannesburg, are popular. Rita, who has been in South Africa for seven years, has been to Sun City twice, but has not travelled elsewhere in South Africa. On her day off, she tends to her household chores. She adds “for seven years I have worked, worked, worked, nothing else. There is nothing else in our *naseeb*” (Gujarati word meaning destiny) as (she bangs the counter to emphasise her point) (Rita, June 2011, interview).

The single and younger men play sport on their days off. Ebrahim, a Malawian, plays soccer, at a park in Fordsburg, while Joseph, also a Malawian, uses his time to attend to personal chores such as cooking extra food, washing his clothes and much needed rest. Taahir, a Pakistani, goes to the gym and Manzil, an Egyptian, sometimes plays soccer, or goes to the movies, or shopping, “just normal life” (Manzil, September 2012, interview).

Vibha does her shopping in the quiet periods and benefits from the advantage of living in Fordsburg in that all amenities for daily living are found within walking distance. As a married Hindu woman, Vibha lives a secluded life (see Chapter 7, Section 7.2.2) and is quite circumspect in her behaviour. She chooses not have a television set, but does have a laptop and is able to ‘Skype’ her husband and daughter regularly. The laptop doubles as a DVD player so she is able to watch Bollywood movies. Although she receives invitations to go with friends to the casino, she refuses. She has neither travelled around South Africa, nor is she interested in city life (Vibha, June 2011, interview).

²³ Research by Gebre et al. (2011) shows that the accessing the DHA in Durban is less problematic than in Johannesburg

Nabeel, a Bangladeshi, says that the casinos are too expensive, and chooses instead to watch Indian or Bengali movies on television. Hafiz also says that after work he watches movies in his room, with very little outside social activity (Hafiz, June 2011, interview). Many of the migrant outlets have a television, linked to an Indian channel with Bollywood movies (the Indian film industry based in India) being screened throughout the day. If not Bollywood, then loud Islamic music filters across the streets and can be heard for quite a distance.

Cost is a major impediment and precludes participation in many leisure activities. Equally, long hours of work leave little time for leisure. A key pattern that stands out is that participants watch and listen to entertainment material that is associated with their home culture, language and religious norms. These activities further suggest that participants choose to remain insular even for leisure with the familiar people. The watching of Hindi or Bengali movies reinforces images and memories of home. The religious programmes streaming from the radio indicate a strong religious presence in Fordsburg. Given the long working day, lack of safe public transport (particularly in the evenings) and the threat of crime, it makes sense perhaps not to venture out too often. Moreover, with tight financial commitments migrants generally have, any spare cash that might be available for leisure is probably used to support community members and family in the country of origin.

A number of South African studies (see Park and Rugunanan 2010; CDE 2008; Landau and Jacobsen 2004; Leggett 2003) have documented that migrants are easy prey for criminals as is the case in the narratives cited in the next section.

9.5 Crime in Fordsburg: “The Good, the Bad and the Ugly”

During a discussion of the contribution migrants make towards the regeneration of Fordsburg, Mr Abrahams thought of an interesting phrase which certainly captures the mood typical of the study area, expressing it this way: “there is a word they say. ‘The good, the bad and the ugly’. It [says] everything hey, because they are not angels. Are definitely not angels”. While the migrants have brought some good to Fordsburg, Mr Abrahams says there are also some bad aspects and then some ugly aspects associated with migrants. The argument it appears, is that migrants might be seen to only bring crime to the area, sight must not be lost of the fact that they bring a host of positive aspects too despite the negative associations of crime, corruption and ‘stealing of jobs’ with which migrants are sometimes tainted. The diversity of ethnic and cultural practices, the inflow of business opportunities,

their contribution to employment and regeneration of the area make an indelible impression. Migrants have brought stability to the area, injected new life and vitality to Fordsburg. This has almost directly resulted in a resurgence of economic activity and growth of the suburb. Contrary to common opinion, migrants are also actively involved in anti-crime activities.

The Good...

Crime in South Africa is an issue of national concern, and all the participants maintain that crime is their biggest concern and influences their permanent stay in South Africa. Migrants actively support fighting crime with contributions and participating in community initiatives against crime. During 2009 and 2010 car theft and hijacking increased substantially. People who came to shop or buy goods in bulk were targeted. After shopping, many would also dine in the local restaurants but on returning to the car park, they found their vehicles emptied of all their purchases. Traders were highly concerned about the increasing crime rates on patronage of the area.

The Fordsburg Business Association (FBA) and Community Policing Forum (CPF) recognise the threat of high crime rates and the need to contain crime. One of the reasons for the perceptions of the rise in crime is attributed to the car guards in the area. The car guards who offer to look after the shoppers' cars are not part of an organised group but work for themselves. The community believes that they are responsible for the spike in crime (Zayboon, September 2012, interview). A programme originally started in 2005 to organise and control the car guards failed to gain momentum. Zayboon, a South African Indian trader (a member of the CPF), re-started the project in 2010 and at the time of the interview, it had been ongoing for 18 months. Zayboon, with the support of SAPS and the FBA, registered the car guards (identity documents, contact details) and also opened up files on each of them so that they were vetted by the police.

Car guards generally sign in at 10:00 to collect their bibs and pay a R5.00 (US\$ 0.42) day fee. Bibs have to be returned at the end of the day and the subscription is used to launder the bibs and to supply food hampers during winter and over the Christmas period, and sometimes to buy blankets and clothing for them. The programme covers the area from Crown Road to Lillian Avenue and from Fountain Road to Bree Street. Zayboon co-opted James, who is employed by a private security company that provides security for a number of businesses on Mint Road, to assist her in organising the car guards. Zayboon felt that James's knowledge would benefit better management of the programme. James claims to know the car guards

well, “most respect me as their father. When I talk to them they listen” (James, October 2012, interview). When I probed Zayboon on the nationality of the car guards, she avoided the question. Zayboon has a group of thirty regular signed up car guards. She adds “you know that this is their bread and butter, they will come every day without fail, they all work here. I didn’t do it for my benefit. I do it for the sake of the community, so that we have a safer community” (Zayboon, September 2011, interview).

Zayboon, a South African Indian, reflects her discontent with ‘Indian people’, referring to South Africa Indians whom she argues offer minimal support and very little cooperation. The CPF has tried to get businesses on board, but they are just ‘nonchalant’. For the car guard programme to be effective, she needs cooperation from all the traders, but this is not so easy to achieve. Mr Muhammed notes that while his organisation, the Gift of the Givers, as an NGO pay R2 000 (US\$ 170) a month to the project, not all the businesses contribute towards this initiative. While not all the migrant traders are in a position to contribute equally, at the same time, they are equally concerned about crime. Zayboon mentions that the Bangladeshi, Pakistani and Indian migrants are more willing to cooperate and assist with a contribution. The Egyptians however, are “very tight with their money ... the Egyptians always give me an excuse ... they don’t cooperate” (Zayboon, September 2011, interview).

These views reflect how the different communities are brought together in their fight against crime. Some are more supportive than others. However, the bad is also associated with migrants.

The Bad ...

This section focuses on two aspects: first, what is it that is done to migrants by the South Africans that is bad and second, what do migrants do that is regarded as bad? In the first case, this refers to scapegoating and stereotyping and in the latter, the bribery and fraudulent immigration documents with which migrants are involved.

Many of the participants had experienced some or other brush with crime and criminals. Unanimously, they identified the high crime rate as the most negative factor that detracted South Africa from being “a good country” in which to live. In addition, actions of corrupt members of the police force who, metaphorically speaking, see the migrants as their personal ATM’s ’ and extort cash from them (Park and Rugunanan 2010).

The Malawians feel vulnerable when walking home at night. Yunis, has a sense of insecurity at the prospect of being threatened by the police who demand anything from R50 (US\$ 4.20) to R100 from him when they unjustly claim his passport has expired (Yunis, February 2014, interview). Munsif's papers and passports were stolen by 'tsotsies²⁴', so he is currently without any papers or passport. He adds that renewing papers is expensive – he simply cannot afford this (Munsif, January, 2014, interview). His stance is that if he is stopped by the police he will bribe them rather than risk deportation. The Malawians generally, have little spare money to renew their applications, and try to avoid the police at all costs. The week before I interviewed Taahir, a Pakistani national, the police had searched his premises insisting on seeing his marriage papers and knowing the whereabouts of his wife. He sensed that the police's search and questions were not the real purpose of the intrusion, so he offered the policeman a R50 (US\$ 4.20) bribe which was eventually accepted. Sometimes, Taahir says the police demand much more money (Taahir, June 2011, interview).

Irfaan, an Indian national, relates details of an incident that took place one evening after the close of business. He and three friends were walking home when they were stopped by the police who demanded to see their asylum papers, which they declared as false. The police pushed them into the police vehicle and drove round pointlessly for some time. When they stopped the police allegedly demanded money from the group. Irfaan indicated that he did not have any money, the police threatened to arrest them, one of the members had R500 (US\$ 42) on him which they gave to the policemen (Irfaan, June 2011, interview). A number of migrants relate similar stories of extortion by the police.

Habib relates a police modus operandi: when asked for their refugee permits or asylum papers they are instructed to get into the police car. Habib says that the police will then invariably accuse them of carrying falsified papers: "They always make up stories that our papers are wrong". Habib confirms that they are threatened with jail if they do not offer some money and as much as R500 is demanded (Habib, October 2013, interview). South African police are also known to tear asylum and refugee permits up. This is not a new practice and is one that has been extensively reported. The migrants unwittingly feed these habits rather than reporting such incidents, because invariably they entered the country without proper

²⁴ Tsotsies is a common South African phrase for 'robbers' or 'thieves'

documentation. Sahel, an Egyptian, illustrates ‘this habit’ by saying, “anything you can sort out with the money. The policemen here like the money”. In order to avoid deportation, the police demand anything from R5 000 (US\$ 420) and R6 000 (US\$ 500) to even R10 000 (US\$ 840). Sahel adds, “we don’t have a lot of money, but he asks a lot of money. You [either] pay R10 000 or you go back, what can you do?” Sahel pays the money so that he can continue working “... but if I go back to Egypt there is nothing” (Sahel, September 2011, interview). For Sahel, paying the bribe is the lesser of two evils. How can a person like Sahel access such a large sum of money?

Moiz, an Egyptian, who has his temporary residence permit and passport, adds that if you are legal then the police will not trouble you, almost implying that undocumented migrants contribute to the problem of extortion (Moiz, September 2011, interview). The Pakistani, Bangladeshi and Indian migrants blame South African blacks for criminal activities. This view is backed up by the participants’ comments that intimate that black South Africans depend on government support and are lazy to work. The racial categorisation of crime is in itself problematic and indicative of deeper racial issues, xenophobia and stereotyping. But crime in Fordsburg has another face, one that is more insidious than bribery, extortion and the obtaining of citizenship rights by fraudulent means.

And the Ugly ...

The ugly refers to the hidden nature of certain economic activities that is wholly illegal and criminal. The boundary between legal and illegal is fluid and shifts depending on the context. A number of the participants use the term ‘mafia’ throughout the interviews undertaken for this thesis. I caution the use of this term as it criminalises migrants in general. During the course of this study, the hint to a ‘mafia’ is pervasive, I was not in a position, however, to test the validity of these allegations.

Some of the cases of apparent instant prosperity can perhaps be ascribed to the nature of these activities that range from drug peddling and money laundering to a circulation of capital. The relative prosperity, it can be argued, may in part be ‘funded’ by these activities. This would perhaps provide an explanation of how simple shops and businesses quickly become major enterprises. While I acknowledge that there is genuine and legal wealth creation, most of the success in such a confined, over-traded bounded space cannot be explained by other rational means.

Participants in this study, both migrants and South Africans, think that certain groups are involved in nefarious activities. Mr Abrahams explains that the Somali community, located in Mayfair, is known to be involved in drugs; the Pakistanis are involved in cocaine (see Institute for Security Studies 1998); the Chinese are associated with dealing in fake watches and clothing, while the Nigerians, concentrated in Mayfair, operate in drugs and male and female prostitution. Young girls could be found prostituting for drugs (Mr Abrahams, March 2011, interview).

Efforts at trying to get clarity on a 'Pakistani mafia' were not entirely successful. Participants hint at the existence of a 'Pakistani mafia' that seems to be controlling the Pakistani traders in Fordsburg. Dilip points to a migrant trader who started out with a paan stall in the Square, whose son was the first to start trading movies in the form of DVDs, many of which seemed to be contraband. However, Dilip sees this as the onset of a far broader trade in lucrative contraband goods and says: "they have that silent protocol, you know, obviously they know who is who and no one talks" (Dilip, March 2011, interview). Sulaiman also agrees with the 'mafia' concept and says when there is a price cut, "you will see one guy is selling a certain article and the [next] guy copies him and does the same thing" (Sulaiman, October 2013, interview). He, like many other South African traders, could not quite grasp how groups of migrants were making a profit if everyone was selling the same items.

Zaid (September 2012, interview) is not convinced: "I don't know, I haven't seen much of it I think it much more of a scare tactic, it's just a case of them standing together if or when they [are] threatened, it's the same with us". When asked about being coerced into giving money for protection, Tayub, a Bangladeshi, said that no one had approached him, but he heard about this from other shops. He refused to reveal any more (Tayub, October 2013, interview). However, more telling is the comment of another interviewee who said "Pakistanis are weird people, they are doing money laundering, they are doing ... (a silence ensues) they, they stand in groups and chat and you don't know what they are chatting about. You will just see big, big parcels of money being passed around. I have seen it so many times" (interviewee, 2011²⁵). One of the participants remarks that she has to be very wary of Egyptians and

²⁵ Identity protected

Libyans coming into her establishment, as they tend to produce fake money and fake cards (interviewee, 2013).

There are thus unconfirmed and consistent reports of Pakistanis being involved in drugs and money laundering, which taints their lives as belonging to an alleged Pakistani ‘mafia’. The ‘mafia’ is understood to operate amongst the Pakistani traders only. The truth could not be confirmed but the ‘mafia’ is talked about in the context of ‘protection fees’, money laundering or drugs. The term ‘mafia’ in the study refers to a clandestine set of activities that is difficult to pin down and verify. Part of the difficulty with verifying this information has to do with the research methods chosen for this research making further investigation beyond the scope of this study. Nevertheless, these allegations and perceptions cast a blight on the Pakistani community and, whether true or not, they do have a bearing on how members of the broader migrant community relate to each other in Fordsburg, affecting their societal status.

The next section considers the role of the local government and the community in Fordsburg.

9.6 A State of Transition in Fordsburg

Since 1990, Johannesburg’s local authority set development initiatives in place to ‘reinvent, re-image and reformulate its inner city landscape’ (Bremner 2000: 185). In this section, the views of the ward councillors from the African National Congress (ANC) are examined to understand urban regeneration within the context of the Fordsburg Square. Several attempts to set up interviews with the Democratic Alliance (DA) ward councillors were unsuccessful.

The political landscape of Fordsburg changed from an ANC controlled ward in 1994 to a DA led ward in 2011. The voting in of the DA reflects a transition garnered by virtue of a new configuration within the Fordsburg community. Central to this discontent was the ANC leadership and its lack of delivery of services to the people in the ward. In rationalising the loss of the ward to the DA, one of the reasons given was attributed to the demarcations of the wards as Fordsburg was amalgamated with Mayfair. The attention of the councillor focused on Johannesburg Central rather than the ward per se. The local government and the councillors are accused of poor judgement, and blamed for the general decline of the area. Mr Nana (a younger ANC candidate) suggests that the over-development of the Fordsburg Square created unhappiness in the community (Mr Nana, August 2013, interview). Zayboon argues that the previous ANC councillor failed to prove himself, “he is a nice guy and everything, but unfortunately nice guys don’t get things done” (Zayboon, September 2011,

interview). The DA councillor, however, did not last very long in office and resigned soon after being elected, citing relocation as the reason. During the 2012 bi-election, however, the DA won the seat again, but by the 2014 elections, the ANC managed to regain the ward from the DA.

Post-1994 Johannesburg became even more diversified and served as host to migrants, refugees and asylum seekers. Simultaneous rapid inner city decline led the city authorities to promulgate policies with the aim of regenerating Johannesburg from the perspective of urban re/development (Mahomed 2005) to stem the tide of deterioration. Consequently, the new local government tabled the concept of the development of the Central Improvement District (CID) in Fordsburg to spearhead its urban redevelopment as part of the city of Johannesburg.

The Central Improvement District (CID) concept, brought to South Africa in the mid-1990s is defined as ‘a geographic area within which property owners and/or tenants agree to pay for certain services supplementary to those supplied by the Local Authority (Peyroux 2008: 139) All property owners share the cost of the CID. In Gauteng, the Gauteng City Improvement District Act 1997 regulates all CIDs. The services provided by the CID supplement those of the local authority. These usually include security, cleaning and maintenance of public spaces, marketing and physical improvements. More specialised programmes are transportation, access to the area and parking. In Rosebank, a nearby suburb lying to the north of Johannesburg, for example, initiatives include assistance for the homeless and employment creation programmes such as a car guard scheme (Peyroux 2008).

Establishing a CID in Fordsburg

The process of establishing a CID in Fordsburg began in 2007 with widespread support from the City of Johannesburg, the local Ward Committee and the Fordsburg Business Forum, which put forward R20 000 (US\$ 1670) to give impetus to this initiative²⁶. Part of this initiative was to market Fordsburg as a major tourist attraction and it led to the formation of a

²⁶ A perception survey was undertaken and in early 2008, the COJ authorised an Urban Design Framework of the Fordsburg/Mayfair area (Brink 2008)

Fordsburg Heritage Committee. To cement this partnership, the City of Johannesburg (COJ) had pledged R130 000 (US\$ 10 850) towards the process.

Mr Ismail, a South African, (May 2011, interview) claims that that Fordsburg now boasts one of the most expensive real estate in the country. While the statement can be contested, the perception is that property is highly sought after in Fordsburg, with accommodation at a premium. Mr Ismail attributes this scarcity of accommodation and new business development as an example of the outcomes of the urban development programme. This is such that, over the Christmas and holiday periods, the population numbers swell considerably. Part of this attraction is the safety of the area, the absence of drunkenness or fighting because alcohol is not sold in most parts of Fordsburg. He adds that the “community has bonded very well in that area” (Mr Ismail, May 2011, interview).

The Fordsburg Square

Mr Ismail advocates for a management body such as the Metropolitan Trading Council (MTC) with a well-defined governance mandate to manage the Square. The Square was developed as a linear market²⁷. The MTC is supposed to instil better management of the market and the traders, and to ensure that the traders are accountable for their actions because they show little concern for the aesthetics or infrastructure of the Square. He says that “people [the traders] just come in and just think: ‘I can make so much money over the weekend, I could not care what it looks like and the conditions’”. If this continues, the market and area around it will stagnate (Mr Ismail, May 2011, interview). Mr Nana has a slightly different view; for him although the Square generates a great deal of business, it is over-traded, leading to filth and chaos. Mr Nana’s view is that the initial consideration should have been given to improving the aesthetics and architecture, and then to optimising business potential of the Square (Mr Nana, August 2013, interview).

Dilip suggests that the MTC ‘has lost focus’ of the nature, meaning and purpose of the Square (Dilip, March 2011, interview). The R9 million (US\$ 0.75m) budget for development

²⁷ A linear market is an area designated for street trading in a pedestrianised environment. It has attractive roofing that adds to the surrounding aesthetics and urban management design. In Johannesburg, they work hand-in-hand with a formalised trading environment, in line with the City’s Informal Trading Policy (ITP)
http://www.joburg.org.za/index.php?option=com_content&id=6680&Itemid=266#ixzz37EMy3GIG

of the Square before the 2010 World Cup was only used to cover the Fordsburg Square with a metal roofing structure. The Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA) and the traders objected because it was contrary to the guidelines of the heritage council. As a result, as it stands now, it has no aesthetic value. Furthermore, the MTC seems also to have also lost control over the traders, trading times and the uses of this public space.

Mr Ismail argues that the Johannesburg city council advocates for a CID for Fordsburg and then to pass accountability to the traders for keeping the area clean. He gives the example that currently, the council provides a garbage disposal business by Pik-it-Up Services²⁸ seven days a week. But he adds:

Look at those packets on the pavements, you find that some of the top franchise holders are dumping their dirt on the pavements outside the shops. We pick up seven days a week because it is a vibrant area, more than that without the help of the community I don't think Pik-it-Up will be able to sustain that kind of delivery. I don't think it becomes a service delivery problem, it is the community problem. They don't have pride in their own business areas (Mr Ismail, May 2011, interview).

In fervent support of this view, Mr Muhammed, from an NGO, was scathing of South Africans:

I don't blame the foreigners I blame South African Indians, they feel as long as they pay their rent, if you look here its filthy, every morning we clean up here, it's the franchise business also, I mean its South Africans that come and buy here, and this place is the filthiest (Mr Muhammed, October 2013, interview).

Social Problems

On the issue of social problems such as corruption and drug abuse, Mr Ismail says it all comes back to a workable partnership between the community and the city council and adds that the ANC has always advocated the creation of Community Policing Forums (CPFs), residents' associations, and school governing bodies. Corruption is a problem for the Department of Home Affairs (DHA), but all that is required is for members is to lay complaints about the bribing of police officials and lay charges, then the matter can be taken forward. Members of the community are, however, unwilling to press charges for fear of

²⁸ Private garbage disposal company

intimidation. He adds “drugs are a scourge ... drugs don’t only affect your own family, they affect the whole community”. This he states “is the one thing we have to fight against” as a community (Mr Ismail, May 2011, interview).

Mr Ismail indicates that the council has agreed with the use of the Oriental Plaza’s parking facility, but the three block walk to the Square is inconvenient for some customers. He adds that today’s youngsters have expensive cars and would rather not park at the Plaza, because of the concern with crime (Mr Ismail, May 2011, interview).

Migrants make a positive contribution

Mr Ismail states that the ANC could have handled the situation of migrants much better. Although the policy of allowing migrants into South Africa is correct, more effort should have gone into integrating them into South Africa. He recognises that “people are people and they like to live amongst themselves”. Some initiatives with the Somali community in Mayfair include workshops that are held to inform them of the by-laws; he adds that these have been fairly successful (Mr Ismail, May 2011, interview).

The DA also attempted to bridge the gaps between the various migrant communities, by establishing a monthly forum with the communities from the so-called Horn of Africa nations (Somalia, Kenya and Ethiopia) and the City of Johannesburg in an effort to build an inclusive ward. One of the aims was to educate the migrants about the city’s by-laws and requirements for trade and to address the concerns of members of the Somali community in neighbouring Mayfair. However, in contrast to this initiative, there are rumours that the DA councillor was determined to ‘clean up’ the Fordsburg Square by evicting all the illegal traders and limiting the hours of trading. While there may have been those aspirations, little seems to have been accomplished. The numbers of traders has grown and hours of trading at the Square have been extended. Community newspapers raise concern about the lack of connectivity that DA councillor has with community issues (Ismail 2012: 6).

Mr Nana, the ANC councillor, regards the arrival of new migrants as a positive development for Fordsburg, “all communities undergo change so it’s a natural progression of what happens in cities” (Mr Nana, August 2013, interview). Mr Nana makes a strong case for developing a museum that documents the rich history of Fordsburg and the surrounding areas, such as Fietas, Museum Afrika in Newtown and the Oriental Plaza, as a tourist attraction. His vision includes the bridge connecting Fordsburg and Pageview (Chapter 5, Section 5.3.1), linking up

with Mint Road and connecting the different restaurants in the area. These are some of the intended plans for Fordsburg that have since fallen by the wayside and “were never realised because a few fundamental things were never put into place”. Mr Nana says unlike Rosebank’s CID, where a clear vision exists between property owners, businesses and residential associations to guide the CID, this is lacking in Fordsburg (Mr Nana, August, 2013, interview).

Contrary to the view that Fordsburg is in decline, Mr Nana says there is no mass withdrawal of businesses and people, because the view that “the area has gone bad and people are leaving” is not entirely true. Ironically, more people, mainly migrants, are coming into Fordsburg. For those reasons, Mr Nana, argues that there is potential for growth in the area which must be channelled and managed appropriately. A regeneration effort must be aesthetically pleasing for those people living there and for those who want to come and enjoy the place (Mr Nana, August 2013, interview). He provides the example of the Image Lifestyle Centre recently developed in 2013. Initially it belonged to a car dealership and was quite a nondescript entry into Fordsburg. The Image Lifestyle Company took over the lease, invested a few million rand, revamping the space into a stylish and attractive community centre. This development supports the view of the continued potential of Fordsburg as an economic hub (Mr Nana, August, 2013, interview).

Mr Nana argues that Fordsburg should be seen as a business hub and adopt the position that Fordsburg is not in decline, but actually in transition or growth, ‘because I don’t think Fordsburg economically has ever declined in terms of the amount of money that goes through Fordsburg’ (Mr Nana, August 2013, interview). Mr Nana alludes to a theme that arises through-out the narratives, that is, the circulation of capital that flows in Fordsburg, which is elucidated upon in Chapter 11.

A critical view of local government

In sharp contrast, Hemant is anything but confident about Fordsburg as an economic hub, worthy of investment. He points to the pavement outside his shop on Bree Street. Just prior to the World Cup in 2010, the City of Johannesburg (COJ) spent money upgrading various parts of the city. He emphatically says “no no no, they haven’t done anything. You see this road here these pavements. Previously they had these big slabs. So just before the World Cup they uprooted all this, believing that a lot of people will come to Newtown and Fordsburg. They spent billions and billions”. The pavement, due to bad workmanship, has lifted twice and had

to be replaced. He points to a broken and dilapidated dustbin, saying “so what did they beautify? Nothing!” (Hemant, July 2013, interview).

Hemant is bitter and critical of the government in general and, whilst he acknowledges the contribution that the African countries made towards the dissolution of apartheid, and hosting of banned or asylum-seeking ANC cadres, he argues that “the government opened the floodgates very fast and wide and this is where the problem is coming in. They should have opened it slowly” (Hemant, July 2013, interview). He states that never in his life has he seen so many people sleeping in the streets - one could drive over someone in the mornings if one was not careful. He adds; “the previous government evicted people in the worst of weather and they [the ANC] condemned them, and yet they are doing the same thing” (Hemant, July 2013, interview). Television news coverage in July 2013 confirms the Johannesburg Housing Committee evictions (see Chapter 5) of Fordsburg residents from their flats. Three weeks later, residents were still sleeping on the streets outside of their flats, many pointed out that they did not have money for alternative accommodation (SABC 2013). Over two thousand people were left without accommodation.

The wider community, both South Africans and non-nationals should support local government in its efforts to develop the potential of Fordsburg, both as source of economic growth and need for urban regeneration. Both visible and invisible tensions plague the communities, and the move from individual, particularised trust in isolated networks within a community needs to move to broader, generalised trust across communities. It also represents the pulling apart of communities and the forging of communities. Voluntary associations are attempting to cross this divide.

9.7 Voluntary Associations

A variety of voluntary associations exists in Fordsburg. It is important to differentiate between Islamic relief organisations that provide aid only to Muslim families and homes and humanitarian organisations that provide aid to anyone irrespective of race, creed or religion. I highlight two organisations, Islamic Relief Worldwide South Africa, and the prominent Gift of the Givers organisation. An attempt to start a Pakistani Association in 2010 did not manage to succeed, and there is no Egyptian organisation. In Fordsburg, the Bangladeshi Association is well established and all the participants knew about the organisation. This is

also the case with the Malawi Association in Jeppe Street in Johannesburg, but this appears to be less formal and structured.

9.7.1 The Islamic Relief Worldwide South Africa

The Islamic Relief Worldwide South Africa is an international organisation founded in 1984 in the United Kingdom and today operates in 42 countries. Its first office in South Africa opened in 2003 in Fordsburg followed by offices in Durban, Pietermaritzburg and Cape Town. Although the organisation provides a walk-in service, those in need are required to meet the criterion of being a household with orphans and/or vulnerable children. According to Islamic law, an orphan household is recognised as one in which the father has died. Vulnerable children are those whose families are infected with HIV/AIDS and where the parents are too ill to support their next of kin. As soon as the need for assistance is verified, the indigent are admitted to the entry programme where a one to one sponsorship is initiated, and a donor gets to sponsor the orphan's family. Usually the first priority is their food. The donor pays a subscription of R400 (US\$ 33) a month of which R350 (US\$ 29) is designated to cover food (Mrs Surtee, September 2012, interview).

The Islamic Relief Worldwide helps everybody regardless of religion, race, creed, culture or gender. However, the majority of people who seek help are men, but they do not meet all the criteria of the Islamic Relief Worldwide (Mrs Surtee, September 2012, interview). The Islamic Relief Worldwide is premised on community-based care and most of its services are delivered through its community centres. Given the challenges of space and a lack of funding in Fordsburg, these activities are difficult to organise and maintain.

In Fordsburg, the organisation run well-defined programmes, focussing on health care, English literacy, small business development, a general support group for women. Most of the women who attend the support group on a Thursday, are Muslims and refugees from Democratic Republic of Congo, Burundi, Somalia and Zimbabwe living in Fordsburg and other areas such as Hillbrow and Berea. The organisation liaises closely with the Migrant Desk which is part of the City of Johannesburg (Mrs Surtee, September 2012, interview).

Mrs Surtee says that they used to run a programme on a Saturday for children where volunteers were called on to assist with schoolwork. Due to a lack of space, this programme has had to stop, although there is need for such an initiative. According to Mrs Surtee, Bangladeshi, Pakistani and Indian nationals usually come in on a once-off basis for help.

Depending on funding availability, they assist where they can or, alternatively, they direct them to other community structures.

9.7.2 A Matter of Co-Operation

The “Gift of the Givers” and The South African National Zakáh Fund (SANZAF) collect Zakhat (one of the five pillars of Islam where 2.5 per cent tax of one's earnings is used to assist the poor and needy) for the Muslim community (Mrs Surtee, September 2012, interview). Mrs Surtee indicates that they have a reciprocal relationship with SANZAF, and refers people in need of assistance. She adds that they also meet regularly to ensure that no duplication takes place. They also work closely and bilaterally with Islamic Care Line that mainly engages in counselling. Mrs Surtee adds “in terms of the community we have members that will make donations. But in terms of other NGOs, we work with people from outside of South Africa. When there is an emergency somewhere there is some level of co-operation”. The organisation is thus well placed to be the recipient of both community and other community service organisations (Mrs Surtee, September 2012, interview).

The first problem facing the Islamic Relief Worldwide is to access funds, as the pool of Muslim donors in Fordsburg is small. Other organisations undoubtedly call on the same donors and funds are therefore very limited. The second problem is that because it is an international NGO, the government and other partners believe that they are flush with money. The third problem is that cooperation with other NGOs is not sufficiently effective.

‘We don’t want to duplicate. If you talk with other NGOs except for SANZAF and Islamic Care Line, they are not co-operative in terms of sharing information or a database and beneficiaries or even just calling them to sit down is a challenge. If we had better co-operation amongst the NGOs, we would [be able to make] a better difference’ (Mrs Surtee, September 2012, interview). Other NGOs in the area are Gift of the Givers, Islamic Relief Fund and Central Islamic Trust. The latter two organisations operate only among Muslim communities. Mrs Surtee indicated that they do not have a working relationship with Gift of the Givers. She provides the example of trying to raise money for Yemen and Somalia, and in both instances, they tried to partner with local NGOs to raise money. Although they sent letters to various NGOs they did not receive a response from Gift of the Givers. Mrs Surtee indicates that the for over twenty years the Africa Muslim Agency has been assisting in Somalia as has the Islamic Relief Organisation for over 15 years, but none of this support is

given any media coverage, unlike that which is given to the Gift of the Givers (Mrs Surtee, September 2012, interview).

9.7.3 Gift of the Givers

The Gift of the Givers Organisation is situated on the next block from where the Islamic Relief Worldwide South Africa Organisation is located. The Gift of the Givers Organisation acquired property from South African property owners and revamped the building into a smart, upmarket set of offices, with stylish boardrooms and furniture. Mr Muhammed remarks “we re-did this whole place because we feel if we were going to look after people’s money, an NGO does not have to be a dingy place, we got the best of boardrooms, we got the best of everything and we get people from all over the world”. He explains that in this way they are promoting Fordsburg. Its setting differs strikingly from that of Islamic Relief Worldwide which is located in a rented office teaming with people and desperately in need of space and funds for community work. Mr Muhammed tells me that the Gift of the Givers was offered the property at a minimum price.

Mr Muhammed seemed at pains to tell me that the Gift of the Givers foundation works with a range of people, “even our staff is Catholic”. He stresses that they are not an Islamic organisation, although they do have Islamic relief, “but we are different from all of them, we work with everybody”. Mr Muhammed appears to unintentionally create an ‘us’ and ‘them’ scenario in his conversation. He kept emphasising that they work in all communities and a few times stressed their Hindu connection, specifying their work with the Sai Baba group, a Hindu organisation that implements extensive outreach programmes as part of their services (Mr Muhammed, October 2013, interview).

Mr Muhammed explains that the foundation not only helps South African neighbours, but offers assistance wherever it is required. He mentions that there are many elderly people in Fordsburg and Fietas (Pageview) who are given food parcels and this includes poor whites. A nursery school in Octavia Flats needs adequate furniture and equipment, and in nearby Crown Mines, south of Fordsburg, there is a school that they helped. He talks of a Turkish Mosque in 6th Avenue, bordering Fordsburg and Mayfair, where they support a Malawi cultural centre where they feed about 500 people, mostly Malawian, every Friday. Furthermore, the organisation donates at least R100 000 (US\$ 8 340) to a company in Malawi to provide porridge as part of a feeding scheme.

Mr Muhammed relates that in Fordsburg specifically they have a blanket drive every winter, plus providing people with food. During the winter of 2012, they distributed blankets and food for 4 000 people. They also help the car guards and the homeless in the area. In contrast to the more established South African voluntary associations, the migrant associations are more unstructured and in some cases, are informal.

9.7.4 The Bangladeshi Association

The Bangladeshi Association was established in 2002 and by 2010 the membership had grown to 5 000 people. There are no membership fees to belong to the Association; instead businesses support the organisation by means of donations. The Association is concerned about the increasing violence inflicted on Bangladeshis in areas where they generally stay. It also assists members with burials and the repatriation of the body back to Bangladesh. While the representatives of the association describe South Africans as being friendly, they regard the Pakistanis as unpleasant and there is a certain amount of tension between the groups. They would rather stay away from the Pakistanis and not associate with them (telephonic interview with chairperson of Bangladeshi Association, June 2014).

9.7.5 The Malawi Association

Several attempts to ascertain information about the whereabouts of the Malawian Association were unsuccessful. However, during the interviews it was referred to as an informal organisation to which members contributed money a record-keeping system was not in place,. Participants maintained that the money was used to assist families with burial costs and to send deceased members bodies home.

9.8 Conclusion

This chapter examined Fordsburg with reference to education, religion, crime, local government and voluntary organisations as structural components of community building. Just after the change to a democratic government post 1994, there was a tendency among parents to consider moving their children from government schools to Model C and private schools for their education as these seen as more successful with unlimited resources. Government schools were regarded as being deficient and limiting. One of the unintended consequences was that some scholars then had limited opportunity to attend vernacular classes, and Hindu schools in their own right, did not exist, unlike traditional Islamic schools.

For the Muslims migrants, we see two traits, one group adheres strictly to traditional Muslim values and culture, and children have a secular Muslim education. The second group is more amenable to being integrative, and parents send their children to schools that have a more mixed religious and cultural profile. The latter arguably, is likely to foster greater integration and promote a culture of inclusiveness.

In the European Training Foundation (2007) Country Report on Egypt, the transition from education to work is examined and the study recognises that highly educated young people are not able to be fully absorbed in the labour market and face the risk of unemployment. Confirmed by the Egyptian participants of this study, they had to ‘abandon’ their country of origin out of necessity simply to be able to practise the benefit of being highly educated.

Religion has long been acknowledged as being able to facilitate integration into especially host societies. Directly, there is an ever-increasing prominence of the Muslim identity and presence, but the Hindu community and presence continues to diminish.

Participants were not always at ease about discussing death and burial practices, given perhaps that they live tenuous and risky lives and have to confront mortality in a strange country with few family members around, makes for an uncomfortable conversation. Although sending the body home was a first consideration, but the cost of doing this is virtually prohibitive and, as such, burials take place in South Africa. This was, however, not the case for the Malawian migrants, given the closer proximity to South Africa. For the Egyptians the body had to be sent back home to the family to observe the last rites.

Crime, whilst a scourge, serves another interesting purpose in that it unites communities around an objective to reclaim communal space and to reduce the risk that crime dispossesses them from exercising individual freedom. This thesis is about people who are not necessarily related but who have different cultural backgrounds. Yet they are able to find common objectives and in this instance it is about fighting crime. Moreover, many voluntary associations provide not only humanitarian support for the destitute but also impart skills and expertise so that the recipients are able to sustain a livelihood. This promotes interaction and engenders social cohesion. Evidence of this is provided in Fordsburg. However, one can argue that, without creating empowered members of society, those on the margins can easily overwhelm the community that supports it.

The role of local government as an extension of the state, and in building community cohesiveness, was examined. The local government accepts that Fordsburg is an economic hub; it needs to be developed and investment is necessary. However, it needs to be coaxed into developing and benefitting community as a whole. The active participation of the community is thus a vital ingredient for this success. Given the nature of migration, and the need by migrants to repatriate wealth to their countries of origin, it is arguable that any investment and the economy generated from this investment are likely to be eroded by remittances. The next chapter will consider the symbolism of the history of Fordsburg from the perspective of past residents, and to interrogate this within a sense of community and notion of belonging to a community.



CHAPTER 10

HISTORY, MEMORY AND BELONGING IN FORDSBURG

10.1 Introduction

This study shows that Fordsburg was, and still is a forged community; constructed, shaped and fashioned politically, socially, economically and culturally in a manner that circumscribes a particular historical identity upon its ethnic communities. The Fordsburg identity undergoes several iterations as new communities come to inhabit its spaces. This chapter is in dialogue with Chapter 1 to bring together the strands of continuities and discontinuities of communities in Fordsburg. While archival data was utilised to write the historical overview in Chapter 1, the discussion in Chapter 10 is based on the reflective memories of long-time (Indian) residents of Fordsburg. Extracting from the research material of this thesis, the purpose of the chapter is to discuss the role of history, memory and the individuals' sense of belonging to communities in Fordsburg at a macro level in relation to belonging to the country of origin, on the one hand, and belonging to South Africa, on the other hand.

Anderson (1991), in his work on 'imagined community', posits the idea of de-territorialised spaces, wherein memory serves to connect the imagined community to a nation state. Anderson's failure is his neglect to define nation and, even more significantly so, with conceptualising *community*. His classic definition of the nation as an imagined community is limiting as he suggests that it comprises, 'the members of even the smallest nation [who] will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion' (Anderson 1991: 6).

In this chapter, the narrative of the host community goes back generations. Mr Patel (August 2013, interview) played a key role in the resistance to apartheid. His recollections provide insight into how communities were forged through solidarity in that era, and the role Fordsburg intrinsically played in the anti-apartheid movement. Mr Patel reconstructs the idea of community from his memories as a resident. His views are supplemented by those of Sulaiman, Dilip and Zaid. In presenting their narratives, they stake their claims to history and notions of belonging. Although their narratives belong to the realm of nostalgia, memory and an imagined community they provide us with a history of how communities in Fordsburg

have evolved. In their recollections, they escape the view that, despite being forged, the communities are also fluid, ever-changing and dynamic.

As migrants enter society, they bring with them their own needs, aspirations and hopes for a better future. Nevertheless, the migrants also present their claims to history and belonging, however recent these may be. The way they insert themselves into communities is always going to be instrumental; an instrumental and contingent belonging. The tension that characterises these claims is inherent in the tension of forging of communities and is examined further in the concluding chapter of this thesis (Chapter 11). The findings of this chapter present a new way of understanding how communities are forged.

10.2 Remembering the Past

The period 1940-1978 is an era that piqued my interest to study it further by relating it to the South African participants' nostalgia for Fordsburg and Pageview. In spite of the harsh conditions of apartheid, nostalgia and memory hint at a romantic view within the context of community. For Fordsburg, the resistance that signified this period is not new, but merely a continuation of the history of defiance and struggle that characterises the communities since its early days.

This chapter reflects the agency of the communities, which did not merely accept the policies of the apartheid government; instead they fought against the restrictions placed on it by the state: for example, the Lebanese community sold liquor illegally to the Indian and black communities; in the fight to provide access to education for a matriculation qualification for Indian pupils in Fordsburg; the role of the Red Square in mass mobilisation; and the resistance of the Pageview traders to the forced relocation of the Oriental Plaza (see Chapter 8).

10.3 The Community of Fordsburg: 1930-2000

Mr Patel's parents came from India in the late 1920s. While his elder brother was born in India, Mr Patel and his siblings were all first generation born residents of Fordsburg. In 1933, the family moved from Bree Street to Pioneer Avenue in Fordsburg where Mr Patel continued to live until 1963.

10.3.1 “The Gaza Strip”

During the period 1940s and onwards, most of the Indian community in Fordsburg lived in Bree Street, but the Patel family lived more towards the southern end to the west, in Pioneer Avenue. Immediately behind Pioneer Avenue, the residential complex for working and lower middle class whites was established, called Octavia Hill Flats. Mr Patel reflects on the diversity of the people living in Fordsburg, comprising a mixture of white families, six Indian families (of whom all were tailors), a Lebanese family, a coloured family and two Chinese families. Mr Patel remembers a prominent Lebanese family in the area whose business became the biggest carpet manufacturers in southern Africa. Fondly, he recalls that the area was called the “Gaza Strip”. The Lebanese sold liquor to the Indians, coloureds and blacks who were banned from buying liquor (Mr Patel, August 2013, interview). Zaid also recollects the “Gaza Strip” during our interview (Zaid, September 2012, interview).

10.3.2 Education in the Community

The South African Indian community prioritised education and the area where Mr Patel grew up produced half a dozen doctors, two teachers and an aeronautical engineer who studied in London. The importance of education and the early establishment of educational institutions (Chapter 1, Section 1.2.6; Chapter 9, Section 9.2) were important for the community to establish its permanence in Fordsburg and in South Africa.

The building currently housing the Johannesburg Muslim School in Bree Street, was initially known as the Help Mekaar Skool (Afrikaans phrase meaning ‘help each other’). Mr Patel recalls that this school only provided education up to Standard 8 (currently Grade 10). A matric certificate (Standard 10/Grade 12 with exemption) is an essential requirement for a university education. Indian parents fought hard for this right and were rewarded in 1947 when the government of the day relented and established the Johannesburg Indian High School in Fordsburg to provide this matriculation qualification. The communities of Fordsburg and Pageview were fully aware that a standard eight education, as it was known while the Nationalist Party was in power, deprived their community of future professionals. The broader significance was a fight for access to professional vocations and for future social capital for the community beyond the menial labour that the apartheid regime sought to impose. The first matriculation class consisted of only a dozen pupils and included Ahmed Kathrada, who would later become an ANC stalwart and Robben Island prisoner (Mr Patel, August 2013, interview).

10.3.3 The Political Consciousness of the South African Indian Community

The term ‘Red Square’ was mentioned many times in the interviews and a search on the web and historical archives shows little formal documentation. However, during interviews participants remembered the Red Square poignantly. For Mr Patel the Red Square is an important reminder as a venue for political activity, mass meetings and rallies, as a community they raised their anger at laws that sought to establish a view that blacks and Indians were merely ‘hewers of wood and drawers of water’ (Mr Patel, August 2013, interview). The four roads that circumscribe Red Square are Avenue Road, Lovers Walk, Terrace and Commercial Roads (see Chapter 5 Section 5.3.1). The name, Red Square, refers to the socialist ideals of freedom and equality; the Square itself consisted of an open social space where people met and it specifically served as a point to congregate for political mobilisation.

Mr. Ahmed Essop, an acclaimed South African writer remembers, ‘politics was a common topic then, and many politicians lived amongst us. There was a square called the Red Square where I listened to politicians such as Dr. Dadoo, Mr. Mandela and Dr. Moraka, the then president of the ANC. Of course the police were always present when meetings were being held’ (Chetty 1999: 273).

During the period, 1946 to 1970, Fordsburg became a site of heightened political activities, reflecting the national rise of resistance across the country. The Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC) mobilised and organised Indian people, not only in Fordsburg, but in central Johannesburg, Sophiatown and throughout the former province of the Transvaal. A watershed moment came in the form of the 1946 passive resistance campaign. The pre-nationalist Smuts government had enforced the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act 28 of 1946, which restricted the areas of residence and trade, and curtailed the rights of Indians to acquire property (Mandela, 1994: 118). The Act crudely became known as ‘The Ghetto Act’. In compensation for these restrictions, Indians were offered a “form of dummy representation” in Parliament, through white representatives (Mr Patel, August 2013, interview).

Mr Patel states that the highly politicised Indian communities in Fordsburg, Vrededorp, Sophiatown, Johannesburg and in the former Natal province rejected the Act in its entirety. Mandela (1994: 118) noted in his autobiography, that the Indian community in South Africa was ‘outraged’ at the Act and subsequently launched a two year passive resistance campaign starting in 1946, where 2 000 Indian men, women and children went to prison in defiance of

this law. The passive resistance campaign in 1946 reminded Mandela of the 1913 passive resistance campaign organised by Mahatma Gandhi. Many of those protesting and arrested came from Pageview and Fordsburg. The significance of the campaign was an important moment of reflection for Mandela; he says ‘for two years people suspended their lives to take up the battle, ... no fewer than 2 000 volunteers went to jail’ (Mandela 1994: 119).

Mr Patel maintains that the development of a community is not only about social interaction but also about the ability to influence beyond itself. In the passive resistance campaign, the defiance and the resolve of the Indian people against the Act “[the] event impressed the African National Congress tremendously” (Mr Patel, August 2013, interview). Mandela (1994: 119) reflects that although the ANC Youth league provided moral support to the Indian people, they were witness to an unfolding of events where they saw the ‘Indian people register an extraordinary protest against colour oppression in a way that Africans and the ANC had not’. Here is a political organisation that was conducting a struggle against apartheid, discrimination and social injustice through non-violent methods on the basis of Ghandi’s Satyagraha philosophy. In 1952, this relationship between the South African Indian Congress (SAIC) and the ANC, together with its alliance members was cemented resulting in the defiance campaign of 1952.

On the 6 April 1952, Nxumalo (2002) records that demonstrators converged on Red Square from townships and out-lying areas. The president of the ANC, Dr Moraka, and SAIC President, Dr Dadoo, addressed a collective of black, coloured and Indian people urging them to defy the oppressive conditions and called for volunteers to join the defiance campaign.

An important outcome of the campaign was the formation of the Coloured People’s Congress and the Congress of (white) Democrats, leading to the formation of the Congress Alliance group, collectively made up of the ANC, South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU), SAIC, South African Coloured People’s Organisation (SACPO) and the Congress of Democrats. A pact of cooperation was signed where joint political struggles between the Indian people and the African people were led by the African National Congress. Mr Patel highlights the political consciousness of the Indian people and the role played by the Indian community in Fordsburg in establishing an approach and philosophy of non-violent struggle.

10.3.4 Fordsburg as a Site of Resistance

Another important event that served to unite the Fordsburg community and the Congress Alliance, Mr Patel recalls as the ‘The Potato Boycott’ of the late 1950s (sahistoryonline d, n.d.). Under apartheid, black people were often arrested for pass law infringements, or if they happened to break the imposed curfews. As punishment, they were sentenced to hard labour on potato farms in Bethal - some 160 km away from Fordsburg. Conditions in Bethal were harsh and bitter, and when the truth of the workers’ plight emerged and it became known that prisoners were being killed and buried on the farms without the knowledge of their families, the Congress Alliance launched ‘The Potato Boycott’ against the white farmers in the former Transvaal Province of the Union of South Africa. Mr Patel remembers going door to door on a campaign to promote the boycott of buying potatoes. While potatoes are a staple food for Indians too, people were already politically conscious, and so “Fish and chips shops sold fish and no potatoes, no chips! The potatoes rotted by the thousands on farms. That brought a lot of consciousness to the people” (Mr Patel, August 2013, interview). The power of unity, together with shared loyalties and values for a free and democratic South Africa, promoted social cohesion within the community.

The Sharpeville massacre, on 21 March 1960, where 69 people were killed when police opened fire on protestors in Sharpeville, was a turning point in the history of South Africa. Subsequent to this, the government banned the ANC and many activists were detained, jailed or went into exile. After the Sharpeville massacre, the state declared a state of emergency. For the next seven months thousands of people were arrested; many of these were residents of Fordsburg (Mr Patel, August 2013, interview). Areas such as Fordsburg, central Johannesburg, Sophiatown, Vrededorp and Ferreirasdorp where political activists lived became targets and people suffered the brutality of the state.

When the ANC was banned after the Sharpeville event, Mr Patel and some of the members of the Fordsburg community decided to support the ANC’s adoption of the armed struggle in December 1961, and they joined, ‘Umkhonto we Sizwe’ (isiZulu for ‘spear of the nation’), the military wing (MK) of the ANC. He recalls:

The first unit of MK cadres came from Fordsburg. There was a white chap. ... and three Indians, Selvan Pillay, Jenny and myself from Fordsburg. On the 16 December we launched the arms struggle. We, as a unit of three Indians and one white, blasted and sabotaged three targets which were symbols of apartheid. From there other units were established. Units of four people and ultimately there was a

whole platoon of Indian comrades formed from Fordsburg. So Fordsburg was a hive of political activity (Mr Patel, August 2013, interview).

The continuity of political activism then, as well as its intensification, reflected the feelings of solidarity invoked in the 1922 Miners Strike. Red Square, a common site to both events, shows the role of space to politically conscientise and mobilise a community. I refer here to Lefebvre (1991: 26) view of space as both a social and political conduit:

(Social) space is a (social) product ... the space thus produced also serves as a tool of thought and of action. In addition to being a means of production it is also a means of control, and hence of domination, of power (Lefebvre 1991: 26).

In this instance, this space is a symbol of resistance against the domination of a repressive state. While Fordsburg was the scene of much political turmoil, other facets of life continued. During the 1950s, on the social front, Fordsburg was also remembered as a time of chivalry and gangsterism (Zaid, September 2012, interview).

10.3.5 A Time of Chivalry and Gangsters

Up until the early 1960s, the recreational facilities for Indian, coloured and black people were limited to cinemas and sports fields. Cinemas sprouted other levels of interaction such as dance halls, gambling dens and shebeens, and these mushroomed around the Fordsburg area. They became important for social interaction, meeting places and at the same time, amusement. The dance halls and shebeens were in the basement of Mangalam Flats on Central Road; this same basement served as the World War II ex-soldiers club too, and thus became an important venue for social interactions (Mr Patel, August 2013, interview). Zaid recalls that Fordsburg was very vibrant during the 1960s and into the 1970s:

Everybody converged in Fordsburg for entertainment, [it was a] very mixed society, blacks, Indians coloureds. Central Road was the main road, all the bioscopes were based there, then the Planet Hotel came up, which also contributed to the activity in Fordsburg. [Planet Hotel] is still down the road, on [the corner] of Mint road, now it has been converted into shops. When Planet Hotel [was first established] ... they used to have jazz sessions, when people came to bioscopes they always dressed up, you used to find people coming on a Saturday night with tuxedos and the ladies were all very fashionable, chivalry was at its height you know arm in arm, we used to open the car doors for the women, which doesn't happen anymore, the guys used to even throw a rain coat on the floor if the floor was wet (Zaid, September 2012, interview).

Mr Patel recalls that, in the early 1950s, “I, myself, was a bit of a bugger, dagga smoker and, of course, I told you there was this club the ex-political prisoners club, dancing all sorts, billiard tables and snooker”. During this time Mr Patel became acquainted with a known gangster. He says that although he did not see it for himself, the gangsters used to run a protection racket. There were Indian merchants in Fordsburg, and one merchant would borrow from the other and sometimes neglect to repay the loan. Often the financier would hire the services of a gangster to try and extract the money from the person owing the money (Mr Patel, August 2013, interview).

Extortion, protection and gambling were prevalent at the time, and Mr. Patel remembers the operation as very organised. A few of the well-known gangsters were “Sheriff Khan, Essop Mayet and a coloured chap called Lesley Harvey”. Mr Patel relates how the protection racket was organised; first they would demand protection money from the traders and say that ‘if you give me an x-amount of money nobody is going to interfere with you’. It was a vicious cycle; all the people who owed money, would borrow from someone else to pay the racketeers (Mr Patel, August 2013, interview). At the same time, they were reinforcing a repetitive cycle of poverty from which they could not escape. Continuities of these protectionist practices are perhaps even evident in the Fordsburg of today.

Sulaiman remembers when he first established his business in 1969, under apartheid:

It was a different scene due to the apartheid rules. This street was the busiest street here, Central Road. On a Friday and Saturday I’m telling you, you couldn’t walk pass here, because of the cinemas. The blacks used to come here well dressed with very expensive clothing on and they used to come and watch the movies and shows here” (Sulaiman, October 2013, interview).

He adds that the black and coloured people living in Soweto, Sophiatown, Newclare, and Coronation used to regularly visit Fordsburg. In Pageview and Fordsburg “we had Indian, coloureds all living together and we lived happily and everyone was for each other. If something happened at someone’s house the whole town would be there to assist. That was the difference. We were united. And when we lived here, we were one unit” (Sulaiman, October 2013, interview).

On issues of class differences Sulaiman (October 2013, interview) adds that the “rivalry was not between the haves and the have-nots, as whether someone was rich or poor did not matter”. He points out that actually everyone stayed in similar conditions of over-crowding

and lack of space. This common situation probably fostered a high degree of tolerance and cohesiveness within the community. As the participant's reminiscence about the past, it was not the poverty or lack of space that residents spoke of; instead it was always the prevailing sense of community that was their uppermost thought - the memories of togetherness and belonging of Fordsburg featured prominently.

Sulaiman recounts the atmosphere as "it was fantastic. When a Friday or Saturday night comes everybody was smiling and well dressed and on the move. They used to come and pick up a sandwich or something here or a parcel. It was a very good relationship. Everybody would walk pass here and say hello *bhai* [brother]. Never mind it was midnight or whatever it was. People knew you, they had respect for you" (Sulaiman, October 2013, interview). But Sulaiman was quick to add that the police did not harass the Indians as much as they did black people. If blacks were seen walking around after the 21:00 curfew, they were stopped and questioned. They were frequently beaten at the Fordsburg police station, (now incorporated into the Johannesburg Housing Company (JHC) (see Chapter 5) if they were unable to produce a valid reason for being on the streets at night (Sulaiman, October 2013, interview). So while nostalgia casts a rosy glow on the recollections of the participants, the bitterness of the era remains firmly etched in their memories.

The study by Glynn (1981) provides three predictors of an actual sense of community: first, expected length of community residency; second, satisfaction with the community; and third, the number of neighbours one could identify by first name. The three predictors aptly describe the sense of a community in this study of long-time residents' memories of Fordsburg; the participants interviewed were either first or second generation community members; the discussion on Pageview (Chapter 1, Section 1.4) reflects the satisfaction of the community; and lastly, the close proximity of the houses, neighbourhoods, common memories and shared experiences reflect a "belonging" people had for each other and supports Sulaiman's view was "we were one unit" (Sulaiman, October 2013, interview). Thus a sense of community existed in Fordsburg during this period.

10.3.6 "They Never Declared Fordsburg Residentially"

Pageview was declared a 'whites only' area in 1950, and the effort to move all other race groups out of Pageview intensified in the late 1960s. This period is etched on the memory of Councillor Boeta Raja, the chairperson of the Inner City Committee, when, on 21 February

2011, at the launch of the mural linking the subway of Fietas (Pageview) to Fordsburg, he said:

Building by building, brick by brick, Fietas was torn down. The pain of being uprooted will never be forgotten (City of Johannesburg c: n.d.)

Did Fordsburg ever experience the dismantling that apartheid brought to Pageview? Mr Ismail confirms that Fordsburg itself was not affected by the Group Areas Act (Chapter 1, Section 1.4): “They never declared Fordsburg, residentially. The only area that was affected was the demolition of Red Square to make way for the Oriental Plaza”. He adds that “in Fordsburg what happened was that the whole community was never displaced by the apartheid system, the only people who were displaced were those around the Plaza, [for example] Terrace Road, part of Malherbe, part of Bree, part of Lilian, they were moved to Lenasia but the rest remained” (Mr Ismail, May 2011, interview).

Fordsburg was forged, fashioned by the political constructs of capital and the state and, almost unnoticed, took on an Indian identity. The areas surrounding Fordsburg, for example, Mayfair, were partly demolished and reconstructed as white only areas, but Fordsburg itself, with a significant white and Indian population, remained largely unaffected. There were attempts to force Indian people to move, for instance the state closed the Johannesburg Indian High School in an effort to force people to Lenasia where it was relocated (Mr Ismail, May 2011, interview). It is recorded that in 1967, the community of Fordsburg opposed the closure of the Johannesburg Indian High School (Unknown 1984). Indian families who chose to remain in Fordsburg were forced to send their children by railway transport to attend high school in Lenasia. Mr Ismail recalls that with time, the strategy of the state worked with the majority of the Indian families relenting and moving out of Fordsburg. However, part of the reason was also that the overcrowded living conditions became untenable.

10.4 Post-Apartheid Fordsburg: Familiar and Unfamiliar

Mr Ismail expressed the view that the government, during the latter half of the 1980s, allowed all the areas to run down, especially the inner city areas. He adds that the Nationalist Party government was losing the battle with those who stood for the struggle against apartheid, and “decided to leave the country in a mess and you can always blame the ANC. I don’t think they understood the resolve of the Indian community as such. From then [early 1980s] they started building Fordsburg to be what it is today” (Mr Ismail, May 2011,

interview). Mr Ismail suggests that South African Indians hung tenaciously onto Fordsburg because of its heritage, the imagined symbolic connection to India and as a construct of their own identity, but at a fundamental level, this was their homes and access to their livelihoods.

The participants' memories of Fordsburg when comparing it to their perceptions and experiences of today, reveal startling differences. Mr Patel says that although some parts of Fordsburg are still recognisable, "the other part is foreign, strange, in the sense there is a lot of businesses, [and] economic activity taking place. You can still recognise a lot of areas" such as Carr Street, the high school, Majestic and Lyric cinemas even the Mangalam Flats. Exasperatingly, he says "the amount of restaurants is a different story". When he enters the Plaza he then begins to wonder:

When you enter the Plaza you try to think where exactly is this path, what exactly were those streets? What exactly was Red Square and all of that? So that's what came there, you know? To a certain extent certain things remain familiar which were familiar to me then. Other things are not familiar" (Mr Patel, August 2013, interview).

The unfamiliarity is about the social cleavages of class and culture, of wealth and privilege. Not so visible are the evictions in winter, the homeless who make the pavements their makeshift homes, the car-guards and the beggars. Mr Essack remembers that, in the past, communities were very close knit, but this "is a thing of the past, even within all our communities; the distancing amongst neighbours is there". Interestingly, alluding to a breakdown of values, there is lack of respect for adults today and therefore "community is not what it used to be". People were circumspect and behaved with decorum in the past, showed respect to elders even a stranger. Today, "even the parents have lost that community of closeness". Mr Essack adds that affluence is one aspect that led to a breakdown in community (Mr Essack, October 2013, interview). But it is Mr Ismail who laments that the "spirit of community is dying because of class structure and it is very blatant" (Mr Ismail, May 2011, interview).

Dilip expands on this view of class structure and affluence. He says:

Remember I told you about the guy [a non-national] in town who is virtually bank rolling his landlord, and he started with nothing. But again you see we have living expenses, we have a standard we need to maintain, we need to live somewhere, *we need to, we need to, we need to, we need to do this*, we need to remain within our community, we have to maintain a standard, all of that comes at a price; these guys

don't have to maintain a standard, whatever they make is theirs. They just need to eat (original emphasis, Dilip, March 2011, interview).

Dilip reflects a disconcerting view, that communities in post-apartheid Fordsburg are driven by the consumerism associated with the neo-liberalist free market economy. Rising selfishness now denudes Fordsburg of its legacy (Dilip, March 2011, interview). This rampant consumerism is evident in Harry's (July 2013, interview) bitter comments that Fordsburg has become "a food town" similar to Mr Patel's view of the number of restaurants and eateries that have mushroomed in the area. This is in contrast to the feeding scheme provided by one of the migrant retailers on a Thursday (see Chapter 5, Section 5.3) and the views of Mr Muhammed of the NGO, which provides food parcels to needy families (Mr Muhammed, October 2013, interview).

Sulaiman is quite empathetic "no, it's not a community anymore. Every man is for himself put it that way there is no community anymore. It's gone for all of us. Everyman is for himself. That's how I see it" (Sulaiman, October 2013, interview). Sulaiman's comments show a distinct discontinuity from his earlier views and memories of Fordsburg. But Zaid's comment "I think it is an 'imagined community' because everyone keeps to themselves in their groupings, the only mixture is economical again" that is perhaps most apt (Zaid, September 2012, interview). Zaid's comment confirms the observations made in this thesis that communities in Fordsburg are insular because they support and sustain a specific form of economic activity (Zaid, September 2012, interview). This significant finding is examined more fully in the final chapter.

In contrast to Zaid's view, Saffar, a Pakistani, attends gatherings at the mosque where he interacts and makes new friends since he first came to South Africa ten years ago. He adds that this is not difficult since it is a 'nice community'. Saffar's understanding of community comes from his socialist activist background and that he has a 'universal mind'. By this he means that he accepts and is comfortable with different religious groups and cultures. He cautions that one should not have a "selfish mind", instead "when you go to another country you accept them. They welcome you and you welcome them. You don't create the problem of dividing the people" (Saffar, May 2011, interview). Saffar views relate very closely to the concept of assimilation of migrants into host communities and that host communities are tolerant, accepting and welcoming of migrants.

Any discussion of community necessitates a discussion of belonging. The extent to which migrants in Fordsburg exhibit as a sense of belonging is examined within the context of a community in the section that follows.

10.5 Memory and Belonging to Countries of Origin

Transnational theorists Levitt and Glick Schiller (2004) distinguish between ways of being and ways of belonging in the social field. Ways of being denote ‘actual social relations and practices’ that the migrants are involved in ‘rather than the identities associated with those actions’ (Levitt 2010: 41). So while the individual might be embedded in a social field, they might choose not to identify and instead distance themselves from anything in that social field. Then there are those individuals with few ties with the sending country who will effect some form of identification within the receiving country and in this way create a way of belonging. Ways of belonging refer to ‘practices that signal or enact an identity which demonstrates a conscious connection to a particular group’ (Levitt and Glick Schiller 2008: 287). In the beginning of the thesis, I mention the different migrants and some of the particularly young, single men who choose to experience life in South Africa before moving onto other countries, demonstrating a way of being, a transient identity for this group of migrants.

South Africa is a transient place

This is true for Dominic, a twenty-five-year-old Malawian national and former Mathematics and English teacher, who works at a food stall in the Fordsburg flea market where he mixes masala²⁹. Dominic’s views South Africa as a transient place because he only wants to experience life in South Africa, as “it is the heart of Africa”. He plans on traveling to different countries for the next three years and then to return home to join the Malawian government. Dominic’s reasons for migration echo the views of the new generation of young migrants who shift their horizons beyond the world they know, and wish to explore and experience life elsewhere.

²⁹ Masala is Indian term used to describe an array of spices used for the preparation of Indian food

Similarly, Basheer, a twenty-three-year-old Pakistani dreams of teaching hair styling in Canada, and Arun, a twenty-four-year-old Indian national aspires to travel to New Zealand and then to return to India to marry. Basheer has a brother in Canada so he already has a network into which he can tap. Arun's remittances supplement the family's two restaurants that his father and brothers operate in India. For Arun, New Zealand has a substantial resident Indian diaspora that allows him to draw on resources that he may need. For this group, South Africa has little meaning or place, except for being just a transient stopover to another destination.

Difficulty integrating into South Africa

Anjali, an Indian Hindu, came to South Africa at the request of her uncle. She met a Pakistani man and subsequently married him. But, her inexperience, loneliness and long hours of work, make it difficult to integrate with local residents and she would rather go home in three years' time instead of continuing to stay in South Africa. Similarly, Praveena, also a twenty-three-year-old Indian national, wishes to return to India after five years, but her husband has been working in South Africa the past eight years would prefer to remain here. The young Indian women, although married, struggle to settle away from the familiarity of the home culture, language and lifestyle. Under these circumstances, it is difficult to find a sense of belonging in the adopted land. Razak, an Indian national also battled initially with integration. Fear of the unknown, and the inability to converse in English, hampered his progress. He has since married a coloured woman and lives comfortably with his new family in South Africa.

Family and economic ties to the country of origin

Some participants felt bound to the country of origin through maintaining family ties as remittances (see Chapter 7, Section 7.4). Rashid, a Malawian, indicates that when he has enough money he will return to Malawi to his four children. He cannot afford the cost of bringing his family to South Africa. Yunis, also a Malawian, does not have many friends in South Africa, but he feels accepted. He wants to make money in South Africa and commute. For Joseph, to contribute economically to Malawi is important, once he has accumulated sufficient capital he will return home to set up some kind of business venture. He, like other Malawians, sees the economic potential in South Africa, and wishes to capitalise on the economic flows, while setting his sights on re-investing what he gains here in businesses in

Malawi. For the Malawian participants, family ties and the pressure of economic remittances create a transnational sense of belonging.

Moiz, an Egyptian in South Africa for nine years, is married to a South African, but is yearning to return to Egypt after he turns fifty years of age. He will return to Egypt since “it is my country” and adds “my family, my neighbour, my brother, my life, my whole memory of my life is in Egypt you know”. He says that he only has his wife and friends here, “but my family, [my] everything is there”. He affirms the view that Egyptian men migrate to establish themselves as businessmen. Moiz chooses to stay in South Africa purely for economic purposes. He has a residence permit because he is married to a coloured woman and has a family, but his sole purpose is to make money to return to his country of origin, to retire and invest in his community back home. For Moiz, his heart and memory belong to Egypt; he yearns for home, in Egypt, not in South Africa, indicating the transient state of migration. South Africa, he says “this is just a place of work, but my heart and memory is for Egypt” (Moiz, September 2011, interview).

The theme of returning to the country of origin to retire arises predominantly in the narratives of the Egyptians and Malawians. In contrast, for the Pakistani and Indian migrants, their reason for migration is to settle permanently in South Africa. For the Bangladeshi migrants, their main purpose is to remit money to Bangladesh. The theme of returning to the country of origin to retire, arises in the comments of Moiz, Zena and Nabeel and it is also a prominent theme in research among Chinese and Indian female migrants (Huynh et al. 2013). This is an area for future research in terms of how it relates to a sense of belonging, family ties and the transnational lives of migrants. The narratives show that while migrants are embedded within the social field of the community, their links are transient. The next section reflects how migrants create a sense of belonging to South Africa.

10.6 A Sense of Belonging to South Africa

In Chapter 6, the thesis documents that migrants come to South Africa to create a new life for themselves and their families. Those migrants who have their own families in South Africa prefer to make their home here in South Africa. Saadia says that although she did not qualify to vote during the 2011 elections, she is adamant she will vote in the next election. She says emphatically “I want to vote, I like to vote, *[I] must vote*”. She adds that if she has nationality, she will use the opportunity to vote and have her say, indicating firmly her sense

and experience of belonging to South Africa. She was quite certain that she will not return to India, “that’s why I want to make it my own country” (Saadia, June 2011, interview).

For Irfaan and Ridwaan, besides economic opportunity, the safety and freedom to practise their religion are important binding factors as far as residing in Fordsburg is concerned. For both though, a sense of belonging is closely tied to their families. While Irfaan is busy with plans to bring his wife and child to South Africa (Irfaan, June 2011, interview), Ridwaan, resident in South Africa for sixteen years, captures the sentiment of having his wife and children with him as “my heart is now in South Africa” (Ridwaan, November 2013, interview). Religion and family are important constructs that create a sense of belonging to South Africa.

Besides religion and family, the economic investment in South Africa points to a strong commitment to wanting to belong here. Manzil says, “this is our business - our business has grown in South Africa not home [in Egypt]” (Manzil, October 2012, interview). Manzil was quite emphatic about his commitment to South Africa.

Taahir left Pakistan at the age of seventeen and has been living in South Africa for more than five years and visited Pakistan recently for his brother’s wedding. He says that he cannot live in Pakistan anymore. Saadia will also not return to live in India now that she has children born here. There is nothing for her in India, everything she has worked for is in South Africa. Even when she visits India with the children, they cry to return ‘home’ to South Africa (Saadia, June 2011, interview).

Habib, a twenty-seven-year-old from Bangladesh, is quite firm that “South Africa is my home. I don’t have any feeling for Bangladesh anymore”. His wish is to marry and settle in South Africa and dreams of opening up his own business here. Habib says that since he has been in South Africa for nine years, he no longer knows his own culture, referring to Bangladesh; instead all he knows is a South African culture. He says, “if I’m with a Bengali then I speak our language. If I’m with a black guy then I speak his language. Everything is nice; I can do what I like in South Africa” (Habib, October 2013, interview). Habib reflects on his integration into the community and his identification with the host community as home and one of belonging.

Those migrants who have been in South Africa longer than five years were more likely to regard it as home. Afzal, who has been here for five years, feels that South Africa is his home

(Afzal, October 2012, interview). Similarly, Saffar adds that he feels like he spent half of his life here, yet it has been only ten years since arriving in South Africa. When he came to South Africa he was twenty-six-years-old and that he spent the prime of his life in South Africa, resulting in a sense of belonging and commitment (Saffar, May 2011, interview).

Saffar makes a noteworthy comment – he says when he first came to South Africa, many of his friends told him that marrying a South African can get you permanent citizenship. In response, Saffar remarks “that is not life. Life is with your wife and children. You don’t just get married to get your papers. You do the right things and you will get your papers. You do not just marry someone, get your papers and leave them” (Saffar, May 2011, interview).

Saffar, is an activist who has been involved in social justice programmes. He comments on the need for respect and tolerance for other cultures and religions. This is in accord with his views on belonging to South Africa and respect for the law of the host country. The view of Hanif, a Moroccan and key informant, is similar as he says ‘I came to South Africa [because of its] legacy of human rights and in my country to survive you must have business and work with the community’ (Hanif, March 2011, interview). For Hanif, although a Moroccan, is a migrant activist and provided substantial insight into the migrant communities in Fordsburg. He states that the communities should organise themselves, sit together and respect the law and culture of the host country. This is in complete contrast to the views that many South Africans hold of non-nationals.

Many of the participants display a sense of belonging to South Africa, yet they also identify strongly with their smaller ethnic (insular) communities in Fordsburg. Does the plurality of multiple national groups, acceptance of diversity and religious tolerance in South Africa (see Chapter 9, Section 9.3.1) create a conducive environment to belong? This poses an interesting contrast, particularly significant after the recent xenophobic attacks in South Africa during January and April 2015. The thesis reflects on relationships between non-national and South African perspectives of communities, and what constitutes a community. Having been ‘othered’ under apartheid rule, South Africans in Fordsburg are reversing this and ‘othering’ the non-nationals in Fordsburg. In contrast to this perception is the view of Hanif who states that “most of those who came to South Africa, it was because of the ‘new South Africa’, it is a rich country, it is African and it is easy for Africans to be in Africa than in other countries” (Hanif, March 2011, interview).

Sharing this view is Afzal, a twenty-seven-year-old Egyptian, who makes a thought-provoking comment that relates closely to Anderson's (1991) idea of nationhood and 'imagined community', stated in the beginning of this chapter, wherein memory links us to an imagined sense of community. Afzal says that the South Africans like the Egyptians more "[b]ecause Egypt is still Africa not like Pakistan. It is still our home you know" (Afzal, October 2012, interview). When trying to understand if there is a difference between how the Egyptians are treated in comparison to the Pakistanis and Bangladeshis, Afzal answers:

'No. To some people I'm Egyptian, I'm a Moroccan, I'm Nigerian, Libyan, Mozambique but it's the same home, same place. It supposed to be all Africa must be without a visa. It must be one place one country' (Afzal, October 2012, interview).

The sharp distinction between belonging to Africa and to another continent is quite profound. So while the African migrants relate to and recognise each other as belonging to Africa, how African migrants and South Asian migrants view and relate to each other is quite different.

Brah's (1999: 6) poignant question when she asks 'what is humanity if not an intricate mosaic of non-identical kinship?' Despite their diversity, I can confidently state that the participants in this study did experience a sense of kinship based on being migrants in an unknown community, difference bringing familiarity and a sense of community. While there are overtures by the migrant communities towards extending a sense of community to South Africans, it is the negative attitudes of the South Africans that has hampered integration.

10.7 Conclusion

The chapter presents a reconstruction from the memory of Mr Patel of the time and events that seem embedded in the minds of so many of those whose lives were affected by the repressive state under the apartheid regime. While these memories cast a bitter shadow on the years, the period is also characterised as a time of chivalry and of gangsters, revealing the multi-layered levels of a community.

Democracy brought a dislocation that saw migrants settle in Fordsburg primarily because the make-up of the area lent itself to a way of life which they left behind when they left their countries of origin. Immediately one senses a deep identification that people have with Fordsburg with many declaring this as their home. Those who do not, regard Fordsburg as being solely instrumental towards achieving an economic need. But home, family and

familiarity are strong magnets, and many are strongly motivated to return to their country of origin, making migrant communities transient and in a state of flux. Solidarity, the ties that bind migrants, are thus simultaneously fluid and solid depending on the nature of the context of the community. This view is examined in the final chapter in more detail. The recycling of communities seems inevitable in the contestations between the old immigrants and new migrant communities. This chapter has endeavoured to complete the story of Fordsburg,



PART 4: FORGED COMMUNITIES: SUMMARY AND THEORETICAL CONTRIBUTION

Chapter 11 draws the main themes and findings of the thesis together and links the literature and theoretical approaches used in the study to develop its sociological and theoretical intent. The thesis enhances extant South African literature on migration studies by examining multiple studies within a bounded context in historical context and thus furthers the body of knowledge by considering migration within the Global South to South Africa, hence from less developed economies to a developing economy. A further contribution this thesis makes is the application of bridging and bonding capital among the multiple migrant groups present within Fordsburg, the study area. The thesis concludes that a particular type of solidarity is forged in migrant communities in Fordsburg.



CHAPTER 11

CONTINGENT AND INSTRUMENTAL SOLIDARITY IN THE FORGING OF COMMUNITIES IN FORDSBURG

11.1 Introduction

The tension with which this thesis engages is the conception of community. How do we define community and, in particular, how are immigrant and multiple migrant communities reconstructed in a unique and interesting place? Over its one hundred-and-twenty-seven-year history, the communities of Fordsburg, Johannesburg, have recrafted and reconceptualised their identities and have given multiple meanings to the same communal physical and historical spaces. A deeper question/interrogation that the thesis wrestles with is Fordsburg as a ‘community’ but also consisting of a number of ethnic communities, revealing the tension between identity, belonging and community.

The thesis begins by asking the question: How are identities and communities constituted and reconstituted in immigrant and migrant communities in Fordsburg? It examines new migratory flows from South Asia and North Africa to South Africa showing how people retreat into enclaves, causing multiple identities to emerge. The study considers the role that family relationships, religion and remittances play in the integration of migrant communities in Fordsburg, and explores how social networks and social capital, in particular bridging and bonding capital, become the essence that defines a community. Lastly, the thesis shows how migrants define belonging to a community, to an ethnic or religious group.

The overall study has been driven by a need to understand how migrant communities are and were constructed in Fordsburg. The obsession with trying to understand community can be traced to classical times where Aristotle viewed the city - the polis – as a community (Delanty 2010). In the late nineteenth century, the sociological view of community as a social construct gained prominence. Tönnies’ (1963) typology of traditional and modern societies fails to account for conflict and lack of solidarity in small groups. Tönnies points out that as modernity develops, community is replaced by society, and is ‘sustained by [mechanical] relations of exchange’. However, Tönnies’ (1963) conceptualisation of community is based on bonds of kinship and belonging, which collapse in modern society (Delanty 2010: 22). Durkheim (1964) purports that in modern societies, ‘organic forms of solidarity’ such as

citizenship, substitute the mechanical forms of solidarity (Delanty 2010: 25). Durkheim's organic solidarity is defined by 'co-operation, pluralism and a certain individualism' (Delanty 2010: 26) and provides a basis from which to begin to understand how communities are forged in Fordsburg.

The findings of the thesis are distilled in this final chapter as follows: the thesis provides a rich empirical description of how migrants and South African Indian traders remake space in Fordsburg, both from a historical and contemporary perspective. Therefore it becomes possible to analyse continuities and discontinuities driven by economic, political and social change. The social dynamics of these groups from the perspective of Putnam's bonding (exclusive) and bridging (inclusive) social capital approach reveals a complex set of interrelationships. According to Putnam (2000: 19), 'physical capital refers to physical objects and human capital refers to properties of individuals, social capital refers to social connections among individuals – social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them'. Communities that exhibit a 'good' stock of social capital are seen to be beneficial for its members. However, few studies provide empirical evidence to this effect (Madhavan and Landau 2011; Raghuram et al. 2010; Leonard 2004).

This thesis thus uncovers the processes of bridging and bonding social capital at a micro-level, revealing how multiple communities are forged in a particular space, and pointing out that there is no linear path from bonding to bridging capital. Instead, what emerges is an instrumental support that is contingent. A significant contribution of the thesis is that it examines migrants and non-migrants relationally, and not as separate entities in a 'shared habitus' (Raghuram et al. 2010). When turning to migration studies in South Africa with a focus on spatial aspects, this work moves away from the usual concentration on labour migration, HIV/AIDS and intergroup conflict (Harrison et al. 2012). Instead, it begins to examine how spatial relationships and territoriality is negotiated between the communities, contributing to the challenge posed by Crush and McDonald (2000), that migration research in South Africa should re-consider the mundane and ordinary, the daily life of migrants and how they renegotiate the spaces in which they come to inhabit.

The findings show that a transnational system of social, cultural, political and economic relationships exists in Fordsburg, allowing migrants to draw on this transnational capital within the host community, yet at the same time maintain insular communities. The study illustrates how social networks in the countries of origin and destination facilitate chain

migration practices to South Africa and integration into society. Religion becomes the pivot around which migrant communities construct their lives. Migrant practices are gendered and while some female migrants show their agency, religion and gender constrain them in their daily lives, leaving little room to renegotiate their identity. The element of human agency emerges as a strong undercurrent from the narratives of the migrants; the thesis reveals a conscious, informed decision and choice to migrate to South Africa.

Conceptually, the thesis is based on Matarrita-Cascante and Brennan's (2012) (see Chapter 3, Section 3.4) prescribed set of resources, i.e. human, economic and physical. In my use of this model, I superimpose a hybrid model of community, alongside the micro-level, meso-level, and macro-level over these sets of resources. My reading of community through Fordsburg as a lens was through the use of a case study method that included direct and participant observation and formal and informal interviews. For this thesis, at the micro-level, I interviewed members of five migrant communities and a group of South African Indian traders. At the meso-level, I defined economic resources as the production of goods and services, while human resources comprised the building blocks of community such as education, religion, leisure, voluntary associations and local government. At the macro-level, belonging to South Africa from the memory of past residents (immigrants), and from the perspective of current migrants in Fordsburg was the core investigatory process (see Chapter 10, Section 10.3 and 10:5).

11.2 Fordsburg: A Historical and Symbolic Space

The thesis traces the growth and development of the suburb, Fordsburg, founded in 1888, weaving the movements of communities through its eras, each casting their own signature on its space. It shows how communities are forged through education, religion, conflict, co-operation, reciprocity and exchange. It examines how people cope in the face of adversity, that communities are not genteel places, instead they are created in decadence, in gambling halls, in the illegal sale of liquor, in the messiness of overzealous landlords and rack-renting, with some communities having more power over others, in militant community struggles and gangster prone communities. Communities are fluid, yet forged through a solidarity that is transient, sometimes based on co-operation between race groups and at times contested because of racist legislation that divided the communities.

But community itself is a contested term, especially in relation to memory and belonging. A hundred-and-twenty-seven years later, this unique and historical space, Fordsburg, continues to attract migrants, from North African countries such as Algeria, Egypt and Morocco to southern African countries such as Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Malawi, and Asian countries such as China, Pakistan, India and Bangladesh. For many migrants, Fordsburg is a conduit and stepping stone where new migrant communities contest these social and economic spaces to recreate new histories and communities.

In this movement of communities from various cultures, race groups and languages in and out of Fordsburg, can we still call Fordsburg a community or is it an amalgam of ethnic communities rather? In the dialect between community and communities, my findings show that even among these multiple and intersecting differences there is still a sense of community in Fordsburg. Once migrants find their way into Fordsburg, they enter into a community, comprising kinsmen, friends, family and fellow countrymen. In the midst of all this flux there is a semblance of stability, continuity, family entities and networks that arise from a common culture, religion and a sense of belonging. But the concept of 'community', similar to social capital, is fluid and based on preferences of inclusion and exclusion.

Over time, Fordsburg has thus changed its character and identity, shifting from a white working-class area in the 1920s, to the present association of an Indian identity. In the public's imagination it is characterised as an oriental area; not oriental because of the Chinese presence, but oriental because of its 'Indianness'. Characteristics of this Indianness are pervasive in the culture, cuisine and apparel that are characteristically Indian. This strong Indian identity overshadows other competing identities. One of the questions that remains is how did this Indian identity come to predominate so deeply (strongly) within this cultural, religious and economic sphere?

At the heart of this Indianness is the convergence of the religious, cultural and spiritual spaces. The oriental characterisation is reinforced by the symbolic capital of the Oriental Plaza. Originally, the Oriental Plaza was the apartheid government's tacit acknowledgement of the Indian community in Fordsburg, that in spite of apartheid, the Oriental Plaza gave permanence to the claim that Fordsburg was indeed Indian. This apparent contradiction by the state to allow Indians to trade and remain in Fordsburg, was antithetical to the stance of the apartheid. In neighbouring Pageview, Vrededorp and Mayfair; Indians, coloureds and

blacks were uprooted by force to townships beyond the visibility of respectable white Johannesburg.

The assumption that Fordsburg was associated with an Indian identity remains disputed. Fordsburg was never only Indian; it always comprised other race groups. Present-day Fordsburg reflects this multicultural diversity, together with a clearly discernible host and migrant community. A major contribution of this study is the examination of Bourdieu's 'shared habitus' that migrants and non-migrants occupy, which Raghuram et al. (2010: 626) refer to as 'social production of privilege'. In Fordsburg, this privilege resides in citizenship, capital, access to resources and networks and trust that influences the power dynamics of the migrant groups of this study. In the evolution of communities, space and place provide a fluid hybrid identity for the migrants.

This thesis demonstrates that communities are forged and this forging is a result of transnational ties that migrants retain to the country of origin.

11.3 A Transnational Framework of Migration to Fordsburg

The transnational framework adopted for this thesis confirms that migrants must be viewed as operating on a continuum with ties to the country of origin and destination thus supporting the findings by Basch et al. (1994). The continuum ranges from sporadic, irregular ties to frequent and periodic ties. Brettel and Hollifield (2000: 25) identify three factors that affirm the decision to migrate. These are geographical, historical or colonial ties and personal networks. Patterns observed in this study are somewhat different from those suggested by Brettel and Hollifield (2000) in terms of locality. Egypt, South Asia and South Africa are not geographically close hence networks seem to be more significant than a specific bond. However, in a historic sense, South Africa has a large South African Indian diaspora which could explain the Asian link. Egypt and Malawi are on the African continent and perhaps the African identity argument could support the views of Brettel and Hollifield (2000). Malawi's relationship with South Africa goes back many years in terms of its migrant labour history (Vawda 2010). The routes undertaken by Bangladeshi, Pakistanis and Indians to South Africa indicate the existence of a strong network based on a common historical relationship among the three countries and the sharing of borderlands. Thus, established social networks of family, friends, ethnic associations, employers, humanitarian organisations and religious groups are in place to facilitate migration practices to South Africa, which provide an

important safety net for new migrants and to assist newcomers with integration into an unknown society.

Much of the international research on migration focuses on Global South-North migration. However, information from the United Nations Population Facts (2014) implies that South to South global migration is now as common as South to North. This counters the work of Sassen (1991) and Portes (1997a) who assert that migration takes place from the so-called 'third world' countries to the 'first world' countries, to provide a fresh supply of low-waged labour. However, there is also established literature (Madhavan and Landau 2011; Monche 2007; Nzinga Losanga 2006; Lubkemann 2000) on migration that focuses on the movement from less-developed to developing countries, instead of flows of migrants from less-established economies to stronger established economies. My thesis draws attention on South to South migration and from North Africa to South Africa as a significant recent trend.

Nevertheless, as Castles and Miller (2009) point out the narratives of the migrants show that individuals 'search' for and make informed choices about their destination, in contrast to the neo-classical theory of migration (Todaro 1969). The conditions in the sending country for all the migrants in this study are similar: spiralling population growth, poverty, ethnic violence and dwindling infrastructure are all strong push factors, while economic stability, employment and better living standards are strong pull factors to South Africa as the destination. The main reasons cited by migrants are the relative political stability and economic prosperity in South Africa. These findings are confirmed by a body of research by the Centre for Democratic Enterprise (2008), Landau and Gindrey (2008) and Jinnah (2006).

Political reasons were also cited for leaving home. International terrorism has made countries vigilant, resulting in the imposition of stricter immigration controls across many European Union and North American countries and fuelling anti-immigrant sentiment (Phillips 2010). Consequently, the Global South and South Africa in particular have become a preferred destination (Hunter and Skinner 2003). This view supports the new economics of labour migration theory which purports that the decision to migrate is based on investment decisions and the potential to diversify and to develop new skills. Many migrants in this study reveal that their choice to migrate is not only driven by the search for individual freedom and opportunities, but the expectation that such freedom and opportunity would also fund family and other economic interests in the home country, a situation Arango (2000) and Massey (1999) also document.

This study confirms that migrants' transnational experiences are rooted in 'multi-layered social fields' (Levitt 2010) and are defined by family ties to the country of origin, remittances and their participation in the local economic, religious and cultural spheres. In Chapter 2, I propose that community is a social field where ideas, practices and resources are exchanged, and that migrants move towards communities that exhibit similar characteristics to those found in the country of origin. However, it is acknowledged that not all migrants in the study engage in transnational activities.

The thesis has shown that migrants actively shape local spaces to create imaginaries of home; transforming their retail outlets and use of space with their unique ever-present style and identity. More noticeably, however, this takes place through the import of cultural artefacts and groceries from the home country. These can be found in both migrant-owned outlets and the stores owned by the South African Indian traders as both capitalise on a growing consumption of ethnic food, clothing, groceries and other home décor items from South Asia and the Arab countries. The important findings are distilled in the section that follows.

11.4 Bonding Capital within Communities

The nature of migration to South Africa for the five migrant communities has remarkable similarities, although it has some noticeable differences amongst them. The established literature on migration suggests that migrants experience a sense of loss of social ties, isolation and disconnection to the host society and loss of identity. I argue that the character, structure and make-up of Fordsburg, together with the diversity of migrant communities, provide an enabling community for migrants to enter into a place that is at once experienced as familiar and known. Migrants draw on both the symbolic and cultural capital of Fordsburg to establish a sense of belonging there. The networks range from those provided by family, extended family ties and friends, to those provided by agents who operate as a business and provide insider information about choice of place and access to networks.

The growth of migrant networks in Fordsburg supports social capital theory where family relationships and family networks are important resources in the host community that allows migrants to draw from this 'stock' of social capital (Putnam 1996, 1995a and b). Established chain migration practices of already established communities of migrants from Bangladesh, India, Pakistan, Malawi and Egypt pave the way for new migrants who come to Fordsburg. Migrants come from migrant-sending regions and share similar low socio-economic

backgrounds, class, education and skill levels. These findings confirm the work of Goulborne and Solomos (2003) where ethnicity is seen as a social capital resource. In Fordsburg, migrants from the same ethnic and national background lend support to each other, even if no kin or familial relationship is in place.

Social and cultural capital enables the flow of information in these networks. The findings of this study suggest that migrants engage in transnational social networks beyond the national borders in order to enable social and economic integration into the host community. The narratives of participants reveal the existence of both kinship and non-kinship based networks that provide access to resources and social capital in the form of financial and emotional support, residence and employment to facilitate integration. There is evidence of reciprocity within ethnic groups (residence, employment, financial and emotional support), between ethnic groups (employment and financial support), and sometimes between the migrant groups and South Africans (xenophobia, assistance with the police). For example, during the May 2008 xenophobic attacks, the residents and traders in Fordsburg assisted migrants and put protective measures in place to ward off possible attacks against them. Participants in the study suggested that South Africans provided some assistance in matters with the police, but it all depended on the nature of matter. The view that migrant groups assist each other because of solidarity supports research by Vawda (2010); Dwyer et al. (2006); Kloosterman et al. (2002); Ballard (2001) and Anwar (1995).

Gidwani and Sivaramakrishnan (2003: 190) purport that migration is not only an 'economic' event, but also a 'cultural event'. This is seen in the socio-cultural, religious, economic and in some cases, political practices of the home country that migrants bring with them and actively practise in Fordsburg. This study shows that language was not a barrier as the migrants live and work in ethnic communities where a significant South African Indian population reside and the Urdu, Hindi and Gujarati languages are commonplace. For the Malawians, the similarity of their language to Isizulu, allows them to integrate into local South African society. This is in contrast with Nguyen et al.'s (2008) study of undocumented Vietnamese migrant workers in Bangkok, where the participants lived 'imprisoned lives' because of their undocumented status and language barriers. The migrants of this case study commented repeatedly that South Africa was a 'nice country', where they appreciate feeling free to practise their religion and, despite crime and xenophobia, are relatively content with about in South Africa.

11.4.1 Trust, Risk and Honour in the “Manpower Business”

The findings disclose a pervasive and extensive underground network referred to as “manpower business” operating across regional and international boundaries. This pre-migration network is a form of social capital that migrants draw upon from the outset and during their journey to South Africa. It is perhaps remarkable that migrants have such implicit trust in the network of agents that usually operate under the radar of a country’s border security (see Chapter 6, Section 6.3). The journey is a transaction to the extent that there is some shared risk, for example, the migrant makes a substantial part payment before the physical journey begins. It is validated by both parties honouring their promises. The migrant chooses to undertake the risky journeys across unknown lands and this particular role of agency (Boyd 1989) is illustrated by the participants of this study.

Migrants from Pakistan, Bangladeshi and India engage with paid agents, but not all activities associated with migration are always above board. It is acknowledged that not all migrants enter South Africa as documented migrants; many however, overstay their visas. While Bangladeshi migrants accuse Pakistani migrants of engaging in covert practices, the Bangladeshis also enter clandestinely, but deflect any attention to their group. Mahmud (2013) shows that Bangladeshis make use of agents to obtain legitimate visas to legalise and facilitate their stay in migrating to Japan and the USA. Contrary to the work of Mahmud, this study’s findings reveal that agents operate covert networks across continents that facilitate undocumented migration practices and gives credence to a ‘migration industry’ (Harriss 1996) that operates at a meso-level.

In Chapter 2, I argue that the South African Immigration Act of 2002 is exclusionary in nature, thus driving migration towards underhand and clandestine activity. This point is supported by Collyer (2005) and Griffin (2005) who state that the legal frameworks in destination countries provide an avenue for agents to develop a migration business. There is general acknowledgement that some immigration officials facilitate the practices of underground networks in the migration process; that corruption is endemic; and immigration officials have little knowledge of and regard for procedure (Peberdy 2009; Wa Kabwe-Segatti and Landau 2008; Crush et al. 2005). ‘Undocumented’ or clandestine entry into South Africa is not unknown and is largely driven by economic reasons and forced displacement (Crush et al. 2005).

The findings presented in this study support Sandoval's (2013) view of shadow 'transnationalism'. Three pillars support the system of illegal migration: first, the role of the state and the way it criminalises migrants forcing them into the 'shadows', second, employers provide opportunity for undocumented migrants in terms of easy access to employment; and third, migrants who use networks to manoeuvre their way around the system (Sandoval 2013: 177). The South African state, through its immigration policies, departments and public discourse has 'criminalised' migrant populations (Wa Kabwe-Segatti and Landau 2008; Mawadza 2008; Peberdy and Rogerson 2003). My findings show the dark side of transnational migrant communities which Sandoval (2013: 177) describes is a 'self-generating process' that is supported by the undocumented migrants' own 'transnational social capital'.

11.4.2 Gendered Migrant Practices in Fordsburg

The experiences of Pakistani and Indian women migrants in Fordsburg and, in fact, all South Asian women in general as a group of migrants, are under-researched. A void among the migrant groups in this study is the invisibility of Egyptian, Bangladeshi and Malawian women. Malawi's long history of labour migration to South Africa, suggests there would be a presence of Malawian women in South Africa, either as migrants or as cross-border traders and domestic workers although during my observations in Fordsburg they were few and far between.

Family patterns amongst the Bangladeshi, Pakistani, Indian, Egyptian and Malawian groups in Fordsburg reveal that families are strongly patriarchal in nature, where women perform the traditional roles of nurturer and homemakers, and like men, symbolise the family's honour. This was most evident amongst the Egyptians, Pakistanis and Bangladeshi migrants. For Bangladeshi women, employment outside the household is seen as a 'violation of the Islamic gender order' (Dannecker 2007: 9). This view perhaps best explains the lack of visibility of Muslim Egyptian and Bangladeshi women in Fordsburg.

In line with migration literature, married women followed their husbands as dependants. While the Bangladeshi and Pakistani women shouldered the domestic responsibilities of their families, their cultural norms dictate that men take the responsibility for the financial support of the family. Evidence from the views of the Bangladeshi, Egyptian and Pakistani men clearly supports this practice especially the view of Muslim women as dependants, as culture

and religion restrict women's independent migration. The lack of fluency in English and lack of educational qualifications serve as barriers for entry into the formal labour market in South Africa, is confirmed by Dale et al.'s (2002) study of Pakistani women in Britain.

Migration literature (Piper 2010, Dannecker 2007) points out that migration leads to a renegotiation of gender identities and role expectations of female migrants. In this case study, daily routines recreate the identity of migrant women as wives and mothers and follow the ascribed culture-specific roles and practices of the migrant communities. The findings show that gender practices maintain gender identities, and reinforce the division of labour and relations of authority of the home country which prevail in the migrant communities and are replicated in the destination country. There are exceptions to this as both Pakistani women and young single and married Indian women do shoulder the burden of the home chores, but also display significant agency in setting up and operating their own enterprises or engaging in employment outside the home. In renegotiating their gender identity, the women assert their right to work and break the mould of women migrating as just an 'appendage' to their spouses. Their businesses contribute to the family's pool of resources and their labour forms part of bigger network of family-owned businesses. The findings assert that migration to South Africa is predominantly male. Religion and culture still dictate migration practices and the freedom women have to migrate remains strictly circumscribed by these conventions.

While women generally perform domestic labour, male migrants are obliged to renegotiate gendered labour. Single male migrants sharing accommodation have to share domestic chores within the household and perform general household tasks normally considered the work of women in the household. The findings support the work of Joshi (2008). The renegotiation of the gendered identity of labour is most visible in the ethnic restaurants where males perform all the cooking and cleaning tasks, as there are no female employees from South Asia.

One of the major findings of this research concerns migrant men's (ab)use of marriage contracts drawn up with South African women. I contend that migrants use the "marriages of convenience" as a strategy to try and legitimise their undocumented stay in South Africa. Bangladeshi and Pakistani migrants entered into transactional 'legal' marriages with South African women from a previously marginalised population sector of society. The relationship is a mutual one in which an exchange takes place: a South African woman will agree to

marry a non-national, providing him with citizenship in exchange for a monthly allowance. From media reports, Padayachee (2010) notes that women who participated in these ‘marriages’, sign contracts and will then receive R300 a month over a two-year period. While the participants tried to downplay the ‘marriages’ as casual, I assert that the women (in this study) show significant agency by dictating the contractual nature of the relationship and the women set the terms of their financial payments by demanding money, clothing and more recently, even housing. The casual and nonchalant responses of the participants belie a network that is more organised and regular than what appears on the surface (Bailey 2013; Padayachee 2010).

The use of this strategy builds on Ojong’s (2005) research on Ghanaian hairdressers, where the Ghanaian migrant women in South Africa, enter into a financial transactional arrangement with South African men. Some of the Egyptians and Bangladeshi respondents in this study have families in the host and home country, similar to Lubkemann’s (2000: 47) research on Mozambican migrants who lead a “total social life” by having wives in South Africa and Mozambique.

The restrictions the Department of Home Affairs places on marriage to South African citizens and the increasing demands associated with this illicit practice means that Pakistani, Indian and Bangladeshi men are returning home to marry. Once permanent residency is granted, they then bring their spouses to South Africa. Establishing a family with South African-born children anchors the family not only within the local community but also in South African citizenry. The Bangladeshi, Egyptian and Malawian men in particular have wives and families in the country of origin. As migrants they maintain regular communication with family and friends abroad and visit their country of origin which allows them to lead transnational lives. The proximity of African countries to South Africa increases the frequency of return visits to the country of origin.

11.4.3 Ties that bind Migrants to their Country of Origin

Remittances perpetuate transnational connections and ongoing ties to the family in the country of origin. Older migrants with established families in South Africa do not remit regularly because of their familial obligations to those in South Africa. The more recent and younger single migrants feel obligated to remit on a regular basis to pay off the cost of undocumented entry into South Africa, and to contribute to their family’s income stream.

Many ventured here with the perception of economic prosperity are very soon disillusioned and disappointed when the reality of the high costs of living in South Africa confronts them. Ironically, the Malawian participants who earned significantly lower wages than the rest of the participants, remitted on a regular basis, most often monthly. There was also the 'expectation' to remit, (Rugunanan and Smit 2011) and pressure to succeed, particularly so for the Egyptians who are expected to prove themselves worthy as the main provider in the family (Mahmud 2014; Yengde 2014). Tilly (2007) considers the flow of remittances to the country of origin as a form of transnational social ties and the findings from this thesis confirm this. Given their vulnerability, it is understandable that some of the participants were not as forthcoming about the nature and extent of their remittances as they could have been which is a situation that has to be accepted although the information gleaned gives some valuable insight.

This study also reveals that the 'social remittances' (Levitt 2010) in the form of ideas, norms, practices and identities are transported back to the country of origin. Malawian participants had improved their skills, remitted capital for investment and acquired ideas to establish entrepreneurial activities in Malawi. Education is also an important consideration as migrants (Malawians, Pakistanis and Bangladeshi) and their family members wished to study further in South Africa, supporting Dale et al.'s (2002) research that education was highly valued amongst Pakistani and Bangladeshi families in Britain. Family ties are maintained regularly through interpersonal communication channels such as mobile telephones and Skype. Personal links are also retained as holidays to the countries of origin are undertaken. Goulbourne (2002) show that migrants' holidays to the home country are considered important in maintaining the transmission of social ties and family values to the next generation. This may be true, but some of the participants, in particular those with children, said that they would not return to live in the country of origin and considered South Africa as their home.

An important way of maintaining transnational family and cultural ties with the country of origin is through burial practices. While finance is a constraining factor, participants did not plan or prepare for this eventuality. Their hope is that the broader migrant community would either contribute funds to either effect burial rites in South Africa or repatriate the body back to the home country. In only a few cases did the migrants insist on repatriation. Most of the participants acknowledged that the cost implications were prohibitive. An exception is the

Egyptian migrants who stated firmly that the family needed to pay their last respects to the deceased member in person. Here the broader Arab community contributed funds to send the body home. In times of death, the embassies usually assisted with such repatriations.

The role of ethnic associations, an important source of social capital, is important as they assist with burial practices or facilitate the repatriation of bodies back to the home country. The Bangladeshis probably had the most established association to assist migrants. There was little evidence of a Pakistani association in Johannesburg and the Malawi association is informal. There was no response to numerous attempts to establish contact with these associations. As far as could be ascertained, an Egyptian association did not exist. The role of burial practices is an under researched area, particularly in South African studies on migration that generally tend to focus strongly on the human rights of refugees.

11.4.4 A Fluid Situational Identity

Fordsburg and its immediate surrounds have a strong religious character and infrastructure, making it conducive for migrants of the Islamic faith to settle here. Fordsburg is widely recognised as a “Muslim” place, where a hotel advertises itself as a “Muslim” hotel. Migrants are readily attracted to Fordsburg largely because many nationals from a range of countries of origin have already settled here. More importantly, it is an ‘Indian’ place with an overt Islamic identity. These are the key features that make Fordsburg a migrant’s residential choice. However, Fordsburg is not limited to only migrants from South Asia, as migrants from Egypt and Malawi also draw on the religious identity that attracts them to Fordsburg, supporting Putnam’s (2000) view that religion serves as an essential source of social capital. In serving to bind communities, religion can also serve to exclude others.

South Africa is characterised as a country of diversity, particularly embracing its religious diversity such that a ‘plurality’ (Sadouni 2013) of religious forms and practices is found. This is in slight contrast to Van der Veer’s (2001) view that migrants have to navigate the religious policies of the host country. The migrants’ narratives reveal their agency in choosing South Africa because of its religious tolerance. On the one hand, the predominant narrative is the freedom to practise their religion in Fordsburg. This is evident in their style of dress, religious food and regular attendance of religious practices. On the other, the new migrants in asserting their rights to worship, have built additional places of worship and conduct religious practices in a choice of language of their understanding, displaying agency in how they negotiated the

religious terrain of Fordsburg. This display of agency is driven by strong bonding social capital and social cohesion within groups, where language serves to cement this exclusivity of association.

The migrant communities researched in this thesis do not assimilate into mainstream society. Instead, they co-exist alongside it and assert their religious agency within the religious communities in Fordsburg. This is in contrast to Wang's (2005) study of 'transnational communities' in Taiwan, where newcomers are expected to 'assimilate' into mainstream Taiwanese society, making them 'invisible' to society as a whole. In Fordsburg there is an obvious and pronounced 'visibility' of an Islamic religious presence.

The literature reviewed for this thesis includes Wang's (2005) notion of 'hybrid cultures and multiple identities', Ojong's (2005) adapting identities and Park's (2008) alternative identity applicable to Chinese migrants in South Africa. The identities of the migrants interviewed for this study, I assert correspond to these three expositions although, the findings suggest that a more fluid, situational identity, one that is informed by their attachment to a place develops. Since they are established Fordsburg residents it illustrates that the setting has allowed them to change their identity to suit the context which enables integration. The migrants draw on this religious identity to develop what Sadouni (2013: 45) refers to as 'religious solidarity', but my findings reveal that this religious solidarity is fractured along caste, class, nationality and religious sects. So the solidarity is a tenuous one, often dictated by circumstances in Fordsburg. I purport that the individual's ethnic identity is situational and fluid, a manifestation of the contingent and instrumental solidarity that is experienced by migrants.

11.5 Bridging ties to the Community

The characterisation by a worker in Holgate et al.'s (2012: 603) study captures the essence of the migrants' lives in Fordsburg as 'working, eating and sleeping'. The pattern of life for migrants in Fordsburg revolves primarily around these three essential basic activities. The discussion in this section focuses on three aspects that involve traders, trading practices and labour practices. Bridging capital serves to bring people together across social divisions best described by the nature of the trading practices in which the migrants and South African traders both engage, and which contribute to the regeneration efforts of Fordsburg as a whole.

11.5.1 Traders, Trading and Labour Practices

Segmented labour market theory (Massey et al. 1993) (see Chapter 3, Section 3. 2.1) states that if a considerable number of migrants arrive, an enclave economy is created that supports the demands of a certain sector of migrant workers. I argue that ‘niche markets’ exist through networks that were established prior the entry of low-skilled migrants and these facilitated their settlement. Some migrant groups set up micro-enterprises in Fordsburg instead of filling the need for menial labour. Rather than enter into low-wage labour, migrants are found in the micro-economic sector and establish small and micro-enterprises. In Fordsburg, the Pakistanis, Bangladeshi and Indian migrants concentrate in small-scale retail trades and ethnic-owned restaurants. The Egyptian traders have captured the market for traditional Muslim clothing and specifically choose Fordsburg because of its Islamic association. The South African traders in the study are involved in tailoring, fast food, merchandise and speciality stores.

The pattern of trading and labour amongst migrants occurs on three levels. First, some traders are sole traders operating small businesses and relying on their own labour; the second group draws on their labour supply mainly from family resources such as friends, spouses and kin. These are traders who have multiple outlets in Fordsburg, such as tailors and hair-dressers and beauty outlets. The third group comprises a mixture of traders: restaurant owners, owners of multiple outlets and traders in the flea market who employ wage labour from vulnerable groups from the home countries or from other African countries. Here social capital and social networks prevail to draw migrants into income-generating activities that may make them less likely to access the formal labour market in South Africa.

The present study proves valuable in beginning to understand why migrants from the Global South and from less developed economies move to a country in the south, a young democracy with an emerging economy. Most of the migrant workers in Fordsburg are involved in recognised enterprises such as hairdressing, tailoring, beauty therapy, restaurants and ethnic-owned grocery outlets, amongst informal forms of entrepreneurship. This is contrary to regional African studies by Vawda (2010) and Adepoju (2006). The migrants in Fordsburg, except for those in the flea market, all operate from a rented space, from outlets and sub-outlets and not off pavements or sidewalks. The close-bounded space in Fordsburg allows the migrants access to a network of resources, either as flows of capital, established spaces or employment in established enterprises. This was most visible among Bangladeshi, Egyptian

and Pakistani migrants who collectively aggregate money, within their own ethnic group, and for investment in business ventures in Fordsburg. This supports Zhou's (1992) findings where pooling of resources decreases the consumption costs migrants have and the savings accrued are re-invested in potential business concerns.

Nguyen et al.'s (2008) research on undocumented Vietnamese migrants and Holgate et al.'s (2012) study on Kurdish workers in the UK, show an interesting similarity in that undocumented migrants are employed in 'ethnic enclaves', work long hours with low wages, often in an attempt to avoid the inconvenience of obtaining formal documentation. The negative side of this process is that it is prone to exploitation. In contrast to these research endeavours, the participants in this thesis do not complain about the long hours of work or wages, on the contrary, they appear to 'accept' these conditions of work in spite of what appear to be deliberate exploitative practices. To be employed continuously and the necessity to remit are overriding concerns, to the extent that the exploitation is apparently tolerated.

Moreover, there is neither willingness nor freedom to voice these concerns about exploitation. The working hours generally exceed those stipulated in South Africa's labour legislation. Anderson (2007: 5) finds that immigrants in New York are situated at the bottom rung of a 'deregulated labour market', and this is very similar to what the migrants in this study experience. Labour practices in Fordsburg are thus similar to the 'hyperflexible labour' that Anderson (2007) raises, which is characterised by low wages and insecure employment practices tantamount to what Standing (2011) refers to as 'precarious labour'.

However, while migrants contribute to the regeneration of Fordsburg, I argue that stricter adherence to labour legislation and the practice of safe and fair labour practices need to be enforced to avoid the exploitative conditions of both migrant and South African employers. Although the migrants have access to social networks, these are informal, and serve as a closed 'intra-ethnic' form of social protection, a closed community that would frown upon the acknowledgement of worker exploitation and abuse. Portes (1997a) purports that immigrant social networks are 'dense' and operate transnationally, and they produce solidarity because of the risk and uncertainty that govern the lives of migrants. These circumstances engender strong bonds of trust and solidarity, which explain the rapid growth of migrant trading and the reliance on migrant labour in Fordsburg. One way of explaining this failure to acknowledge abuse, is through Putnam's (2000) concept of reciprocity, where

there is a mutual obligation to give and receive. Perhaps this explains why ethnic groups draw upon their own labour reserves to the extent that they do.

11.5.2 Circulation of People and Flows of Capital

Migrants play an important role in small business activity (CDE 2008; Adepoju 2006) and migrant business enterprises contribute significantly to the South African informal sector as well as independent small, medium and micro-enterprises (Peberdy and Rogerson 2000). The integral trades of hairdressing, tailoring and ethnic-owned restaurants of the migrant traders and the Fordsburg flea market have become income-generating activities in Fordsburg. Local government councillors and South African traders acknowledge that migrants support regeneration efforts (see Chapter 9). While these efforts of migrants are recognised, they are also viewed with some scepticism, with the South African Indian traders suggesting that any income generating efforts by the migrants result in the outflow of remittances to the country of origin, rather than re-investing in Fordsburg.

Within Fordsburg there is a circulation of people, goods and flows of money similar to what Castells (1998) views as ‘flows’ in the city. The flows of money are however, not always legitimate and above board. Historically, money flows developed from the rack-renting activities of landlords of all races, the prostitution of Jewish and Afrikaner men and women, the illegal sale of liquor, the dance halls and gambling. During the 1920s, this was revealed in the trading relationship between poor-white Afrikaners and Indian traders in Fordsburg (see Chapter 1, Section 1.2.5). As communities go, Fordsburg attracts the ‘good, the bad and the ugly’ (see Chapter 9, Section 9.5). The ‘good’ inhabitants seek to create a neighbourhood and livelihoods to nurture their children. Within communities, inevitably spaces are open to allow the ‘bad’ to filter through – the bribery, crime and harassment of migrants, and the ugly rear themselves in the unlawful forms of money laundering and racketeering, drugs, the threat of cartels controlling business interests and the xenophobic attacks against the migrants.

As Fordsburg became known for its economic prosperity, its attraction is not only about people, it is as much about the flows in and out of the community. Circulation is oiled by flows of money that operate on a continuum from the legitimate to the illegitimate. In the Fordsburg of the present, the flows of money are disbursed around a range of activities: people who are active in the “manpower business”, in the selling of fraudulent documentation which is an extension of manpower business, the bribery, loans and facilitation of business

activities. It reveals itself in the disbursement of profits, the proceeds of remittances, paying back loans and laundering money in various ways.

Part of this flow of money and circulation of people is the accumulation of capital which relates to the multiple businesses that people own, and how people leverage networks and connections for the sake of capital accumulation. From the ordinary, small and single-owned enterprise yielding modest returns, to those that contribute significantly large amounts, the money finds its way back into the circulation of flows. An entire chain and range of activities accumulate money that circulates incorporating the small entrepreneur, such as the 'Hello Mobile' unit and 'Paan' unit, through to the 'tea room' owner; from the tailors and barbers to the food-stalls. Moving up the chain to the multiple hairdressing outlets and restaurants owned by a single owner, right up to the money launderers and racketeers. Portes (1997a: 15) refers to this accumulation of activities as a phenomenon of transnationalism that 'acquires a cumulative character'. I propose then that these processes include political, social and cultural interests culminating in the flows of capital and people leading to a forging of communities, supported by transnational practices.

The notion of bridging ties that transcend migrant or ethnic groups (Putnam 2007) offers a more relational understanding of migrant and non-migrant networks. The view of Fordsburg as a cohesive community is then unfounded, the notion of community is not fixed and linear, but instead is an idealised notion. Migrant communities are fluid, instrumental in orientation and dependent on flows of capital. Given this, the community of Fordsburg experiences tensions and beneath the outward façade, much happens in the background that drives this transformation.

11.6 Belonging to a Community

Brink's (2008) painting of Fordsburg as this 'multi-cultural melting pot' is anything but romantic. I contest this notion and argue instead that Fordsburg comprises largely inward-looking, insular ethnic enclaves. In Section 11.4.4, I maintain that migrant communities do not assimilate, instead they practise their culture, and the values and identity of the home country are upheld. The 'place' Fordsburg provides the 'space' for this to occur, relating closely to Easthope's (2009) view that migrants' attachment to place either reproduces or recreates their identity.

Therefore I argue that migrant communities are insular and have an ambivalent identity.

11.6.1 Insular, but Ambivalent and Fluid Communities

Migrant communities in Fordsburg retreat into enclaves and prefer to remain insular, and at times not so insular. Insularity, in this study, means that communities are inward-looking or self-sufficient and characterised by grouping of kinsmen and countrymen who associate closely within a common space. It is self-sufficient because people work, live and trade in Fordsburg; the common space provides for easy access to places of worship, education, cultural activities, retail and shopping. For those who choose to stay in Fordsburg, the space is sufficient for migrant communities to become self-sustaining and self-contained.

Yet there is also integration into the City of Johannesburg. Fordsburg reveals itself in an ambiguous and ambivalent relationship with both the City of Johannesburg as well as the rest of South Africa, retaining the wish to remain insular, yet dependent on others for trade. There is a cross-cutting permeability of groups, besides trade; there is also a socio-cultural and religious transactional spaces where the groups converge within the common space. On the one hand tourists are welcomed; they contribute to the economic flows. Fordsburg welcomes the migrant traders and the diversity they bring. On the other hand, these intrusions cast aspersions on its character and identity. While welcoming the economic resources of the trade that flows into Fordsburg, the South African Indian traders resent and display ambivalence towards the migrants.

Fordsburg, however, can no longer claim to be an “Indian” suburb, as many nationalities stake that claim to it. Migrants claim a right to the City and claim a belonging to Fordsburg as well. Through their economic efforts, the area has regenerated economically, as evidenced by the high rentals and the efforts of the Johannesburg City Council to promote development and regenerate the area (see Chapter 9, Section 9.6.1). So while they choose to remain insular, they also claim Fordsburg as their space, which reflects their ambivalent attitude.

The view of South Africa as ‘nice,’ clean, healthy and a ‘good’ place, together with the fact that some of the participants in the research interviews have every intention of settling in Fordsburg, South Africa, and adopting the country, is significant. This is particularly so amongst the Pakistani and Indians and less so among the Bangladeshi whose economic activities and remittances back to the country of origin are more purposeful. However, I claim that migrants are embedded in more than one space or society as they retain their ties to the home country, in case problems develop in the host county. These findings support the work of Basch et al. (1994) who assert that migrants perpetuate transnational linkages because they

experience social exclusion, economic insecurity and racism in the destination country. Recent cumulative xenophobic attacks against migrants confirm the views.

Gebre et al.'s (2011) study on Ethiopians indicates that migrants do not wish to settle permanently in South Africa, as is the case with other African migrants (Rugunanan and Smit 2011). Research by Madhavan and Landau (2011), CDE (2008), Adepoju (2008), supports the findings of this study that African migrants reside in South Africa for only a limited time and express the desire and will to return to their country of origin. In contrast to the African migrants, Asian migrants, particularly the Pakistanis and the Indians, intend settling permanently in South Africa and exhibit a strong sense of belonging to South Africa as indicated by their narratives documented in Chapter 10.

11.6.2 The Social Reproduction of Privilege

Drawing on Bourdieu's notion of habitus, Raghuram et al. (2010) draw attention to Bourdieu's conceptualisation of the habitus as a site for the social reproduction of privilege. The shared habitus that both migrants and non-migrants inhabit in Fordsburg benefit certain groups above others. It creates hierarchies of advantage that are contested by all groups. Race, citizenship, access to resources and capital socially reproduce these privileges. Under apartheid South Africa, racial classification appeared to follow a pecking order of whites, Indians, coloureds and African at the bottom end of the scale. Twenty years after the first democratic elections, South Africa still carries the heavy burden of its own racial hierarchy. Observations in this study confirm that there are still strong and clear divisions along the lines of class, race, gender and ethnicity in Fordsburg.

The social reproduction of privilege follows a pecking order in Fordsburg, with the host community at the top, followed by migrant communities and within these are further subdivisions. This reveals that communities are fractured along lines of ethnicity, race and gender. Unwittingly, all migrant groups find a way of positioning themselves in the racial hierarchy that exists in Fordsburg. In the Mills et al. (1950) study, the Puerto Ricans were at the top of a list of minority groups. Within the migrant groups in Fordsburg, the template establishes the Egyptians at the top of the pecking order, with Asian groups – Indian Pakistan, Bangladesh, in that particular order, and then the Malawian group at the bottom end of the scale. In an assessment of the racial categorisation of the country, the Malawians, instead of falling at the very bottom of this pyramid, have risen above the disadvantage by

learning some of the local African languages, in order to ‘blend in’ to be part of the African community at large. This too may be a survivalist strategy as the threat of xenophobia against African nationals, and now Bangladeshi and Pakistani migrants, is all too prevalent. In a similar fashion, the South Asians then insert themselves alongside South African Indians.

The migrant communities reflect deeper schisms within themselves. The findings confirm that a rank order exists within the migrant groups. The South Asians look down on the Africans and are racist towards South African blacks in particular; the Bangladeshis cast aspersions on the Pakistanis; and the Indians play the role of peacemaker between the two. Bangladeshis and Indians work together and share similar spaces and Pakistanis and Indians sometimes work together, but within this bounded space, Pakistanis and Bangladeshi avoid each other as much as possible, the history and politics of their home country influencing their discourses and actions. Within these groups, regional and ethnic divisions also prevail.

The Egyptians, in contrast are imbued with a sense of pride of their own country, and the only reason why they are in South Africa is to tap economic opportunities. The Egyptians are different when compared to the other migrant groups in this study: they came in on business visas, not clandestinely, they return home at least once a year. They are more likely to own their businesses rather than to be employed, and there is a clear distinction between their places of work and living and travelling into Fordsburg every day with their own transport. All of these characteristics set the Egyptian group at the top of the ranking order of the migrant groups in this study.

The notion of a pecking order is not unique to migrants in Fordsburg. Gebre et al.’s (2011: 28) research on Ethiopian communities in Durban, South Africa found that the group preferred to live in isolation from other groups, and felt deserving of preferential treatment when compared to immigrants from Tanzania, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Nigeria and Zimbabwe. Indian migrants have a higher rank than other groups, because of South Africa’s past historical connection to India.

Buhlungu and Tshoaedi (2012) show that power is dynamic and shifts across different groups being dependent on extraneous factors. In Fordsburg, the power dynamic reveals itself among the different migrant groups and South African traders with regard to access to trade, the ownership of multiple outlets, crime and maintenance of the area. But power is also fluid, dependent on citizenship, migrant status and capital. The threat of xenophobia, evidence of

the contested social terrain can shift the power dynamics all too quickly as witnessed by the attacks against migrant traders in Soweto during January 2015, and more recently in April of 2015, leading to a 'rediscovery' (Munck 2010) of national identity within host communities. Within migrant communities, power, represented by bonding social capital may be strong, but in the pecking and ranking order of migrant communities, there appears to be intangible power dynamics at play that preference some groups above others, while reproducing the social production of privilege.

11.6.3 Evaluating the Politics of Fear

The discussion on the pecking order raises a number of questions about South African society and its relationship with migrant communities. While the country's constitution is progressive and substantive, the discourses of South Africans are steeped in stereotypes and prejudice. In Fordsburg, there is a level of mistrust, an 'othering' of the migrant, viewed as distinctive, and which shares very little with non-migrants. Although there is a sharing of space in terms of economic and religious areas, the level of interaction between migrants and locals could be described as minimal. While Zaid, a South African participant as an interviewee refers to migrants' interactions with South Africans for economic gain, I argue that South African clientele also benefit economically as they flock to Fordsburg for the variety, cheaper goods, services and bargaining potential offered by the migrant traders.

Mills et al.'s (1950) study shows how the Puerto Ricans were cast in a negative light, as harbingers of disease and crime, treated with suspicion, mistrust and feared. Svenden's (2006: 40) study of Danish newcomers to Copenhagen revealed similar comments, only to discover that the documented discourses, rich in stereotyping and prejudice, were without any real personal contact, resulting in widespread mistrust of each other. Similar dialogues were found in this study but while migrants and South African traders share close spaces, migrants still remain 'strangers' and 'the other' within their midst.

The stereotyping is not one-sided. The South Asians and Egyptians characterise the South African blacks as lazy to work and choose instead to hire other minority groups from Malawi, Mozambique and Zimbabwe, but rarely South Africans. Non-nationals brand South Africans with the same negative stigmas. The Ethiopian migrants express the view (Gebre et al. 2011) that they were more gracious and hospitable towards their guests unlike their South African counterparts. These views mirror the sentiments amongst the Malawian migrants in this study

who distrust South Africans and considered them disrespectful, thereby supporting Landau's (2009: 207) research that non-nationals view South Africans as 'uneducated', unappreciative of opportunities that they have, are promiscuous and 'heathen'.

One of the views put forward for the antagonism towards migrants is explained as fear (Landau 2009; Neocosmos 2008). South Africans fear the economic competition posed by the migrants. Other reasons Gebre et al. (2011: 26) cite are the 'increase in crime, loss of identity and acculturation'. These views are explained further by Neocosmos's argument for a 'politics of fear' (see Chapter 2, Section 2.6.3), which offers some explanation of the distancing of South African traders towards the migrant traders. That is why I argue that we all share the same spaces but not the same sense of community and this, has resulted in the development of partially insular communities among migrants. The South African traders in this study verify this view as they say that while maintaining a level of civility towards the migrant traders, they limit interaction with them. Even belonging to the same religious group does not bridge this divide. However, the fear here is a manifestation of economic resentment, not the fear of others that result in violence towards migrants.

As a result, migrant groups develop solidarity amongst each other because they are considered the 'other' and therefore "hunker down" (Putnam 2007), leading to the creation of inward-looking insular communities. Even in a country with an advanced constitution such as South Africa, xenophobia continues to be a problem and no amount of constitutional provision or protection would be able to subdue xenophobia entirely.

11.7 Contingent and Instrumental Solidarity in Migrant Communities

The discussion in the preceding sections reveals many significant findings for this thesis. If the nature of the communities discussed is so segmented, splintered and divided, can we still consider calling it a community? The original conception of community (Section 3.4.1) sees it as a hazy romanticised entity that is peaceful and safe - Fordsburg is certainly not that.

Contrary to the conventional view, communities are, in reality, segmented; fractured along race, caste, class gender, ethnicity, nationality and regional lines, with a tendency to be insular, and often inward-looking. An important finding for this thesis shows that migrant communities draw upon the 'good' stock of social capital, to access resources, education, religion, community initiatives and strive for economic growth. In contrast to Putnam's

(2000) view that strong bonding capital impedes integration, I argue the communities in this study display strong bonding capital, with high levels of ‘thick trust’. They are integrated on a continuum that is convenient for them. Referring back to the ambivalent belonging they display the ‘thick trust’ could instead be viewed as a potential liability. However, the findings show that the migrant communities have developed an instrumental solidarity amongst each other and draw resources from each other in the form of employment, loans, sharing of accommodation and labour, but deliberately exclude the South African community as a source of labour.

There is trust within and between migrant communities, but also mistrust towards South Africans and in particular, towards the Pakistan community. The basis of this trust is strongest amongst communities that share a nationality, language and a common culture.

The main finding of this thesis then, despite the deep fissures, the fractured segmentation and the insularity, is that communities are bound by forms of solidarity, but it is not the solidarity that Putnam (2000) and Portes (1998a) refer to, it is a contingent and instrumental solidarity, that is dependent on the benefits that can be accrued through solidarity. Solidarity is sensitive to extraneous factors as it is always subject to change, always shifting. The forging of a contingent and instrumental solidarity was visible in early migrant communities of Fordsburg between Afrikaner and Indian retailers when they relied on each other for trade and literacy skills. The rack-renting by landlords of all races indulged in depended on the scarcity of accommodation, leading to an instrumental solidarity being characteristic of the immigrants, being based on the tenuous conditions of the time.

The findings of this study confirm that migrant transnationalism is a response to global capital needs and working class responses to it, one cannot ignore however, the role of professional middle class migrants who migrate for other reasons (Voight-Graf 2005). In South Africa, there is a substantial diaspora of professional middle class Indian migrants (Huynh et al 2012); a strong Arab business community, and other immigrants who bring in investment capital. How else can one explain the flows of capital and circulation of people in Fordsburg? Thus, it is not only the undocumented migrants who make their way to Fordsburg; migrants with vested economic interests in Fordsburg have identified a niche and capitalised on it.

This concept of solidarity I argue, is the solidarity that holds communities together, solidarity based on precarious journeys to South Africa, solidarity based on sharing spaces but not communities, and to borrow from Faist (2000b), a solidarity that ‘becomes a strategy for survival’. Since community is all about belonging to something and identifying with something, solidarity forms the pivot upon which communities are forged and negotiated around. This has been the key driver in understanding how communities have evolved in Fordsburg since 1888, forged through necessity and built on contingent solidarity.

In most micro-level studies, social capital is perceived as a form of durable bonding social capital that is used by migrant groups, reinforcing inclusivity of the group. The level of group cohesiveness allows them leverage to economic resources within the host community of Fordsburg. This is evident amongst the migrant groups in Fordsburg. Schuller (2007) distinguishes between bonding and bridging capital and makes a significant statement that applies directly to this study, when declaring that it is context dependent. He says that only through appreciating the context within which bridging and bonding capital is applied, can we begin to understand it.

As I argued in Chapter 2, solidarity becomes a strategy for survival for particularly migrant communities, but not only for them, for the South African traders too, as they are pushed into an alliance of economic necessity. The South African traders benefit from this circulation of people and flows of trade that permeate Fordsburg, yet they are critical and resentful of these flows.

The findings extend Wuthnow’s (2002: 670) view that bridging capital is more challenging to create and sustain than bonding capital, because it forces people to look beyond the immediate security of their social circle and find ways of developing co-operation among diverse groups of people and communities. I contend that migrant communities make use of a contingent and instrumental solidarity when it is in their interest to do so, for example, the marriages of conveniences. There is risk attached, but it is instrumental to migrants gaining a temporary residence permit that allows them citizenship. Migrants’ use of asylum status is instrumental to their seeking citizenship in the country by illicit means. It is similar to the use of ‘political problems’ in the country of origin to garner asylum. Portes and Landolt (1996) argue that bridging capital ‘promotes a civic responsibility’ by overcoming division and insularity. Examples of these are through the support of initiatives like the car guard scheme,

the voluntary associations, through burial practices and the feeding schemes for marginal groups, all attempts at embracing the community as a whole.

The findings of this study extend Granovetter's (1973) concept of 'weak ties' and the view of bridging concerned with less intimate weak ties, replaced instead with the view that bridging can be associated with a contingent and instrumental solidarity, ties that are not weak. In Fordsburg, it is not just about the crime prevention schemes that migrants are involved in; it is the economic spaces that draw communities together, irrespective of nationality. Examples are the Fordsburg flea market and major sporting events such as the 2010 Soccer World Cup, the Cricket World Cup and more importantly, when the xenophobia attacks took place in 2008, the local South African Fordsburg community protected the migrants (Park and Rugunanan 2010).

So it goes beyond Smart's (2008) view that excessive bonding capital can restrict growth because communities become insular and exclusionary. This does not apply to Fordsburg. While migrant communities choose to become insular, they also contribute to the growth and regeneration in Fordsburg. My findings dispute Leonard's (2004) argument about the limiting effects of bonding capital on ethnic minority groups who create niche economies; on the contrary, it is trust and solidarity amongst these insular groups that speak to their success. So the choice to be insular is an instrumental choice, depending on the need or the interest of the individual at that point in time.

Moving beyond Putnam's (2000: 3) notion where bonding social capital is a 'kind of sociological superglue' I argue that solidarity which is at the crux of communities, becomes contingent and instrumental solidarity that can bind the whole of Fordsburg as a community or certain communities at certain times. Solidarity then, relates directly to the tension of trying to understand community, as a place, that is Fordsburg, and the ethnic communities of Fordsburg, signifying a duality in the nature of community, a tension that the thesis tries to demystify. The nature of solidarity then, that is revealed is never static or permanent but is contingent and instrumental, for a community and members of those communities. The limitation of social capital is that it is linear, it is fixed, not fluid. Communities are fluid, the nature of solidarity and the ties that bind them are fluid, and thus I argue that social capital fails to adequately explain the reconstruction of migrant communities in Fordsburg.

11.8 Conclusion

The thesis examines the tension between migrant groups and South Africans in a suburb called Fordsburg determining that migrant communities are forged out of contingent and instrumental solidarity in Fordsburg. Identities are fluid, situational and contextual. My study has contributed to empirical literature on migration and social networks within urban contexts and shows how social capital, in particular bridging and bonding capital, is formed within the context of a suburb, Fordsburg in Johannesburg as a case study. Communities in Fordsburg comprise a mixture of nationalities and religions, and the communities draw upon embedded social and cultural capital. The establishment of places of learning and worship, trading and livelihoods illustrates the construction of communities and settlement of families, but also shows that communities are not perfect. Communities instead are driven by a selfish and instrumental solidarity that at times draws members to it and at other times rejects them.



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APPENDIX 1

INTERVIEW GUIDES USED IN THIS STUDY

(Introduce the study and request permission to conduct the study)

Date:

Respondent name:

Place of interview:

Duration of interview:

Interview Guide for Migrants

1. Background information

Please provide your age.

Where were you born?

What is your home language?

What is your highest educational level?

2. General picture of current life

When did you arrive in South Africa? How long have been in South Africa?

Do you experience specific problems or challenges here? Please elaborate .

Is your life here very different from the life you had in our country of origin? If so in what way?

Tell me abit about the place where you live currently.

Why did you come to South Africa? (Was this your first country of choice?). Why JHB/Fordsburg specifically?

3. Marital status

Are you married; widowed; divorced; single or living with a partner?

Are you married/do you have a life partner?

If yes - is your husband/wife/partner here in SA with you?

4. Family relationship and ties children

How many children do you have? How old are they?

Do they live with you?

Tell me about your relationship with your children. Is it a close relationship? Do you experience any problems as a parent?

5. Other family members

Do you have other family members in SA? If so, tell me more about them.

Do you still have family members in your country of origin? If so tell me more about them.

Do you feel responsible for helping family members? If so, do you help them? In what way?

6. Employment opportunities
Are you currently employed? What type of work do you do?
What did you do before you came to South Africa?
Is this your main source of income?
How long have you been involved in this economic activity?
Do you have a full-time or part-time or contract job?
What are your working hours?
How did you get this job?
Please describe your working experience in South Africa, what are the challenges that you have faced?
7. Integration into South Africa
Have you been a victim of crime or racial violence in South Africa? If yes, please describe what happened.
How do South Africans feel about you/your people?
Do you interact with local people?
Do you have South African friends? (White? Coloured? Black? Indian?)
Do you feel accepted in South Africa? Or by South Africans?
8. Language
Do you speak English fluently?
What other languages do you speak?
How do you cope with the language differences?
Have you tried to learn English or other local languages?
9. Meaning of community.
What is your understanding of community?
Do you feel part of a community here?
1. Identity
How do you identify yourself?
Do you still identify with your home country?
Do you identify with South Africa?
2. Culture
How important is culture to you?
What does culture mean to you?
How do you celebrate/ practise your culture?
3. Religion
Do you practise your religion?
Do you feel free to practise your religion without intimidation in South Africa?
Do you practise your religion with other groups in South Africa?
Do your religious practices isolate you from the broader Fordsburg community?
4. Sense of belonging
Do you feel you have a sense of belonging in South Africa?
How do you experience this?

5. Long-term plans

How do you see your future? What are your future plans?

Do you see South Africa as your permanent home/ Will you go to another country or return to your home country?

Do you think your dreams can be achieved here?

What are your dreams for you and your family?

Interview Guide for School Principals

Introduce study and self and request permission to conduct interviews

Date:

Participants name:

Place of interview:

Duration of interview:

1. Did you always live in Fordsburg or Mayfair?
2. How long were you involved in the school?
3. How long were you the school principal?
4. Tell me about history of the school.
5. How have the demographics of the school changed since 2000?
6. What are current demographics?
7. Can you tell me about early history of Fordsburg?
8. Can you elaborate on the role of the school in Fordsburg?
9. What are the demographics of teachers currently at the school?
10. What are the nationalities amongst the pupils?
11. Describe the nature of social interaction at the school amongst the pupils.
12. How do foreign parents relate to the school and its curricula?
13. Is there anything else you want to add or discuss?

Interview Guide for Traders

This guide was adapted for use with different traders. Introduce study and self and request permission to conduct interviews

Date:

Participants name:

Place of interview:

Duration of interview:

1. Tell me about your history to Fordsburg.
2. How long have you been operating your business in Fordsburg?
3. Do you still stay in Fordsburg?
4. Why do you think that Fordsburg attracts such as range of nationalities? Who are the different nationalities currently in Fordsburg?
5. In your view, are there any tensions between the residents and migrants in Fordsburg?
6. Can you tell me about the changes you have observed in Fordsburg since 2000?
7. What is the crime like in the area and have you been affected by the crime?

8. How would you explain your relationship with the migrants in the study?
9. What is the trading environment like in Fordsburg currently?
10. My study is about communities, what do you understand by term community and how would you characterise the communities in Fordsburg?

Interview Guide for Oriental Plaza Traders

Introduce study and self and request permission to conduct interviews

Date:

Participants name:

Place of interview:

Duration of interview:

Biographical Information:

1. Name of the owner
2. Age:
3. Religion:
4. Race:
5. Is this a family owned business?
6. Name of the store?
7. Was your family part of the original owners of the store at the plaza?
8. If not, when did your family purchase/rent the store? From who?
9. How long have you been at the plaza? Type of Business?
10. What is your relationship with other traders at the plaza?
11. What do you think is unique and draws people to the Oriental Plaza?
12. Is there a sense of community at the plaza among all race groups and religions?
13. Who are the most prominent store owners at the plaza? Why?

Experiences of Exclusion:

1. Do you think you will ever be able to work/live side by side with people of other race and religious groups?
2. How do you feel about non-Indian traders moving into the plaza?
3. How do you feel about non-South African traders in the plaza?
4. Do you have friends of other races/ religion? If yes, Why?
5. If no, Why not?
6. Where do you live?
7. Is this a historically Indian area?
8. Is this a choice or financial necessity?
9. Do your children go to school with children of other race/ religious groups?
10. How do you feel about this?
11. Does being Indian make you different from other South Africans
12. How do you feel about working with people of a religion other than your own?
13. Do you think that you can express yourself freely in terms of your religious affiliation e.g. Muslim/ Hindu/ Christian in South Africa today?
14. What is different at the plaza from inception to today?
15. Do you have a sense of belonging at the plaza or do you feel excluded?

APPENDIX 2: PROFILE OF PARTICIPANTS (CITED AND NOT CITED)

EGYPTIANS																
No	Pseudo nym	Date of Interview	Age (yrs)	Gender	Region of origin	Religion	Language	Marital status	Level of education	Family in country of origin	Education, economic activity in country of origin	Arrive in SA	Length of stay in SA (years)	Current economic activity	Permit	Remits
1	Sahel	19/09/2011	26	Male	Cairo	Muslim	Arabic, English, Portuguese	Single	Middle school Diploma	Parents, 6 brothers	Working on family farm	2008	3.5	Manager in outlet	Asylum	No
2	Abdal	19/09/2011	25	Male	South Egypt	Muslim	Arabic	Single	Accounting degree	Parents & siblings	Worked 2 years in accounting field	2011	0.25	Worker in outlet	Asylum	Yes
3	Manzil	13/10/2012	30s	Male	Nearby Cairo	Muslim	Arabic, English	Single	High School diploma	Parents & siblings	Various trading activities	2007	5	Owner of outlet	Refugee	No
4	Salim	13/10/2012	37	Male	Cairo	Muslim	Arabic, English	Single	High School diploma	Parents & siblings	N/A	2005	7	Owner of outlet	Business permit	No
5	Afzal	13/10/2012	27	Male	Alexandria	Muslim	Arabic, English, Afrikaans	Single	High School diploma	Parents & siblings	N/A	2004	8	Owner of outlet	Business permit	No
6	Moiz	27/09/2011	30s	Male	100 km from Cairo	Muslim	Arabic, English	Married to SA	Teaching diploma	Parents & siblings	Private teaching	2002	9	Manager in outlet	Temporary Residence permit	Monthly

BANGLADESHIS

No	Pseudo nym	Date of Interview	Age (yrs)	Gender	Region of origin	Religion	Lang uage	Marital status	Level of education	Family in country of origin	Education, economic activity in county of origin	Arrival in SA	Length of stay in SA (yrs)	Current economic activity	Permit	Remits
7	Habib	14/10/2013	27	Male	Feni District	Muslim	Bengali	Single	Post school qualification; also involved in clothing business	Parents	Clothing business	2004	9	Tailor	Asylum	Occasionally
8	Sajeet	21/09/2011	38	Male	Noakhali province	Hindu	Bengali	Single	N/A	Mother and siblings, youngest child	Tailor	2004	9	Tailor	Asylum	Does not have enough
9	Pradeep	21/09/2011	32	Male	Noakhali province	Hindu	Bengali	Single	N/A	Siblings	Tailor	2006	5	Tailor	Asylum	
10	Najam	14/10/2013	40s	Male	Feni District	Muslim	Bengali	Married in Bangladesh	Grade 9	Wife and 4 children	N/A	2009	4.5	Tailor	Asylum	Some times
11	Tayub	14/10/2013	40	Male	Rajshahi	Muslim	Bengali	'Paper Married'	Std 6	Siblings	Tailor	2006	7	Tailor	Temporarily Residence permit	Some times
12	Carrim	09/10/2012	26	Male	Feni District	Muslim	Bengali	Single	Intermediary	4 Siblings	N/A	2008	4	Tailor	Temporarily Residence permit	Some times
13	Nabeel	14/10/2013	26	Male	Feni District	Muslim	Bengali	Single	Matric	Mother and 4 siblings		2010	3	Tailor		Some Times
14	Akbar	2013	28	Male	Noakhali province	Muslim	Bengali	Single	Matric			2009	4	Spaza shop owner	Asylum	
15	Mansoor (Paan shop)	13/02/2014	26	Male		Muslim	Bengali					2009	4	Mobile unit	Asylum	

16	Khaled (Tea Shop)	13/02/2014		Male		Muslim	Bengali					2004	9	Mobile unit	Temporary Residence permit		

INDIANS																
No	Pseudo nym	Date of Interview	Age (yrs)	Gender	Region	Religion	Language	Marital status	Level of education	Family in country of origin	Education and/or economic activity in county of origin	Arrival in SA	Length of stay in SA (yrs)	Current economic activity	Permit	Remits
17	Rita	2/06/2011	42	Female	Baroda	Muslim	Hindi	Married to Pakistani	Matric and beauty therapy course	4 sisters and one brother	Beauty therapist	2004	7	Beauty therapist	Work permit	No
18	Saadia	2/06/2011	32	Female	Gujarat	Muslim	Hindi	Married to Pakistani?	Matric and beauty therapy course	Mother and sister	Beauty therapist	2001	10	Beauty therapist	Permanent residents Permit	Sometimes
19	Razak	7/06/2011	38	Male	Gujarat		Hindi, Urdu	Married to Coloured SA; 2 children	Studied architecture	Siblings	Tailor	2002	9	Beauty therapist	Temporary Residence permit	No
20	Ismail	7/06/2011	45	Male	Gujarat	Muslim	Hindi, Urdu	Divorced from White SA; married to; 2 children	N/A	N/A	Tattoo artist and watch repairer	1993	18	Sales	Permanent residents permit	No
21	Irfaan	22/06/2011	37	Male	Gujarat	Muslim	Gujerati; Hindi	Married in India	Barber	Parents, 2 brothers, wife & child	Barber	2004	7	Barber	Visitors permit	Monthly

22	Vibha	9/06/2011	41	Female	Mumbai	Hindu	Gujerati; Hindi	Married in India	Beauty therapist	Husband, child & mother	Beauty therapist	2009	2	Beauty therapist	Visitors permit	Regularly
23	Praveena	22/06/2011	23	Female	Gujarat	Hindu	Gujerati; Hindi	Married in India	Beauty therapist	Parents, brother & sister	In the Arts field, then did a beauty therapy course	2010	1	Beauty therapist	Husband in working here	Sometimes
24	Arun	22/06/2011	24	Male	Surat	Hindu	Hindi	Single	Manager	Parents and 2 brothers	Family business	2009	2	Manager at hair salon	Temporary Residence permit	Regularly
25	Anjali	22/06/2011	21	Male	Ahmedabad	Hindu	Hindi	Married to Pakistani in SA	Matric and beauty therapy course	Parents and siblings	Beauty therapist	2009	1.5	Beauty therapist	Husband has a business permit	Every second month
26	Zena	03/10/2012	47	Female	Ahmedabad	Muslim	Gujarati, Hindi and English Urdu	Married in India, husband in SA, 5 children	Matric and beauty therapy course	Mother and sister	Beauty therapist	2000	12	Beauty therapist	Permanent Residence/ Citizen	Once a year when she travels home

PAKISTANIS																
No	Pseudo nym	Date of Interview	Age	Gender	Region	Religion	Language	Marital status	Level of education	Family in country of origin	Education and/or economic activity in county of origin	Arrival in SA	Length of stay in SA (yrs)	Current economic activity	Permit	Remits
27	Munif	14/10/2013	43	Male	Pakistan	Muslim	Urdu, Hindi	Married	Matric	Brothers & sisters	Fashion designer	1996	17	Tailor	Permanent Residence/ Citizen	No
28	Adil	14/10/2013	40s	Male	Pakistan	Muslim	Urdu, Hindi	Married	Matric	Mother	Show business	Mid-1990s	17	Show business	Permanent Residence/ Citizen	No
29	Ridwaan	07/11/2013	Late 30s	Male	Karachi	Muslim	Urdu	Married in Pakistan	Std 5	Mother	Worked in fathers vegetable shop	1997	14	Tailor	Permanent Residence/ Citizen	No

											and did tailoring						
30	Basheer	2/06/2011	23	Male	Lahore	Muslim	Punjabi, Urdu, Hindi, English	Single	Post matric studies	Parents, 2 brothers & 1 sister	Worked and attended night school	2008	3	Hairdresser	Asylum	Monthly	
31	Hafiz	2/06/2011	20	Male	Lahore	Muslim	Urdu, English	Single	Post matric studies	Parents, 3 sisters, 2 brothers	Was learning to be a barber	2010	1	Hairdresser	Asylum	Sometimes	
32	Khajaat	7/06/2011	39	Female	Lahore	Muslim	Urdu, Hindi, English	Married	Post matric studies	Mother, brother	Beauty therapist	2007	4	Beauty therapist	Permanent Residence/Citizen	No	
33	Taahir	7/06/2011	22	Male	Faisalabad	Muslim	Urdu, Panjabi	Single; 'paper married'	Matric	Parents, 2 brothers & 1 sister	Came at age of 17	2006	5	Barber	Temporary Residence permit	No	
34	Ali	9/06/2011	29	Male	N/A	Muslim	Urdu, English	Single	N/A	N/A	N/A	2004	7	Hairdresser and owns outlet	Work permit	No	
35	Zubeida	14/09/2011	40	Female	Karachi	Muslim	Urdu, English	Married with 6 children	N/A	Married children	Housewife	1995	16	Grocer	Permanent Residence/Citizen	No	

MALAWIANS

No	Pseudo nym	Date of Interview	Age	Gender	Region	Religion	Language	Marital status	Level of education*	Family in country of origin	Education and/or economic activity in county of origin	Arrival in SA	Length of stay in SA	Current economic activity	Permit	Remits
36	Kingsley	22/01/2014	27	Male	Nkhotakota	Muslim	Chichewa, English, Zulu	Married	Form 2	Wife & 1 child; parents, 2 sisters & 5 brothers	Tailoring	2011	3 years	Machinist	Papers expired	Every second month
37	Ebrahim	13/02/2014	27	Male	Mangochi	Muslim	Chichewa, English	Single	Form 2	Parents, 5 brothers & 1 sister	After school came to SA	2011	3 years	Salesman	Refugee	Monthly
38	Jonas	22/01/2014	20	Male	Lilongwe	Christian	Chichewa, English & Zulu	Single	Form 4	Parents, 6 brothers & 1 sister	Sold international CDs	2011	3 years	Cook	Papers expired	Monthly R700
39	Munsif	22/01/2014	28	Male	Machinga	Muslim	Chichewa, English	Single	Form 4		Farming	2011	3 years	Cook – makes rotis at eateries	Documents stolen	Sends every second month
40	Ashraf	22/01/2014	24	Male	Machinga	Muslim	Chichewa, English	Married	Form 4	Wife & 1 child, parents, 1 brother & 2 sisters	Farming	2013	1 year	Cook – makes rotis at eateries	Papers expired	Sends every 2-3 months
41	Dominic	22/01/2014	25	Male	Blantyre	Muslim	Chichewa, English	Single	Form 4	Parents, 4 brothers & 3 sisters	2 year college course in rural development	2013	1 year	Takes orders at a take-way at the Square	Papers expired	Regularly
42	Rashid	13/02/2014	38	Male	Lilongwe	Muslim	Chichewa, English	Married	Did not attend school	Wife & 4 children; 3 sisters & 1 brother	Spaza shop selling groceries	2012	2 years	Makes rotis, 700 a day	Papers expired	Remits to wife
43	Yunis	13/02/2014	27	Male	Machinga	Muslim	Chichewa, English	Married	Form 3	Wife and 1 child, Parents, 3	Left school due to financial problems	2010	4 years	Sells CD's at the Square for	Papers expired	???

										brothers & 3 sisters				a Pakistani trader		
44	Banda	13/02/2014	26	Male	Lilongwe	Christian	Chichewa, English and learning Zulu	Single	Form 4	Parents, plus 3 sisters and 4 brothers	Studying IT at training centre	2010	4 years	Chef (taught by Pakistani chef)	Asylum status	Regularly, every second month
45	Mary	23/02/2014	28	Female	Blantyre	Christian	Chichewa, English	Single	Form 4	Parents, four brothers and sisters	Wanted to start college	2008	6 years	Saleslady	Refugee	Sometimes

* Malawi has an 8-4-4 education system consisting of primary school (known as Standard 1 to Standard 8), secondary school (known as Form 1 to 4) and university education.



SOUTH AFRICANS

Key informant/ Participants	Pseudonym	Nationality	Date of Interview	Gender
46	Mikhail	South African	13 October 2012	Male
47	Maalik	South African	14 October 2013	Male
48	Hanif	Moroccan	31 March 2011 13 July 2013	Male
49	Saffar	Pakistani	12 May 2011	Male
50	James	South African	3 October 2012	Male
51	Yassien	South African	5 March 2011	Male
52	Mr Patel	South African	12 August 2013	Male
53	Mr Abrahams	South African	5 March 2011	Male
54	Asif	South African	30 July 2014	Male
55	Shabir	South African	19/09/2011 6/10/2011 July –September 2012 July –September 2013	Male
56	Mr Singh	South African	3 August 2013	Male
School Principals	Pseudonym	Nationality	Date of Interview	Gender
57	Mr Daya	South African	9 June 2012	Male
58	Mrs Moola	South African	25 May 2012	Female
59	Mr Essack	South African	10 October 2013	Male
NGO	Pseudonym	Nationality	Date of Interview	Gender
60	Mrs Surtee	South African	10 September 2012	Female
61	Mr Muhammed	South African	6 October 2013	Male
62	Bang VA	Bangladeshi (Telephonic interview)	25 June 2014	Male
Local government	Pseudonym	Nationality	Date of Interview	Gender
63	Mr Ismail	South African	12 May 2011	Male
64	Mr Nana	South African	12 August 2013	Male
Oriental Plaza Traders	Pseudonym	Nationality	Date of Interview	Gender
65	Kanti	South African	November 2008	Male
66	Essop	South African	November 2008	Male
67	Hassim	South African	November 2008	Male
68	Aisha	South African	November 2008	Female
69	Khulsum	South African	November 2008	Female
70	Kishan	South African	November 2008	Male
71	Mr Osman	South African	November 2008	Male
South African Traders	Pseudonym	Nationality	Date of Interview	Gender
72	Dilip	South African	1 March 2011	Male
73	Hemant	South African	31 July 2013	Male
74	Sulaiman	South African	11 October 2013	Male
75	Zayboon	South African	12 September 2011	Female
76	Phyllis	South African	30 July 2013	Female
77	Moiz	South African	10 September 2012	Male
78	Mr Goolam	South African	14 October 2011	Male

79	Zaid	South African	September 2012	Male
80	Mr Khan Telephone and email correspondence	South African	February 2014	Male
81	Thandi (informal interview)	South African	September 2012	Female



APPENDIX 3

DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF COUNTRIES OF THE MIGRANT PARTICIPANTS

Bangladesh

The borders of modern Bangladesh were established with the partition of Bengal and India in August 1947, when the region became known as East Pakistan, part of the newly formed State of Pakistan following India's independence. Separated from West Pakistan by 1600 km of Indian country, this distance from main Pakistan led to political exclusion, ethnic problems and eventually economic neglect. Modern Bangladesh emerged in 1971 after achieving independence from Pakistan in the Bangladesh Liberation War (van Schendel 2009). Over 90 per cent of the population is Muslim with Hindus making up 9.6 per cent of the population. Most of the Muslims in Bangladesh are Sunnis with a small Shia community (IndexMundi 2015a).

According to the 2012 International Labour Organisation (ILO) Decent Work Country Programme report for the period 2012-2015, Bangladesh has an approximate population of 142.32 million people and is known as the world's most densely populated country (about 964 inhabitants per square kilometre) (ILO 2012: 2). The estimated population in 2014 was 166.3 million people and growth rate is 1.6% per annum (IndexMundi 2015a). The combined effects of its demography, geography and economy, make it one of the least developed economies of the world. Supporting this view is the large size of its informal economy, in which 87.5 per cent of its inhabitants are employed. While Bangladesh has been able to reduce poverty, this has not resulted in a corresponding increase in job creation. On average, 1.8 million people, mainly young people, enter the labour market every year. The high underemployment rate of about 30 per cent reveals that many are employed in marginal and low productivity jobs where they are joined by working children (ILO 2012).

The government of Bangladesh recognises that the country is a low-income country with high levels of 'poverty, inequality and deprivation' (IMF 2013: 1). A further 47 million people live below the poverty line, with a large proportion living in female-headed households in rural areas, consisting of 'socially excluded and other vulnerable people' (IMF 2013: 1). Most of the population engage in informal, low productivity and

low income jobs, with limited access to secondary and tertiary education, and the quality of education is regarded as 'deficient' at all levels (IMF 2013: 1). Migration is seen as a coping strategy amongst the poor, with internal migration (urbanisation), from rural areas to cities, as the first step to international migration.

Unemployment amongst young people is very high. The 87% workers employed in the informal economy are without any form of social and legal protection (ILO 2012). Women constitute about half of the population but make up only 36 per cent of the labour force. However, the rate of unemployment for women is double that of men, the underemployment of women exceeds that of men by five per cent, the labour force participation rate of women is one third compared to men, and women earn 21 per cent less than men (ILO 2012: 4). Bangladeshi women are governed by a 'patriarchal and patrilineal social customary system' (Rahman 2013: 3). Such a system dictates a strict division of labour, curtailing the 'mobility, role and responsibility of women' (Rahman 2013: 3). The low percentage of women migrants relates to the restriction placed by socio-cultural, religious and political barriers faced by women labour migrants (Bélanger and Rahman 2013).

In terms of migration, according to the 2012 report, more than 7 million, mainly unskilled workers are working abroad. In 2012, women migrant workers accounted for 5 per cent of the total annual outflow of workers. Female migrants are engaged in service work such as housekeeping, cleaning and garment workers. In 2011, Bangladesh received about US\$ 12.1 billion in remittances from its migrant workers (ILO 2012). Remittances are mainly used to purchase consumption goods and the ILO reports that most migrants do not have sufficient information to allow them to invest in small enterprises.

Bangladesh has a huge supply of surplus labour and is one of the major labour-exporting countries in the world (Siddiqui 2003). International labour migration was actively promoted by the government since 1976 and remittance flows back to Bangladesh contributes significantly to the economic development of the country. Bangladeshi migrants comprise skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled labour. Skilled professionals include doctors engineers, teachers and nurses, while tailors and masons are semi-skilled and agricultural workers, hotel workers and menial workers are regarded as unskilled workers.

Egypt

Egypt is situated in the northeast corner of the African continent. It is bordered by Libya to the west, Sudan to the South, the Red Sea to the east and the Mediterranean Sea to the north. The World Health Organisation report of 2013, showed that Egypt has a total population of 81 million, is ranked 112 out of 186 countries in Human Development Index (WHO 2013). The population in 2014 is estimated to be 86.9 million people (IndexMundi 2015b) and ranks as the 15th most populous in the world (World Population Review, 2015a). The population comprises mainly Sunnis (90%) and the official language is Arabic but English and French are widely understood (IndexMundi 2015b). While poverty has decreased in the last few decades, it is more widespread in the Upper Egypt area, having increased from 20 to 34 per cent in the rural areas. The dependency ratio in Egypt is 58.3% (IndexMundi. 2015b). In the urban areas, poverty rose from 11 to 19 per cent. The Egyptian government recognises the main obstacle to economic growth and development is the: i) 'increasing population growth rate, ii) uneven distribution of the population across the land, and iii) the decrease in population traits' (Refaat 2010: 3).

An estimated 333 000 to 1.5 million Egyptians reside in Libya remit up to 33 million USD every year. It is important to note that those Egyptians working in Libya originate mainly from the rural areas and Lower Egypt, and have only completed their basic education (IOM 2010a).

The recent political uprisings in Egypt in 2011, augur well for change in a country where young people are desperate for change and where almost 60 per cent of the population is under 30 and a significant proportion of 15 to 29 age group is unemployed (African Economic Outlook 2012). However, there are many problems facing Egypt, poor quality education failing skilled graduates for the job market; in 2006 the illiteracy rate was at 30 per cent with a higher rate amongst women; in 2011, unemployment had risen to 11.8 per cent; high poverty levels in rural areas with 51 per cent of low wage earners residing in Upper Egypt and 44 per cent of these aged between 18 and 29 (African Economic Outlook 2012: 2). Factors such as unemployment and underemployment serve as main push factors for Egyptian youth to migrate. Other challenges facing the country is the growing informal sector, labour rights, wages,

women's participation in the labour market and child labour all serve to constrain an already turbulent country.

The number of Egyptian migrants abroad is close to 2.7 million, with 70 per cent residing in Arab countries and 30 per cent are found in Europe and North America (IOM 2010a). In 2009, the World Bank reported that Egypt received US 7.8 billion in remittances, approximately 5 per cent of the country's national GDP. 2015, the estimated number of Egyptians is expected to be 0.27 million per annum (World Population Review 2015a)

In Egypt, women form part of a marginal group and are side-lined by the economic, social and political culture of Egypt, they also tend to be employed in the informal sector (African Economic Outlook 2012: 13). Women's full participation in Egyptian life is dictated by culture and tradition. Egypt is currently facing a 'youth bulge' and youth unemployment has reached high levels, even among those that are highly educated. An IOM survey revealed that 80 per cent of the families did not engage in investment which needs to be addressed (Handoussa 2010: 102). As a result, the IOM is examining community level activities such as financial literacy training for family members left behind to ensure the proper use of remittances.

In 2009, Egyptian statistics recorded that there were 6.5 million Egyptian migrants, of which 74 per cent were temporary migrants. It is also experiencing a change in temporary migration, where migration to Arab countries is being reduced and long term migration to Europe and North America is increasing. The top five destinations are Saudi Arabia, Libya, United States, Jordan and Italy. In return, Egypt is also host to a minimal number of migrant workers but increasing refugees and asylum seekers, mainly Eritrean, Somali, Sudanese, and increasing numbers of Syrian refugees (Migration Policy Report 2013).

India

After China, India is the second most populous country in the world. India's population measure by its last population census in 2011 was 1.210 billion people and in June 2015, the population is estimated at 1.285 billion people (World Population Review: India, 2015). About 80% of India's population is Hindu and approximately 13.4% are Muslim (World Population Review 2015b).

India, Pakistan and Bangladesh, three major countries in South Asia, 'share a common history and cultural heritage' (Kumari and Shamim n.d.: 25). After India's independence in 1947 and the split of Pakistan, the three countries have subsequently diverged in different ways. The World Population Review (2015b) shows that India's population crossed the 1.21 billion mark when the last census was carried out in 2011.

The emigration rate expected in 2015 is 1.9 million emigrants. Some of the main reasons for migration from India are economic necessity, pushed by famine, war, political and religious persecution and unemployment. It is acknowledged that while Indian migrants are both socially and economically diverse, some general trends can be observed: 1) most of the migration is low skilled in nature and mainly towards the Middle East and Asia, while more recent trends show an increase in high-skilled migration to industrial economies; 2) three major destination areas for migrants from India are identified – English speaking industrial countries such as Australia, Canada, the UK, and USA; Gulf countries such as Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates; and Southeast Asian countries such as Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, and Thailand; 3) while migration to the Southeast Asia is temporary, in contrast to the more permanent migration of the industrial countries (Afram 2012: xii).

India is one of the few countries to tap into its large Diasporic network to leverage funds from its Nonresident Indians (NRIs) and People of Indian Origin (PIOs), by setting up Diaspora bonds that serve to finance long term investments in infrastructure and investments into the country. Remittances have also surpassed foreign flows to the country. In 2009, 4.5 per cent of Indian households received remittances, with over 50 per cent used for family maintenance and basic needs, 20 per cent was noted to be deposited in bank accounts or invested in land, property and securities accounting for seven per cent (Afram 2012: xiii).

In 2011, India received in the range of US\$58 billion remittances as inflow into the country (Mariyappan and Vasanthakumar 2012). India is the world's largest remittance receiving country. With the largest Diaspora in the world, it is estimated that 25 million Indians live in 110 countries. Three distinct periods of migration can be identified in India: a) early migration of unskilled labour to the mines and plantations of the British colonies, b) migration to the Gulf in the late 20th-century, and c) high-skilled migration of professionals to industrial countries since the beginning of the 21st century (Afram 2012: xii).

For all three countries, women's migration is regarded as a social stigma, and attributed to South Asia's characterisation as a patriarchal and traditional society (Kumari and Shamim n.d.: 25).

Malawi

Established in 1891 under the British protectorate, Malawi gained independence in 1964. In January 2015, the estimated population in Malawi was 17 261 736 people (Countrymeters 2015). The UN projections show that the population could easily reach 23 million by 2025, if families continue having, on average, six children (Department of Population and Development 2012).

Malawi is a landlocked country in southern Africa, sharing borders with Zambia, Tanzania and Mozambique. The third largest lake in Africa can be found in Malawi, and it covers one fifth of the country's total area. Malawi is a small densely populated country, with approximately 80 per cent of its population living in rural areas, dependent on subsistence farming as a form of livelihood. Approximately 54 per cent of its total population is under the age of 18, having severe implications for the development of the country. The total dependency ratio of Malawi is 91.4% - so each working individual has to cover for himself and one child (<15 years of age) or aged person (>65 years of age) (Countrymeter 2015). The population growth rate is high with an annual growth of 2.8 per cent with an average life expectancy of 54 years (The Icelandic International Development Agency, ICEIDA 2012). Malawi is also one of the poorest countries in the world coming in at 171 out of 187 on the Human Development Index (HDI) in 2014.

Malawi is an ethnically diverse country, made up of a tribal federation consisting of Chewa, Tumbuka, Yao, and Ngoni peoples, and on a smaller scale Nyanja, Lomwe, Sena, Tonga, and Ngonde tribes, including some Asian and European groups. Although 80 per cent of the population is Christian, 13 per cent of the population is made up of Muslims, consisting of mostly Sunni, of either the Qadriya or Sukutu groups. Other religious groups include Jews, Rastafarians, Hindus and Baha'is. Atheists make up around 4 per cent of the population (KPMG 2012). While all the different ethnic groups have their own dialect, the Chewa is the dominant group and Chichewa is the national language that is widely spoken, although English is the official language and widely spoken as well.

Malawi faces considerable challenges politically, economically and socially; struggles to meet its basic needs in terms of health, education and food security. In addition, poverty, HIV/AIDS, gender inequality, environmental degradation and food insecurity serve to deepen the country's problems. Adult literacy is quite low with 60 per cent of females being literate compared to 79 per cent males. Gender inequalities persist with women working longer hours, engaged in unpaid domestic work in the home, young girls are also more likely to drop out of school due to early marriage, pregnancies and family responsibilities.

Given that it is a densely populated area, with minimal agricultural productivity, food security is an important issue in Malawi especially with recurring droughts and floods taking place (ICEIDA 2012). Women make up three-quarters of subsistence farmers. It is estimated that 65 per cent of Malawians live below the national poverty line and are vulnerable both to natural and man-made environmental problems such as pollution, disease epidemics and economic shocks.

Pakistan

During its independence in 1947, Pakistan (including East Pakistan, now Bangladesh) was the 13th most populous country in the world. With an estimated population of 162 million in 2009, Pakistan has moved up the rankings as world's 6th most populous country (Afzal 2009: 1). Pakistan's population growth rate then was highest in Asia with almost a million people being added every three months (Afzal 2009: 1). The estimated population in 2015 is 189 million people in June, 2015 (Countrymeter b: 2015) of which 49.2% are female. The population is estimated to increase by 2.9 million in 2015 (Countrymeter b: 2015). The increase in population is attributed to the lack of practicing birth control mainly due to social and cultural factors. Adding to this is the practice of polygamy. A proposed solution is the improvement and implementation of family planning practices, the increase in female literacy rate and the elevation of women's social status in society (Afzal 2009).

The country's rapid population growth has in turn placed enormous pressure on the country's existing natural resources resulting in high levels of pollution such as 'levels of industrial waste, water pollution, solid waste, and vehicle emissions' contributing to serious health problems in the country (Afzal 2009: 6). All of this has resulted in increasing relative and absolute poverty in the country (Afzal 2009: 6). While Cheema

(2012: 16) argues that the growth in the labour force must be seen in a positive light for the potential economic development of the country, of equal concern is that 38.5 percent of the employed working more 50 hours or more in 2010-2011, together with a large proportion of people with no formal education. This can be explained by ‘high vulnerability, low productivity levels and poor remuneration in wide parts of the country’s labour market’ (Cheema 2012: 16). It is acknowledged that the limited number of decent or quality jobs together with a growing labour force is raising concerns in Pakistan, especially for those who lack skills, social networks and know-how, to enter the labour market as salaried individuals. Overtly, this leads to employment under poorer working conditions or more into the informal economy. Significantly, the total dependency ratio of Pakistan is 65.7% and shows that more than half the population is dependent on a small population of providers (Countrymeter b 2015)

Population distribution is also uneven with metropolitan areas such as Karachi, Lahore and Faisalabad bearing the brunt of rural-urban migration due to concentration of employment opportunities. The lack of access for women in the economic sector contributes to population growth, while women’s traditional status in Pakistani society results in them bearing the ‘burden of poverty, poor education, and inferior jobs resulting in limited social mobility’ (Afzal 2009: 3).

The rural to urban migration has increased substantially due to push and pull factors with the urban population increasing from 6 million in 1951 to 57 million in 2008 (Afzal 2009: 1). All of these factors place enormous pressure on the country’s infrastructure such as ‘housing, transportation, electricity, water, sewerage, health and educational faculties’. Compounding these problems is the ‘complicated’ social, economic and political problems negatively affecting the economic stability of the country. Adding to this is ethnic problems culminating in the deterioration of law and order in the country, ‘housing shortages, expensive educational and health facilities, traffic density and congestion, frequent and fatal accidents’ (Afzal 2009: 2). In 2008, the flow of workers remittances reached US \$7 billion or 4.2 percent of GDP (Kok and Sun 2011). In 2015, approximately 0.38 million Pakistanis are expected to emigrate (Countrymeter b: 2015). It is estimated that there are seven million Pakistani immigrants abroad inclusive of illegal migrants. The majority of migrants are employed in construction, retail, transportation services, and tourism.

Except for Malawi and India, South Africa has very little historical and/or geographical proximity to Egypt, Pakistan and Bangladesh. From the summaries, a number of comparable threads emerge from the five countries:

1. The five chosen countries were all migrant sending countries;
2. Remittances serve as the main source of family and national income, and for all the countries in this study, serves as the ‘largest source of external financing’ (Afram 2012, xi);
3. Remittances serve to cover the basic needs of families, including education and to sustain livelihood and small businesses, remittances are not always productively utilised;
4. Women are marginalised and employed in the informal sector;
5. Poverty is one of the main push factors of migration;
6. Over-population in all of the countries contribute to poverty and unemployment; and,
7. All of the countries are experiencing rapid growth rates.

Thus, in spite of the diverse geographical positioning of the countries, the choice of South to South migration cannot be negated here and must be explored in the context of the study. In none of the literature explored regarding development and remittances for the five countries, did South Africa even feature as a country of choice to migrate to.

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APPENDIX 4:

Photographs of early Johannesburg and Fordsburg



Plate 1: Picture showing a typical settlement in early Johannesburg
Source: Museum Africa, Johannesburg



Plate 2: Picture showing a typical settlement in early Johannesburg
Source: Museum Africa, Johannesburg



Plate 3: Picture showing a the early Fordsburg Square
Source: Museum Africa, Johannesburg



Plate 4: Picture showing early Fordsburg
Source: Museum Africa, Johannesburg